

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

A. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

In 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, prepared the general stand for the proletariat and its communist vanguard by pointing out the direction of the proletariat's class interests and a basic approach toward the fulfillment of these interests. It was in that document that the history of the class struggle was shown to lead to the proletarian revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the preconditions to the development of communist society (in which classes will finally be abolished).

The following passages from the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO are the initial statements on the historic role and the necessity of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the oxen who are to wield those weapons -- the modern working class -- the proletarians. (pp. 38-39; see reference at the end of this series of quotations.)

"The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not only against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages. (p. 41.)

"But with the development of the industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and yearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, evermore rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

"Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to the railways, achieve in a few years.

"This organization of the proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' bill in England was carried.

"Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie. (p. 41-43).

"Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the

nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. (p. 43-44).

"All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous security for, and insurances of, individual property.

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

"Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

"In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat. (p.45).

"The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, are its grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. (p.46).

"We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

"Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

"These measures will of course be different in different countries. (p. 57).

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." (p. 58-59, K. Marx and F. Engels, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965).

This, then is the general meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat - the proletariat "makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force (my emphasis- A.M.H.) the old conditions of production" and "the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally." Those changes can come about only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, because no other class has as its interest the abolition of class antagonisms and the abolition of classes, i.e., of advancing to the stage of communist society.

Subsequent to the publication of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Marx and Engels added important theoretical and practical conclusions on the state which they took as lessons from the Revolutions of 1848-51 and from the Paris Commune of 1871.

From the Revolution of 1848-51 in France, Karl Marx drew the following lesson: "All revolutions perfected this machine (the state - A.M.H.) instead of smashing it." (K. Marx,

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE, quoted in V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 32).

On April 12, 1871, during the brief life of the Paris Commune, Marx elaborated on this point in a letter to Kugelmann. He said: "If you look at the last chapter of my EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE, you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it (Marx's emphasis - A.M.H.), and this is the preliminary condition for every people's revolution on the continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting." (Quoted in V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 44).

This point about the need for the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state machine, or apparatus, has served as one of the pillars of the Marxist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has served as a watershed dividing the revolutionaries from the reformists and the revisionists. On this matter of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus, Marx added the lessons of the Paris Commune. The most important lesson of the Paris Commune was that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." (K. Marx, THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 64). Marx added that "the political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation." (Ibid., p. 228).

Marx's description of the operation of the Paris Commune provided the basis for seeing the practical measures to be taken and to be avoided in future revolutions:

"In its most simple conception the Commune meant the preliminary destruction of the old governmental machinery at its central seats, Paris and the other great cities of France, and its superseding by real self-government which in Paris and the great cities, the strongholds of the working class, was the government of the working class. Through the siege, Paris had got rid of the army which was replaced by a National Guard, with its bulk formed by the workmen of Paris. It was only due to this state of things that the rising of the 18th of March had become possible. This fact was to become an institution, and the National Guard of the great cities, the people armed against governmental usurpation, to supplant the standing army, defending the government against the people. The commune to consist of the municipal councillors of the different arrondissements (as Paris was the initiator and the model, we have to refer to it - K.M.) chosen by the suffrage of all citizens, responsible, and revocable in short terms. The majority of that body would naturally consist of workmen or acknowledged representatives of the working class. It was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. (p. 232-233).

"On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunderburst of 'Vive la Commune!' What is the Commune that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The Proletarians of Paris', said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th of March, 'amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs....They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power.' But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes. (p. 63-64).

"The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favor, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor. (p. 72).

"The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce par decret du peuple (i.e. by decree of the people - A.M.H.). They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. (p. 73).

"If there is to be found fault within the conduct of the Central Committee and the Paris workmen towards these 'men of order' from the 18th of March to their Exodus, it is an excess of moderation bordering upon weakness. (p. 223).

"When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain working men for the first time dared to infringe upon the governmental privilege of their 'natural superiors', and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently - performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority, is the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school-board, - the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labor, floating over the Hotel de Ville. (p. 74).

"The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the

national Governments are one as against the proletariat!

"After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again in ever-growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end - the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariat. (p. 97).

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class." (p.99). (K. Marx, THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE)

In light of the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx drew the organizational conclusions as to how the proletariat will achieve its supremacy. In September 1871, on the Seventh Anniversary of the First International, Marx stated:

"But the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable, before the realization of such changes becomes possible, and the first and foremost condition for the dictatorship is the army of the proletariat. The right of the working class to its own emancipation must be won on the battlefield. The task of the International is to organize and unite the forces of the working class for the coming struggle." (K. Marx, ON THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL, quoted in HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM, PEKING REVIEW, Oct. 9, 1964).

On June 24, 1872, Marx and Engels, in their preface to the German Edition of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, brought the lessons of the Revolution of 1848-51 and the Paris Commune to the attention of the readers as important additions to proletarian revolutionary theory. They stated:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this MANIFESTO are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the MANIFESTO itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry in the last twenty-five years, and of the accompanying improved and extended party organization of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution (1848 - A.M.H.), and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, p. 2).



On March 18, 1871, the proletariat and other working people in Paris launched an armed uprising and completely defeated the reactionary troops, thus ushering in the first proletarian state power in world history. Painting illustrates the historic revolution on March 18, 1871.

In 1852, Marx, in a letter to J. Weydemeyer, pointed to his great contribution to the proletariat:

"...And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." (quoted in V.I. Lenin, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION*, p. 39).

To this statement, V.I. Lenin directed his attention in showing that those three points constitute the dividing line between the Marxists and the revisionists. Lenin stated:

"It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's teachings is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this untruth very often springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism, its falsification in such a way as to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class struggle was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big - V.I.L.) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." (V.I. Lenin, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION*, p. 39-40).

And finally, in 1875, in his *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAM*, Marx added the following point: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period of the revolutionary transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (K. Marx, *CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAM*, quoted in V.I. Lenin, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION*, p. 102).

Engels added the following points in 1873 in the polemic against the anarchist followers of Proudhon:

"Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying out against political authority, the state? All Socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets, and cannon - authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough? Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction." (F. Engels, *ON AUTHORITY*, quoted in V.I. Lenin, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION*, p. 73-74).

Engels further indicated in a letter to August Bebel on March 28, 1875, that "the proletariat uses the state not in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist." (F. Engels quoted in V.I. Lenin, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION*, p. 106).

In 1891, Engels, in his introduction to Marx's pamphlet, *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE*, summed up the lessons of the Paris Commune and made a further contribution to the Marxist theory of the state and the dying out of the state over a long historical period - what Marx called "the period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Engels stated:

"From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognize that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the

one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment." (F. Engels, Introduction to K. Marx, THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, p. 15).

"Against this transformation of the state and the organs of the state from servants of society into masters of society - an inevitable transformation in all previous states - the Commune made use of two infallible means. In the first place, it filled all posts - administrative, judicial and educational - by election on the basis of universal suffrage of all concerned, subject to the right of recall at any time by the same electors. And, in the second place, all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers. The highest salary paid by the Commune to anyone was 6,000 francs. In this way an effective barrier to place-hunting and careerism was set up, even apart from the binding mandates to delegates to representative bodies which were added besides." (p. 16).

"In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, cannot avoid having to lop off at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free societal conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap.

"Of late, Social Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." (F. Engels, Introduction to K. Marx, THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, p. 17-18).

This then is the Marxist theory of the state and of the dictatorship of the proletariat which itself was developed over a prolonged period of time. Each major event of world-wide importance provided additional lessons to the proletariat and additional enrichment to the body of Marxist theory on the state and on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Events of the twentieth century and outstanding Communists like comrades V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, and Mao Tsetung have made remarkable additions to the body of the theory and to the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin described the development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by Marx and Engels in the following words:

"The state, i.e., the proletariat organized as the ruling class,' this theory of Marx is inseparably bound with all he taught on the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship, the political rule of the proletariat.

"But if the proletariat needs a state as a special form of organization of violence against the bourgeoisie, the following conclusion suggests itself: is it conceivable that such an organization can be created without first abolishing, destroying the state machine created by the bourgeoisie for itself? The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO leads straight to this conclusion, and it is of this conclusion that Marx speaks when summing up the experience of the Revolution of 1848-51." (V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 31).

"Marx sums up his conclusions from the Revolution of 1848-51, on the question of the state we are concerned with, in the following argument, contained in THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE:

"But the revolution is thoroughgoing. It is still journeying through purgatory. It does its work methodically. By December 2, 1851 (the day of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'etat - V.I.L.), it had completed one half of its preparatory work; it is now completing the other half. First it perfected the parliamentary power, in order to be able to overthrow it. Now that it has attained this, it perfects the executive power, reduces it to its purest expression, isolates it, sets it up against itself as the sole target, in order to concentrate all its forces of destruction against it.... All revolutions perfected this machine instead of smashing it." (emphasis by Lenin).

"In this remarkable argument Marxism takes a tremendous step forward compared with the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. In the latter, the question of the state is still treated in an extremely abstract manner, in the most general terms and expressions. In the above-quoted passage, the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable; all the revolutions which have occurred up to now perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed.

"This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state....

"The COMMUNIST MANIFESTO gives a general summary of history, which compels us to regard the state as the organ of class rule and leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the proletariat cannot overthrow the bourgeoisie without first capturing political power, without attaining political supremacy, without transforming the state into the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class'; and that this proletarian state will begin to wither away immediately after its victory, because the state is unnecessary and cannot exist in a society in which there are no class antagonisms. The question as to how, from the point of view of historical development, the replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is to take place is not raised here.

"This is the question Marx raises and answers in 1852. True to his philosophy of dialectical materialism, Marx takes as his basis the historical experience of the great years of revolution 1848 to 1851. Here, as everywhere, his teaching is the summing up of experience, illuminated by a profound philosophical conception of the world and a rich knowledge of theory." (p. 31-33).

"The only 'correction' Marx thought it necessary to make in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, he made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

"The last preface to the new German edition of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, signed by both its authors, is dated June 24, 1872....

"Thus Marx and Engels regarded one principal and fundamental lesson of the Paris Commune as being of such enormous importance that they introduced it as a substantial correction into the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO." (p. 43).

"On April 1871, i.e., just at the time of the Commune, Marx wrote to Kugelmann:

'If you look at the last chapter of my EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE, you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French Revolution, will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting.'

"The words 'to smash the bureaucratic-military machine,' briefly express the principal lesson of Marxism regarding the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution in relation to the state." (p. 44-45).

"In 1847, in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Marx's answer to this question (i.e., "With what is the smashed state machine to be replaced?" - A.M.H.) was as yet a purely abstract one, or, to speak more correctly, it was an answer that indicated the tasks, but not the ways of accomplishing them. The answer given in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO was that this machine was to be replaced by 'the proletariat organized as the ruling class,' by the 'winning of the battle of democracy.'

"Marx did not indulge in utopias; he expected the experience of the mass movement to provide the reply to the question as to what specific forms this organization of the proletariat as the ruling class will assume and as to the exact manner in which this organization will be combined with the most complete, most consistent 'winning of the battle of democracy.' (p. 47-48).

"Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of the political struggle that that state was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to non-state - V.I.L.) would be the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class.' But Marx did not set out to discover the political forms of this future stage. He limited himself to precisely observing French history, to analyzing it, and to drawing the conclusion to which the year 1851 had led, viz., that matters were moving towards the smashing of the bourgeois state machine.

"And when the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat burst forth, Marx, in spite of the failure of that movement, in spite of its short life and its patent weakness, began to study what forms it had discovered.

"The Commune is the form 'at last discovered' by the proletarian revolution, under which the economic emancipation of labor can take place.

"The Commune is the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois state machine; and it is the political form 'at last discovered' by which the smashed state machine can and must be replaced.

"We shall see further on that the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in different circumstances and under different conditions, continue the work of the Commune and confirm the historical analysis given by Marx, that product of his genius." (V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 66).

The Marxist theory on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat did not "drop from the skies," nor was it "innate in the human mind," but, rather, it developed and is continuing to develop in the course of social practice. Like the young mountain peaks atop the Himalayas, it is growing and developing with each passing day as the experience of the October Revolution, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gives us reason to see.



Painting shows the establishment of the first proletarian revolutionary political power in human history -- the Paris Commune -- was proclaimed amidst thunderous cheers and shouts of "Long Live the Commune!" which shook the square.

B. Vladimir I. Lenin

V. I. Lenin was the first of the great Marxists in the twentieth century to make a contribution to the Marxist theory of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. His theoretical contribution was centered around the Great October Socialist Revolution (which he led), the early years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia (as it was then called), and the struggle against the opportunism and revisionism of the Second International.

Lenin defended the Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat against the revisionist distortion of it by Karl Kautsky, the "veteran leader" of the Second International. Lenin's defense of Marxism against Kautsky and Company served as the basis for Lenin's works, *THE STATE AND REVOLUTION* and *THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY*. The former was written in August, 1917, just prior to the October Revolution, and the latter was written in November, 1918, one year after the October Revolution.

These two works contain the basic contribution by Lenin to the Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. Later works by Lenin, such as *GREETINGS TO THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS* (1919), *ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN THE ERA OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT* (1919), *THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT* (1919), and *'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER* (1920), have served to add to Lenin's theoretical contribution, in light of the additional experience that was gained.

Lenin's contribution to Marxist theory on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can be divided into five areas: (a) the meaning of proletarian revolution; (b) the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat; (c) the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution; (d) the existence of classes through the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (e) the transition from socialism to communism.

Concerning (a) the meaning of proletarian revolution, Lenin stated:

"In order to transform Kautsky's liberal and false assertion into a Marxian and true one, one must say: dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abolition of democracy for the class that exercises the dictatorship over the other classes; but it necessarily does not mean the abolition (or very material restriction, which is also a form of abolition - V.I.L.) of democracy for the class over which, or against which, the dictatorship is exercised." (V.I. Lenin, *PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY*, p. 10).

"Dictatorship is rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws.

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any laws.

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletarians against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any laws.

"And this simple truth, a truth that is as plain as noonday to every class-conscious worker (who represents the masses, and not an upper stratum of petty-bourgeois scoundrels who have been bribed by the capitalists, such as are the social-imperialists of all countries - V.I.L.), this truth, which is obvious to every representative of the exploited classes that are fighting for their emancipation, this truth, which is beyond dispute for every Marxist, has to be 'extracted by main force' from the most learned Mr. Kautsky!" (*PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY*, p. 11).

"The indispensable characteristic, the necessary condition of dictatorship (of the proletariat - A.M.H.), is the forcible suppression of the exploiters as a class, and, consequently, the infringement of 'pure democracy', i.e., of equality and freedom in regard to that class.

"This is the way, the only way, the question can be put theoretically. And by failing to put the question thus, Kautsky showed that he opposes the Bolsheviks not as a theoretician, but as a sycophant of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie.

"In which countries, and given what special national features of this or that capitalism, democracy for the exploiters will be restricted in some or other manner, (wholly or in part - V.I.L.) infringed upon, is a question of the special national features of this or that capitalism, of this or that revolution. The theoretical question is different, viz., is the dictatorship of the proletariat possible without infringing democracy in relation to the exploiting class?" (*PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY*, p. 38).

"On the other hand, not a single great revolution has ever taken place, or ever can take place, without the 'disorganization' of the army. For the army is the most ossified instrument for supporting the old regime, the most hardened bulwark of bourgeois discipline, buttressing up the rule of capital, and preserving and fostering among the working people the servile spirit of submission and subjection to capital. Counter-revolution has never tolerated, and never could tolerate, armed workers side by side with the army. In France, Engels wrote, the workers emerged armed from every revolution: 'therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state.' The armed workers were the embryo of a new army, the organized nucleus of a new social order. The first commandment of the bourgeoisie was to crush this nucleus and prevent it from growing. The first commandment of every victorious revolution, as Marx

and Engels repeatedly emphasized, was to smash the old army, dissolve it and replace it by a new one. A new social class, when rising to power, never could, and cannot now, attain power and consolidate it except by completely disintegrating the old army ('Disorganization!' the reactionary or just cowardly philistines howl on this score - V.I.L.), except by passing through a most difficult and painful period without any army (the Great French Revolution also passed through such a painful period), and by gradually building up, in the midst of hard civil war, a new army, a new discipline, a new military organization of the new class." (V.I. Lenin, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, pp. 76-77).

"Revolution consists in the proletariat destroying the 'administrative apparatus' and the whole state machine, replacing it with a new one consisting of the armed workers. Kautsky displays a 'superstitious reverence' for 'ministries'; but why can they not be replaced, say, by committees of specialists, working under sovereign, all powerful Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies?" (V.I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 137).

"(Point 16 of Theses on the Constituent Assembly - A.M.H.). The result of all the above-mentioned circumstances taken in conjunction is that the Constituent Assembly, summoned on the basis of party lists compiled before the proletarian-peasant revolution, and under the rule of the bourgeoisie, must inevitably clash with the will and interests of the toiling and exploited classes which on October 25 began the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie. Naturally, the interests of this revolution stand higher than the formal rights of the Constituent Assembly, even if those formal rights were not undermined by the absence in the law on the Constituent Assembly of a provision recognizing the right of the people to replace their deputies by means of new elections at any moment.

"17. Every attempt, direct or indirect, to consider the question of the Constituent Assembly from a formal, legal point of view, within the limits of ordinary bourgeois democracy and disregarding the class struggle and civil war, would be a betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, and the adoption of the bourgeois standpoint. It is the bounden duty of the revolutionary Social-Democrats to warn all and sundry against this error, into which a few Bolshevik leaders, who have been unable to appreciate the significance of the October uprising and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have strayed. (V.I. Lenin, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, pp. 127-128).



Late in the night of November 7, 1917, the worker, peasant and soldier insurgents, under the personal leadership of Lenin, took the Winter Palace by storm, and overthrew the reactionary bourgeois Provisional Government. The Great October Socialist Revolution was won!

Concerning (b) the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stated:

"Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie. In reality, this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general - V.I.L.) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie - V.I.L.).

"To proceed. The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society', from Communism. The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 41).

"...During every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first - V.I.L.) cannot but 'reveal themselves' during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration cannot 'reveal themselves' otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and requires an iron hand.

"There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which alone is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined - V.I.L.) to win over to its side the majority of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly - V.I.L.) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

"It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical-economic and political-lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin, THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, (March-April, 1918), cited in LENIN ON PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 76-78).

"Our task is - to defeat all the resistance of the capitalists, not only military and political but also ideological, which is the deepest and the most powerful." (V.I. Lenin, SPEECH AT THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENTS" (November 3, 1920) cited in LENIN ON PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, p. 79).

"Until the 'higher' phase of Communism arrives, the Socialists demand the strictest control by society and by the state of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption; but this control must start with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the establishment of workers' control over the capitalists, and must be exercised not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of armed workers." (V.I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 116).

"There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the birth of the new society out of the old, the forms of transition from the latter to the former as a natural-historical process. He examined the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement and tried to draw practical lessons from it. He 'learned' from the Commune, just as all the great revolutionary thinkers were not afraid to learn from the experience of the great movements of the oppressed classes, and never addressed them with pedantic 'homilies'....

"There can be no thought of abolishing the bureaucracy at once, everywhere and completely. That is utopia. But to smash the old bureaucratic machine at once and to begin immediately to construct a new one that will permit to abolish gradually all bureaucracy - this is not utopia, this is the experience of the Commune, this is the direct and immediate task of the revolutionary proletariat." V.I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 57).

"Marx teaches us to avoid both errors (i.e., opportunism and anarchism - A.M.H.); he teaches us to act with supreme boldness in destroying the entire old state machine, and at the same time he teaches us to put the question concretely: the Commune was able in the space of a few weeks to start building a new, proletarian state machine by introducing such-and-such measures to secure wider democracy and to uproot bureaucracy. Let us learn revolutionary boldness from the Communards; let us see in their practical measures the outline of urgently practical and immediately possible measures, and then, pursuing this road, we shall achieve the complete destruction of bureaucracy.

"The possibility of this destruction is guaranteed by the fact that Socialism will shorten the working day, will raise the masses to a new life, will create such conditions for the majority of the population as will enable everybody, without exception, to perform 'state functions', and this will lead to the complete withering away of every form of state in general." (V.I. Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION, pp. 140-141).

"...Soviet power, dictatorship of the proletariat, is the only form of government anywhere in the world that can have the support of the working people led by the proletariat.

"This dictatorship presupposes ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters, the capitalists, landlords and their underlings. Whoever does not understand this is not a revolutionary, and must be removed from the post of leader or adviser of the proletariat.

"But the essence of proletarian dictatorship does not lie in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its quintessence is the organization and discipline of the advanced detachment of the working people, of their vanguard, their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build Socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, remove the basis for any kind of exploitation of man by man. This object cannot be achieved at one stroke. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to Socialism, because the reorganization of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois property relations can be overcome only by a long and stubborn struggle. That is why Marx spoke of an entire period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism." (V.I. Lenin, "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers" (May 27, 1919), cited in LENIN ON PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, p. 81-83).

Concerning (c) the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin stated:

"Bolshevism has popularized throughout the world the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', has translated these words from the Latin, first into Russian, and then into all the languages of the world, and has shown by the example of the Soviet power that the workers and poor peasants, even of a backward country, even with the least experience, education and habits of organization, have been able for a whole year, amidst gigantic difficulties and amidst a struggle against the exploiters (who were supported by the bourgeoisie of the whole world - V.I.L.) to maintain the power of the toilers, to create a democracy that is immeasurably higher and broader than all previous democracies in the world, and to start the creative work of tens of millions of workers and peasants for the practical achievement of Socialism.

"Bolshevism has actually helped to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more powerfully than any party in any other country has so far succeeded in doing....the masses of the proletarians of all countries are realizing more and more clearly every day that Bolshevism has indicated the right road of escape from the horrors of war and imperialism, that Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all.

"Not only the general European, but the world proletarian revolution is maturing before the eyes of all, and it has been assisted, accelerated and supported by the victory of the proletariat in Russia. All this is not enough for the complete victory of Socialism, you say? Of course, it is not enough. One country alone cannot do more. But this one country, thanks to the Soviet power, has done so much that even if the Soviet power in Russia were to be crushed by world imperialism tomorrow, as a result, let us say, of an agreement between German and Anglo-French imperialism - even granted that very worst possibility - it would still be found that Bolshevik tactics have brought enormous benefit to Socialism and have assisted the growth of the invincible world revolution." (V.I. Lenin, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, p. 88-89).

"The victorious Bolshevik revolution meant the end of vacillation, it meant the complete destruction of the monarchy and of landlordism (which had not been destroyed before the October Revolution - V.I.L.). We carried the bourgeois revolution to its conclusion. The peasantry supported us as a whole. Its antagonism to the socialist proletariat could not reveal itself all at once. The Soviets united the peasantry in general. The class divisions among the peasantry had not yet matured, had not yet come into the open.

"That process took place in the summer and autumn of 1918. The Czechoslovak counter-revolutionary mutiny roused the kulaks. A wave of kulak revolts swept over Russia. The poor peasantry learned, not from books or newspapers, but from life itself that its interests were irreconcilably antagonistic to those of the kulaks, the rich, the rural bourgeoisie....

"The whole point is that a bourgeois state which is exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through a democratic republic cannot confess to the people that it is serving the bourgeoisie; it cannot tell the truth, and is compelled to play the hypocrite.

"But a state of the Paris Commune type, a Soviet state, openly and frankly tells the people the truth and declares that it is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry; and by this truth it wins scores and scores of millions of new citizens who are kept down under any democratic republic, but who are drawn by the Soviets into political life, into democracy, into the administration of the state. The Soviet Republic sends into the rural districts detachments of armed workers, primarily the more advanced, from the capitals. These workers carry Socialism into the countryside, win over the poor, organize and enlighten them, and help them to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

"All who are familiar with the situation and have been in the rural districts, declare that it is only now, in the summer and autumn of 1918, that the rural districts themselves are passing through the 'October' (i.e., proletarian - V.I.L.) revolution. A turn is coming. The wave of kulak revolts is giving way to a rise of the poor, to the growth of the 'Committees of Poor Peasants'. In the army, the number of workers who have become commissars, officers and commanders of divisions and armies is increasing...

"A year after the proletarian revolution in the capitals, and under its influence and with its assistance, the proletarian revolution began in the remote rural districts, and this has finally consolidated the power of the Soviets and Bolshevism, and has finally proved that there is no force within the country that can withstand it.

"Having completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution in conjunction with the peasantry as a whole, the Russian proletariat passed on definitely to the socialist revolution when it succeeded in splitting the rural population, in winning over the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians, and in uniting them against the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, including the peasant bourgeoisie.

"Now, if the Bolshevik proletariat in the capitals and large industrial centers had not been able to rally the village poor around itself against the rich peasants, this would indeed have proved that Russia was 'unripe' for the socialist revolution. The peasantry would then have remained an 'integrated whole,' i.e., it would have remained under the



Lenin in 1918 in Red Square, Moscow, addressing the Red Army fighters who were leaving for the front. After the victory of the October Revolution, the imperialists of the United States, Britain, France, Japan and other countries, bent on nipping the new-born socialist republic in the bud, launched armed intervention against it. At the same time the landlords and the bourgeoisie, who had been overthrown, and their agents, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, plotted to subvert the Soviet state from within. Working together, the enemies unleashed frantic attacks on the Soviet power. The Soviet people under Lenin's leadership waged a valiant struggle, ultimately quelling the White Guard rebellion and driving the imperialist interventionists out of the Soviet land.

economic, political, and moral leadership of the kulaks, of the rich, of the bourgeoisie, and the revolution would not have passed beyond the limits of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. (But, let it be said in parenthesis, even this would not have proved that the proletariat should not have taken power, for it is the proletariat alone that has really carried the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its conclusion, it is the proletariat alone that has done something really important to bring nearer the world revolution, and the proletariat alone that has created the Soviet state, which, after the Paris Commune, is the second step towards the socialist state - V.I.L.).

"On the other hand, if the Bolshevik proletariat had tried at once, in October-November 1917, without waiting for the class differentiation in the rural districts, without being able to prepare for it and bring it about, to 'decree' a civil war or the 'introduction of Socialism' in the rural districts, had tried to do without a temporary bloc with the peasants in general, without making a number of concessions to the middle peasants, etc., that would have been a Blanquist distortion of Marxism, an attempt of the minority to impose its will upon the majority; it would have been a theoretical absurdity, revealing a failure to understand that a general peasant revolution is still a bourgeois revolution, and that without a series of transitions, of transitional stages, it cannot be transformed into a socialist revolution in a backward country." (V.I. Lenin, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, p. 99-104).

"(Point 7 of "Theses on the Constituent Assembly") The October Revolution, which conquered power for the Soviets, and which wrested the political rule from the bourgeoisie and transferred it to the proletariat and poorest peasantry, is passing under our eyes through successive stages of development.

"8. It began with the victory of October 24-25 in the capital, when the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the vanguard of the proletarians and of the most politically active section of the peasantry, gave a majority to the Bolshevik Party and put it in power.

"9. Then, in the course of November and December, the revolution spread to the entire army and peasantry, being expressed first of all in the deposition of the old leading bodies (army committees, gubernia peasant committees, the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, etc. - V.I.L.) - which expressed the superseded, compromising phase of the revolution, its bourgeois and not proletarian, phase, and which were therefore inevitably bound to disappear under the pressure of the deeper and broader masses of the people - and in the election of new leading bodies in their place." (V.I. Lenin, "Theses on the Constituent Assembly," in PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, p. 125).

Concerning (d) the existence of classes through the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stated:

"Kautsky, with the learned air of a most learned armchair fool, or with the innocent air of a ten-year-old schoolgirl, asks: why do we need a dictatorship when we have a majority? And Marx and Engels explain:

- In order to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie;
- In order to inspire the reactionaries with fear;
- in order to maintain the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie;
- in order that the proletariat may forcibly hold down its adversaries."

"...Infatuated with the 'purity' of democracy, Kautsky inadvertently commits the same little error that all bourgeois democrats always commit, namely, he takes formal equality (which is nothing but a fraud and hypocrisy under capitalism - V.I.L.) for actual equality! Quite a trifle!

"The exploiter and the exploited cannot be equal.

"This truth, however unpleasant it may be to Kautsky, nevertheless forms the essential content of Socialism.

"Another truth: there can be no real, actual equality until all possibility of the exploitation of one class by another has been totally destroyed.

"The exploiters can be defeated at one stroke in the event of a successful uprising at the center, or of a revolt in the army. But except in very rare and special cases, the exploiters cannot be destroyed at one stroke. It is impossible to expropriate all the landlords and capitalists of a country of any size at one stroke. Furthermore, expropriation alone, as a legal or political act, does not settle the matter by a long way, because it is necessary to depose the landlords and capitalists in actual fact, to replace their management of the factories and estates by a different management, workers' management, in actual fact. There can be no equality between the exploiters -- who for many generations have stood out because of their education, conditions of wealthy life, and habits -- and the exploited, the majority of whom even in the most advanced and most democratic bourgeois republics are downtrodden, backward, ignorant, intimidated and disunited. For a long time after the revolution the exploiters inevitably continue to enjoy a number of great practical advantages: they still have money (since it is impossible to abolish money all at once - V.I.L.): some movable property - often fairly considerable; they still have various connections, habits of organization and management, knowledge of all the 'secrets' (customs, methods, means and possibilities, - V.I.L.) of management, superior education, close connections with the higher technical personnel (who live and think like the bourgeoisie - V.I.L.) incomparably greater experience in the art of war (this is very important - V.I.L.) and so on, and so forth.

"If the exploiters are defeated in one country only - and this, of course, is typical, since a simultaneous revolution in a number of countries is a rare exception, they still remain stronger than the exploited, for the international connections of the exploiters are numerous. That a section of the exploited from the least advanced section of the middle peasant, artisan and similar masses, may, and indeed do, follow the exploiters has been proved hitherto by all revolutions, including the Commune (for there were also proletarians among the Versailles troops, which the most learned Kautsky has forgotten - V.I.L.).

"In these circumstances, to assume that in a revolution which is at all profound and serious the issue is decided simply by the relation between the majority and the minority is the acme of stupidity, the silliest prejudice of a common or garden liberal, an attempt to deceive the masses by concealing from them a well-established historical truth. This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, a prolonged, stubborn and desperate resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years retain important practical advantages over the exploited, is the rule. Never - except in the sentimental fantasies of the sentimental fool Kautsky - will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without trying to make use of their advantages in a last desperate battle, or series of battles.

"The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters - who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it - throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle or the recovery of the 'paradise', of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' labor... - V.I.L.). In the train of the capitalist exploiters follow the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, grow nervous, run about aimlessly, snivel, and rush from one camp into the other - just like our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

"And in these circumstances, in an epoch of desperate acute war, when history has placed on the order of the day the question whether age-old and thousand-year-old privileges are to be or not to be - at such a time to talk about majority and minority, about pure democracy, about dictatorship being unnecessary and about equality between the exploiter and the exploited!! What infinite stupidity and bottomless philistinism are needed for this!" (V.I. Lenin, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY, pp. 32-36).

"...after capturing state power the proletariat does not thereby cease its class struggle, but continues it in a different form, and by other means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat conducted with the aid of an instrument like state power." (V.I. Lenin, THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, cited in LENIN'S FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 183-184).

Lenin warned that the danger of capitalist restoration lies not only in imperialist armed intervention and armed rebellion by domestic counter-revolutionaries, but also by the fact that they would make Soviet power undergo "peaceful disintegration". At the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Lenin said, "They want to turn peaceful economic development into the peaceful disintegration of Soviet Power." At the Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B.), Lenin again pointed out that the enemy slandered the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Government as "internal degeneration". He said, "It really is the class truth, bluntly and frankly uttered by the class enemy." Lenin advised all concerned to be on the alert because the things the enemy talked about were possible. He repeatedly pointed out that after the economic expropriation of the exploiting classes there was the possibility of new exploiters emerging:

"Yes, by the fact that we have overthrown the landlords and the bourgeoisie, we have cleared the road for, but not built, the edifice of socialism. And on the soil cleansed of one generation there constantly appear in history new generations, if only the soil produces them, and it does produce any number of bourgeois. And as for those who regard the victory over the capitalists as the petty proprietors regard it - 'they have snatched something; come on, give me some, too, and I'll make use of it' - isn't each one of these a source of a new generation of bourgeois." (V.I. Lenin, REPORT ON THE CURRENT TASKS OF THE SOVIET POWER, cited in LENIN'S FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM, p. 186).

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country - V.I.L.), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the

proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will". (V.I. Lenin, "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM AN INFANTILE DISORDER, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 5-6).

"We in Russia (in the third year since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie - V.I.L.) are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, or the lower stage of Communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. Perhaps in England, where there is no peasantry (but where there are small owners! - V.I.L.), this period may be shorter. The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists - that we accomplished with comparative ease - it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must - V.I.L.) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organizational role of the proletariat (and that is its principle role - V.I.L.) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative - against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to 'vanquish' the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship - V.I.L.), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin, "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER, pp. 32-33)

"After the first socialist revolution of the proletariat, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in one country, the proletariat of that country for a long time remains weaker than the bourgeoisie, simply because of the latter's extensive international connections, and also because of the spontaneous and continuous restoration and regeneration of capitalism and the bourgeoisie by the small commodity producers of the country which has overthrown the bourgeoisie. The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and without fail, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully using every, even the smallest 'rift' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern Socialism in general. Those who have not proved by deeds over a fairly considerable period of time, and in fairly varied political situations, their ability to apply this truth in practice have not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle to emancipate all toiling humanity from the exploiters. And this applies equally to the period before and after the proletariat has conquered political power." (V.I. Lenin, "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER, pp. 67-68.)

"But then capitalism, and the bourgeois environment it creates (which disappears very slowly even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie - V.I.L.), give rise to what is also essentially bourgeois careerism, national chauvinism, petty-bourgeois vulgarity, etc., only varying insignificantly in form - in positively every sphere of activity and life....

"Under Soviet rule, your proletarian party and ours will be invaded by still a larger number of bourgeois intellectuals. They will worm their way into the Soviets, the courts, and the administration, for Communism cannot be built otherwise than with the aid of the human material created by capitalism, and the bourgeois intellectuals cannot be expelled and destroyed, but must be vanquished, remolded, assimilated and re-educated, just as we must - in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat - re-educate the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences. Under Soviet rule these same problems, ... these very same problems are arising anew within the Soviets, within the Soviet administration, among the Soviet 'attorneys' (in Russia we have abolished, and have rightly abolished, the bourgeois legal bar, but it is reviving again under the guise of the 'Soviet' 'attorneys' - V.I.L.). Among the Soviet engineers, the Soviet schoolteachers and the privileged, i.e., the most highly skilled and best situated, workers in the Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely all the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarism, and we are conquering this evil - gradually - only by tireless, constant, prolonged and persistent struggle, proletarian organization and discipline.

"Of course, under the rule of the bourgeoisie it is very 'difficult' to eradicate bourgeois habits from our own, i.e., the workers' party; it is 'difficult' to expel from the Party the habitual parliamentary leader who has been hopelessly corrupted by bourgeois prejudices; it is 'difficult' to subject to proletarian discipline the absolutely essential (even if very limited - V.I.L.) number of people coming from the ranks of the bourgeoisie; it is 'difficult' to form in a bourgeois parliament a communist group fully worthy of the working class; it is 'difficult' to ensure that the communist parliamentarians do not play the bourgeois parliamentary game of skittles, but concern themselves with the very urgent work of propaganda, agitation and organization among the masses. All this is 'difficult', to be sure; it was difficult in Russia, and it is incomparably more difficult in Western Europe and America, where the bourgeoisie is far stronger, where bourgeois-democratic traditions are stronger, and so on.

"Yet all these 'difficulties' are mere child's play compared with precisely the same sort of problems which in any event the proletariat will inevitably have to solve in order to achieve victory, both during the proletarian revolution and after the seizure of power by the proletariat. Compared with these truly gigantic problems of re-educating, under the proletarian dictatorship, millions of peasants and small masters, hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals, of subordinating them all to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership, of vanquishing their bourgeois habits and traditions - compared with these gigantic problems it is childishly easy to establish, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, in a bourgeois parliament, a really communist group of a real proletarian party....

"As long as the bourgeoisie has not been overthrown, and after that as long as small-scale economy and small commodity production have not entirely disappeared, the bourgeois atmosphere, proprietary habits and petty-bourgeois traditions will hamper proletarian work both outside and inside the working class movement, not only in one field of activity, parliamentary, but inevitably in every field of social activity, in all cultural and political spheres without exception. And the attempt to brush aside, to fence oneself off from one of the 'unpleasant' problems or difficulties in one sphere of activity is a profound mistake, which will later most certainly have to be paid for. We must study and learn how to master every sphere of work and activity without exception, to overcome all difficulties and all bourgeois habits, customs and traditions everywhere. Any other way of presenting the question is just trifling, just childishness." (V.I. Lenin, "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER, pp. 122-125.)

Concerning (e) the transition from Socialism to Communism, Lenin stated:

"...While smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois, confused phrases about 'equality' and 'justice' in general, Marx shows the course of development of communist society, which is compelled to abolish at first only the 'injustice' of the means of production having been seized by individuals, and which is unable at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption 'according to the amount of labor performed' (and not according to needs - V.I.L.)...

"Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called 'Socialism' - V.I.L.) does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of 'bourgeois right' which continues to prevail as long as products are divided 'according to the amount of labor performed'. Continuing, Marx says:

'But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby'.

"And so, in the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism - V.I.L.) 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production. 'Bourgeois right' recognizes them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. To that extent - and to that extent alone - 'bourgeois right' disappears.

"However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor - V.I.L.) in the distribution of products and allotment of labor among the members of society. The socialist principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat' is already realized; the other socialist principle: 'An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor,' is also already realized. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right', which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal - V.I.L.) amounts of labor, equal amounts of products....

"The state withers away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and, consequently, no class can be suppressed.

"But the state has not yet completely withered away, since there still remains the safeguard of 'bourgeois right', which sanctifies actual inequality. For the state to wither away completely complete Communism is necessary.

"Marx continues:

'In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but

life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly - only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!'

"Only now can we appreciate to the full the correctness of Engels' remarks in which he mercilessly ridiculed the absurdity of combining the words 'freedom' and 'state'. So long as the state exists there is no freedom. When there will be freedom, there will be no state.

"The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high state of development of Communism that the antithesis between mental and physical labor disappears, when there, consequently, disappears one of the principal sources of modern social inequality - a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

"This expropriation will create the possibility of an enormous development of the productive forces. And when we see how incredibly capitalism is already retarding this development, when we see how much progress could be achieved on the basis of the level of technique now already attained, we are entitled to say with the fullest confidence that the expropriation of the capitalists will inevitably result in an enormous development of the productive forces of human society. But how rapidly this development will proceed, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labor, of doing away with the antithesis between mental and physical labor, of transforming labor into 'the prime necessity of life' - we do not and cannot know.

"That is why we are entitled to speak only of the inevitable withering away of the state, emphasizing the protracted nature of this process and its dependence upon the rapidity of development of the higher phase of Communism, and leaving the question of the time required for, or the concrete forms of the withering away quite open, because there is no material for answering these questions." (V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, pp. 111-115).

"But the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. What is usually called Socialism was termed by Marx the 'first' or lower phase of communist society. In so far as the means of production become common property, the word 'Communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is not complete Communism. The great significance of Marx's explanations is that here, too, he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of development and regards Communism as something which develops out of capitalism. Instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes about words (what is Socialism? what is Communism? - V.I.L.), Marx gives an analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic ripeness of Communism.

"It follows that under Communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state - without the bourgeoisie!



On July 19, 1917, the bourgeois Provisional Government ordered the arrest of Lenin. The Party decided that Lenin should stay near Lake Razliv for safety. Here, near Petrograd, Lenin hid in a hut, where he continued leading the preparatory work of armed uprising and completed his brilliant work THE STATE AND REVOLUTION. In this famous work, Lenin sternly criticizes the revisionist Kautsky and his ilk in the Second International who spared no efforts to advertise the absurd "theory" of the parliamentary road as against violent revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin explicitly pointed out: "The suppression of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

"This may sound like a paradox or simply a dialectical conundrum, of which Marxism is often accused by people who do not take the slightest trouble to study its extraordinary profound content.

"But as a matter of fact, remnants of the old surviving in the new confront us in life at every step, both in nature and in society. And Marx did not arbitrarily insert a scrap of 'bourgeois' right into Communism, but indicated what is economically and politically inevitable in a society emerging out of the womb of capitalism.

"Democracy is of enormous importance to the working class in its struggle against the capitalists for its emancipation. But democracy is by no means a boundary not to be overstepped; it is only one of the stages on the road from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to Communism.

"Democracy means equality. The great significance of the proletariat's struggle for equality and of equality as a slogan will be clear if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes. But democracy means only formal equality. And as soon as equality is achieved for all members of society in relation to ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labor and equality of wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of advancing farther, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this supreme aim - we do not and cannot know. But it is important to realize how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of Socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality only under socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of public and personal life.

"Democracy is a form of the state, one of its varieties. Consequently, it, like every other state, represents on the one hand the organized, systematic use of violence against persons; but on the other hand it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens, the equal right of all to determine the structure of, and to administer, the state. This, in turn, results in the fact that, at a certain stage in the development of democracy, it first welds together the class that wages a revolutionary struggle against capitalism - the proletariat, and enables it to crush, smash to atoms, wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois, even the republican bourgeois, state machine, the standing army, the police and the bureaucracy, and to substitute for them a more democratic state machine, but a state machine nevertheless, in the shape of the armed mass of workers who develop into a militia in which the entire population takes part....

"Accounting and control - that is the main thing required for 'arranging' the smooth working, the correct functioning of the first phase of communist society. All citizens are transformed here into hired employees of the state, which consists of the armed workers. All citizens become employees and workers of a single nationwide state 'syndicate.' All that is required is that they should work equally, do their proper share of work, and get equally paid. The accounting and control necessary for this have been simplified by capitalism to the extreme and reduced to the extraordinary simple operations - which any literate person can perform - of supervising and recording, knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic, and issuing appropriate receipts....

"From the moment all members of society, or even only the vast majority, have learned to administer the state themselves, have taken this work into their own hands, have 'set going' control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry who wish to preserve their capitalist habits and over the workers who have been profoundly corrupted by capitalism - from this moment the need for government of any kind begins to disappear altogether. The more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment approaches when it becomes unnecessary. The more democratic the 'state' which consists of the armed workers, and which is 'no longer a state in the proper sense of the word,' the more rapidly does every form of state begin to wither away.

"For when all have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers and suchlike 'guardians of capitalist traditions,' the escape from this popular accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by swift and severe punishment (for the armed workers are practical men and not sentimental intellectuals and they will scarcely allow anyone to trifle with them - V.I.L.), that the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of human intercourse will very soon become a habit.

"And then the door will be wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state. (V.I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, pp. 117-122.)

Lenin's contribution is the concretization of the question of utilizing the dictatorship of the proletariat to destroy the resistance of the bourgeoisie, plus the theoretical recognition of the existence of classes throughout the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which encompasses an entire historical era. Furthermore, Lenin realized that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously - meaning concretely until small owners have been eliminated as classes and replaced by agricultural proletarians and industrial proletarians in all sectors of the economy). Lenin also recognized that the defeated bourgeoisie seeks a come-back by utilizing the backwardness and the prejudices of the non-proletarian masses and even some backward proletarian masses who have yet to shed the force of habit and tradition that they long ago assimilated from the bourgeoisie.

C. Joseph V. Stalin

Concerning the meaning of Lenin's contributions to Marxist theory, J. V. Stalin pointed out how such contributions were made based on Lenin's summing up of the practical experience of the proletariat, which was gained during the almost three decades following the deaths of Marx and Engels. Stalin referred to Leninism as "Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution".

On the development and the full significance of Leninism, Stalin indicated:

"...The whole truth about Leninism is that Leninism not only restored Marxism, but also took a step forward, developing Marxism further under the new conditions of capitalism, and of the class struggle of the proletariat...."

"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period (we have the proletarian revolution in mind - J.V.S.), when developed imperialism did not yet exist, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet an immediate practical inevitability. But Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed



Lenin and Stalin at the Smolny Palace. Shots from the guns of the cruiser Aurora on the Winter Palace, which housed the reactionary Provisional Government, proclaimed the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The victory of the October Revolution breached the dark rule of capitalism, established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and opened a new era of the world proletarian revolution. The salvos of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, and the world took on an entirely new look.

imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already triumphed in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets.

"That is why Leninism is the further development of Marxism.

"It is usual to point to the exceptionally militant and exceptionally revolutionary character of Leninism. This is quite correct. But this specific feature of Leninism is due to two causes: firstly, to the fact that Leninism emerged from the proletarian revolution, the imprint of which it cannot but bear; secondly, to the fact that it grew and became strong in clashes with the opportunism of the Second International, the fight against which was and remains an essential preliminary condition for a successful fight against capitalism. It must not be forgotten that between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Lenin, on the other, there lies a whole period of undivided domination of the opportunism of the Second International, and the ruthless struggle against this opportunism could not but constitute one of the most important tasks of Leninism.

"Leninism grew up and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had reached an extreme point, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution had arrived at and passed into a new period, that of direct assault on capitalism." (J.V. Stalin, THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 2-4).

"What is contained in Lenin's method was in the main already contained in the teachings of Marx, which, according to Marx himself, were 'in essence critical and revolutionary.' It is precisely this critical and revolutionary spirit that pervades Lenin's method from beginning to end. But it would be wrong to suppose that Lenin's method is merely the restoration of the method of Marx. As a matter of fact, Lenin's method is not only the restoration, but also the concretization and further development of the critical and revolutionary method of Marx, of his material dialectics." (J.V. Stalin, FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, p. 20.)

"We cannot regard it as accidental that as early as 1902, when the Russian revolution was still in an embryonic state, Lenin wrote the prophetic words in his pamphlet WHAT IS TO BE DONE?:"

'History has now confronted us (i.e., the Russian Marxists - J.V.S.) with an immediate task which is most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also (it may now be said - V.I.L.) of Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat.'

"In other words the center of the revolutionary movement was bound to shift to Russia.

"As we know, the course of the revolution in Russia has more than vindicated Lenin's prediction.

"Is it surprising, after all this, that a country which has accomplished such a revolution and possesses such a proletariat should have been the birthplace of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution?"

"Is it surprising that Lenin, the leader of Russia's proletariat, became also the creator of this theory and tactics and the leader of the international proletariat?" (J.V. Stalin, THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, pp. 10-11.)

"Lenin was, and remains, the most loyal consistent pupil of Marx and Engels, and he wholly and completely based himself on the principles of Marxism.

"But Lenin did not merely carry out the teaching of Marx and Engels. He was at the same time the continuer of that teaching.

"What does that mean?"

"It means that he developed further the teaching of Marx and Engels in conformity with the new conditions of development, with the new phase of capitalism, with imperialism. It means that in developing further the teachings of Marx in the new conditions of the class struggle, Lenin contributed something new to the general treasury of Marxism as compared with what was created in the pre-imperialist period of capitalism; at the same time Lenin's new contribution to the treasury of Marxism is wholly and completely based on the principles laid down by Marx and Engels.

"It is in this sense that we speak of Leninism as Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions." (J.V. Stalin, INTERVIEW WITH THE FIRST AMERICAN LABOR DELEGATION, quoted in LENIN'S FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM, pp. 253-254).

Stalin's contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was his fighting opposition to the revisionist theories of Trotsky, Bukharin, and Zinoviev.

Trotsky opposed building socialism in one country, claiming that it was impossible for a national state to break free from 'material dependence on the world economy' and impossible to carry out socialist construction through self-reliance. Trotsky opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and slandered it as an "unheard of tool for force and for strangling the independence of the people."

Bukharin put forward the theory of "the dying out of the class struggle", alleging that the greater the victories won for socialism, the less sharp the class struggle would become, with the class enemy withdrawing from its positions without putting up resistance. Stalin

pointed out that the danger of such a position lies in the fact that "it lulls the working class to sleep, undermines the mobilized preparedness of the revolutionary forces of our country, demobilizes the working class and facilitates the attack of the capitalist elements against the Soviet regime." (J.V. Stalin, THE RIGHT DEVIATION IN THE C.P.S.U. (B.), WORKS, Vol. 12, p. 84).

Zinoviev and Kamenev followed Trotsky's lead and clamored that the Soviet Union was technically and economically backward and unable to build socialism; and they formed an anti-Party alliance with Trotsky in 1926. Stalin pointed out that "lack of confidence in the socialist potentialities of our work of construction leads to liquidation and to degeneration." (J.V. Stalin, QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, WORKS, Vol. 7, p. 169).

Generally speaking, Stalin led the C.P.S.U. in the struggle against revisionism and in the building of socialism against all enemies - internal and external.

Theoretically, Stalin made some mistakes when following the realization of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union, he claimed in 1936 that "...all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated," and that "the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, eliminated..." (J.V. Stalin, PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, p. 683).

Before his death, Stalin rectified this theoretical mistake and indicated in ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R. (1953) that under socialism contradictions still exist between the forces of production and the relations of production. He stated:

"Comrade Yaroshenko is mistaken when he asserts that there is no contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces of society under socialism. Of course, our present relations of production are in a period when they fully conform to the growth of the productive forces and help to advance them in seven-league strides. But it would be wrong to rest easy at that and to think that there are no contradictions between our productive forces and the relations of production. There certainly are, and will be, contradictions, seeing that the development of the relations of production lags, and will lag, behind the development of the productive forces. Given a correct policy on the part of the directing bodies, these contradictions cannot grow into antagonisms, and there is no chance of matters coming to a conflict between the relations of production and productive forces of society. It would be a different matter if we were to conduct a wrong policy, such as that which Comrade Yaroshenko recommends. In that case conflict would be inevitable, and our relations of production might become a serious brake on the further development of the productive forces." (J.V. STALIN, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1952, p. 75.)

The root of the errors made in those 1936 statements by Stalin lies in his mistaken emphasis upon the external threat to socialism as greater than the internal threat, based on a belief at the time that the socialist gains were internally irreversible and were threatened only by outside intervention and by internal sabotage by imperialist agents.

In THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM (1924), Stalin viewed the question mechanically. While viewing the world as two warring camps, the imperialist forces and the proletarian forces, where the only final safeguard for the Soviet Union can be the proletarian rule of the entire world, he mistakenly saw the only real danger to the existence of the Soviet state as coming from military intervention of the imperialists.

In the following paragraphs from THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Stalin revealed this approach:

"But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been ensured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism, i.e., does it mean that with the forces of only one country it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention and, consequently, also against restoration? No it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore, the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore, the revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

"Lenin expressed this thought succinctly when he said that the task of the victorious revolution is to do 'the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries'" (p. 39)

"...The question of the proletarians dictatorship is above all a question of the main content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important mainstay, brought into being for the purpose of firstly, crushing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and consolidating the achievements of the proletarian revolution, and, secondly, carrying the proletarian revolution, to its completion, carrying the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. The revolution can defeat the bourgeoisie, can overthrow its power, even without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution will be unable to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, to maintain its victory and to push forward to the final victory of socialism unless, at a certain stage in its development, it creates a special organ in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as its principle mainstay.

"The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power' (Lenin). Does this mean that all that is required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For many reasons, the bourgeoisie that is overthrown in one country remains for a long time stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the whole point is to retain power, to consolidate it, to make it invincible." (pp. 40-41)

"The bourgeoisie has its grounds for making attempts at restoration, because for a long time after its overthrow it remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it." (p. 42).

"It scarcely needs proof that there is not the slightest possibility of carrying out these tasks in a short period, of accomplishing all this in a few years. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition from capitalism to communism, must not be regarded as a fleeting period of 'super-revolutionary' acts and decrees, but as an entire historical era, replete with civil wars and external conflicts, with persistent organizational work and economic construction, with advances and retreats, victories and defeats. This historical era is needed not only to create the economic and cultural pre-requisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also to enable the proletariat, firstly, to educate itself and become steeled as a force capable of governing the country, and, secondly, to re-educate and remould the petty-bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organization of socialist production." (p. 43-44).

Stalin viewed the possibility of capitalist restoration by domestic action as probable only as long as small peasant economy existed in the Soviet Union. Hence, when agriculture was collectivized, Stalin considered the danger of a capitalist restoration by domestic elements as removed. His 1936 statements reflected this approach.

Two statements made by Stalin in 1928 reveal this line of reasoning:

"Today the Soviet system rests upon two heterogeneous foundations: upon united socialized industry and upon individual small-peasant economy based on private ownership of the means of production. Can the Soviet system persist for long on these heterogeneous foundations. No, it cannot.

"Lenin says that so long as individual peasant economy, which engenders capitalists and capitalism, predominates in the country, the danger of a restoration of capitalism will exist. Clearly, so long as this danger exists there can be no serious talk of the victory of socialist construction in our country.

"Hence, for the consolidation of the Soviet system and for the victory of socialist construction in our country, the socialization of industry alone is quite insufficient. What is required for that is to pass from socialization of industry to the socialization of the whole of agriculture." (J.V. Stalin, GRAIN PROCUREMENTS AND THE PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Jan., 1928), WORKS, Vol. 11, p. 8).

"It would be foolish to believe that international capital will leave us in peace. No, comrades, that is not true. Classes exist, international capital exists, and it cannot look on calmly at the development of the country that is building socialism. Formerly, international capital thought it could overthrow the Soviet regime by means of outright armed intervention. The attempt failed. Now it is trying, and will go on trying, to undermine our economic strength by means of inconspicuous, not always noticeable but quite considerable, economic intervention, organizing sabotage, engineering all sorts of 'crises' in this or that branch of industry, and thereby facilitating the possibility of armed intervention in the future. All this is woven into the web of the class struggle of international capital against the Soviet regime, and there can be no question of anything accidental there." (J.V. Stalin, THE WORK OF THE APRIL JOINT PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION, (April 1928), WORKS, VOL. 11, p. 58).

Thus, imperialist armed intervention and armed sabotage by imperialist agents were listed as the main dangers to the Soviet state. A further danger, nationalism in foreign policy, was viewed merely as weakness in the face of the enemy, and not as manifestation of a revisionist approach leading to capitalist restoration. In this case, Stalin viewed such weakness as encouraging the imperialists to change the nature of the Soviet state and to restore capitalism from without, not from within.

Stalin indicated:

"One thing or the other:

"either we continue to pursue a revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the working class of the U.S.S.R. - in which case international capital will do everything it can to hinder our advance;

"or we renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital - in which case international capital no doubt, will not be adverse to 'assisting' us in converting our socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic." (J.V. Stalin, WORKS, Vol. 11, p. 58-59).

There was no mention made of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Rather, the threat of imperialist intervention is made to appear to be the main obstacle to the Soviet state.

In another writing he dealt with the question of nationalism in foreign policy, but did not point out the fact that the nationalist line leads to the restoration of capitalism. This is undoubtedly because Stalin viewed socialist gains as irreversible at the time, and

because he did not fully consider the possibility of capitalist restoration taking place from the actions of Party officials who take an opportunist and revisionist line of action.

In his statement on the danger of nationalism in Soviet foreign policy, he stated:

"...lack of confidence in the international proletarian revolution; lack of confidence in its victory; a skeptical attitude towards the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries...failures to understand the elementary demand of internationalism, by virtue of which the victory of socialism in one country is not an end in itself, but a means of developing and supporting the revolution in other countries.

"That is the path of nationalism and degeneration, the path of the complete liquidation of the proletariat's international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of that movement, believing that the interests of all other countries should be sacrificed to the interests of our country.

"Support the national liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established 'spheres of influence' in China in conjunction with other 'advanced' powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe.... And so on and so forth.

"Such is the new type of nationalist 'frame of mind' which is trying to liquidate the foreign policy of the October Revolution and is cultivating the elements of degeneration....

"...it is obvious that the first country to be victorious can retain the role of standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of the October Revolution, and that the path of least resistance and of nationalism in foreign policy is the path of the isolation and decay of the first country to be victorious." (J.V. Stalin, QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, WORKS, Vol.7, p. 169-171).

It was in 1952, one year before his death, in his book ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R., that Stalin observed from the actual social practice in the Soviet Union that contradictions do exist in socialist society between the relations of production and the forces of production, and that they might become antagonistic contradictions, i.e., contradictions between antagonistic classes.

Concerning the significance of Stalin's leadership and theoretical work, the Communist Party of China pointed out:

"Stalin's merits and mistakes are matters of historical objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults. He was primarily correct, and his faults were secondary. In summing up Stalin's thinking and his work in their totality, surely every honest Communist with a respect for history will first observe what was primary in Stalin. Therefore, when Stalin's errors are being correctly appraised, criticized and overcome, it is necessary to safeguard what was primary in Stalin's life, to safeguard Marxism-Leninism which he defended and developed.

"It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that the Communists of the Soviet Union and other countries might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors. Both positive and negative historical lessons are beneficial to all Communists, provided they are drawn correctly and conform with and do not distort historical facts." (ON THE QUESTION OF STALIN, (Sept. 1963) reprinted in THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 121).

"The great Soviet Union was the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the beginning, the foremost leader of the Party and the government in this state was Lenin. After Lenin's death, it was Stalin.

"After Lenin's death, Stalin became not only the leader of the Party and government of the Soviet Union but the acknowledged leader of the international communist movement as well.

"It is only forty-six years (the article was written in 1963 - A.M.H.) since the first socialist state was inaugurated by the October Revolution. For nearly thirty of these years Stalin was the foremost leader of this state. Whether in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat or in that of the international communist movement, Stalin's activities occupy an extremely important place.

"The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the question of how to evaluate Stalin and what attitude to take towards him is not just one of appraising Stalin himself; more important, it is a question of how to sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international communist movement since Lenin's death." (THE POLEMIC, p. 118).

"Stalin fought tsarism and propagated Marxism during Lenin's lifetime; after he became a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin he took part in the struggle to pave the way for the 1917 Revolution; after the October Revolution he fought to defend the fruits of the proletarian revolution.

"Stalin led the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people, after Lenin's death, in resolutely fighting both internal and external foes, and in safeguarding and consolidating the first socialist state in the world.

"Stalin led the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people in upholding the line of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and in achieving great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction.

"Stalin led the C.P.S.U., the Soviet people and the Soviet army in an arduous and bitter struggle to the great victory of the anti-fascist war.

"Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents.

"Stalin made an indelible contribution to the international communist movement in a number of theoretical writings which are immortal Marxist-Leninist works.

"Stalin led the Soviet Party and Government in pursuing a foreign policy which on the whole was inkeeping with proletarian internationalism and in greatly assisting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, including the Chinese people.

"Stalin stood in the forefront of the tide of history guiding the struggle, and was an irreconcilable enemy of the imperialists and all reactionaries.

"Stalin's activities were intimately bound up with the struggles of the great C.P.S.U. and inseparable from the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world.

"Stalin's life was that of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary.

"It is true that while he performed meritorious deeds for the Soviet people and the international communist movement, Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary, also made certain mistakes. Some were errors of principle and some were errors made in the course of practical work; some could have been avoided and some were scarcely avoidable at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat had no precedent to go by." (THE POLEMIC, pp. 119-120).

"As the Soviet Union was the first, and at that time the only, country to build socialism and had no foreign experience to go by, and as Stalin departed from Marxist-Leninist dialectics in his understanding of the laws of class struggle in socialist society, he prematurely declared after agriculture was basically collectivized that there were 'no longer antagonistic classes' in the Soviet Union and that it was 'free of class conflicts', one-sidedly stressed the international homogeneity of socialist society and overlooked its contradictions, failed to rely upon the working class and the masses in the struggle against the forces of capitalism and regarded the possibility of the restoration of capitalism as associated only with armed attack by international imperialism. This was wrong both in theory and in practice. Nevertheless, Stalin remained a great Marxist-Leninist. As long as he led the Soviet Party and state, he held fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist course, pursued a Marxist-Leninist line and ensured the Soviet Union's victorious advance along the road of socialism." (ON KHRUSHCHEV'S PHONY COMMUNISM AND ITS HISTORICAL LESSONS FOR THE WORLD, (July 1964) reprinted in THE POLEMIC ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, p. 429).

"To sum up, Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power, the defeated bourgeoisie remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a come-back. At the same time, small production continuously engendered capitalism and the bourgeoisie anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat for a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died in 1924, too early to solve these problems in practice.

"After Lenin died, Stalin took over this great undertaking from him, led the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people in safeguarding and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, brought about socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, and achieved tremendous successes in socialist revolution and construction.

"Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and company....

"Stalin wrote a number of works, including THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF LENINISM, and QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, sharply criticizing Trotsky's opportunist fallacies and defending Leninism. He pointed out that 'lack of confidence in the socialist potentialities of our work of construction leads to liquidationism and to degeneration.' Stalin believed that the victory of socialism was possible in one country since Soviet power was supported by the strong worker-peasant alliance and backed by the international proletariat and the people of the colonies and semi-colonies. He pointed out that the essence of Trotsky's fallacies was to 'clear the way for a bourgeois-democratic republic.' Stalin exposed Trotsky's scheme of 'restoring inner-Party democracy' by showing that it was aimed at undermining the unity of the Party, breaking its backbone and disintegrating it. He pointed out that the Trotskyites were 'in words - industrializers, but in deeds - abettors of the opponents of industrialization.'

"Radek, Bukharin and Rykov openly protected the interests of the kulaks by putting forward 'the theory of the dying out of the class struggle.' They alleged that the greater the victories socialism won, the less sharp the class struggle would become, the class enemy would withdraw from their positions without putting up any resistance, the kulaks would 'peacefully grow into' socialism and so on and so forth, all with the purpose of opposing the collectivization of agriculture....

"Following the realization of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union, or the virtual completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Stalin made a report entitled ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R. at the Eighth Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R. held in November 1936. This report correctly summed up the great achievements of the Soviet Union in her socialist revolution and socialist construction and at the same time showed Stalin's shortcomings in theory in a concentrated way:

"In theory, Stalin failed to admit that classes and class struggles exist in society throughout the historical period under the dictatorship of the proletariat....

"On the level of theory, Stalin did not recognize that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that if all of this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a come-back by the bourgeoisie.

"In ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R., Stalin said:

'Thus the complete victory of the socialist system in all spheres of the national economy is now a fact....

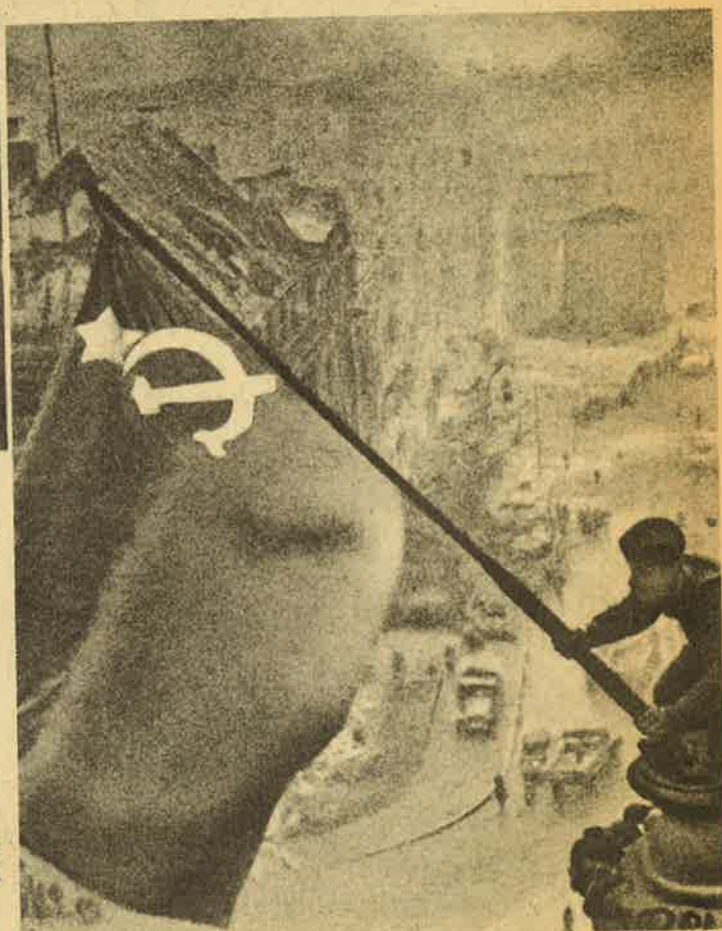
'It means that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, eliminated, while the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production has been established as the unshakable foundation of our Soviet society.'

"However, Stalin was after all a firm proletarian revolutionary. After another long period of struggle he saw the point and, in his later years, stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society, and, if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones." (REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF 'A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT', HONGQI ("RED FLAG"), No. 7, 1967).



Left: On November 7, 1941, Stalin delivered a speech at the military parade held in Red Square in celebration of the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution. With the German fascist brigands at the gates of Moscow, he called on the Soviet army and people to completely annihilate the invaders. After Lenin's death the Soviet people led by Stalin gained great victories in smashing the opportunist line of the counter-revolutionaries Trotsky, Bukharin and company -- representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party, in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction, and in waging the war against fascism.

Right: On May 2, 1945, the valiant Soviet Red Army raised the banner of victory over Berlin after smashing the last desperate struggle of the German fascist bandits. The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "If the October Revolution opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and opened up realistic paths towards it, then the victory of the anti-fascist Second World War has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it."



D. Mao Tsetung

Concerning the basic history of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the contribution of Chairman Mao Tsetung to this body of theory, the Communist Party of China has pointed out:

"The historic document drawn up a year ago under the personal guidance of our great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung - the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party - is a great Marxist-Leninist document. It is now made known to the general public. It put forward the theory, line, principles and policies of the proletarian cultural revolution, thus crushing the scheme of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to undermine this revolution in a futile attempt to restore capitalism. This document sounded the clarion call for the advance in the proletarian cultural revolution....

"This great historic document, drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tsetung, has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and solved the question of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tsetung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

"The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when reduced to a single point, is still the question of political power. This means that the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow this dictatorship. And, among the representatives of the bourgeoisie who vainly attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, those who do the greatest harm are the ones in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into the leading organs of the Party and government and who wave 'red flags' to oppose the red flag....

"Are there still classes and class struggle in a socialist society, particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been accomplished? Do all the class struggles in society still center around the question of the fight over political power? Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, do we still have to make revolution? Against whom should we make revolution? And how should we carry out the revolution? Marx and Engels could not possibly solve this series of major theoretical problems at their time. Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power, the defeated bourgeoisie remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a come-back. At the same time, small production continuously engendered capitalism and the bourgeoisie anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died before he could solve these problems in practice. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and their like. But where he failed was in not recognizing, on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a come-back by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones. Comrade Mao Tsetung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. He has correctly solved this series of problems in a whole number of important writings and instructions, in this great historic document and in the most significant practice of the proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a most important sign indicating that Marxism has developed to an entirely new stage. In the early years of the twentieth century, Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed further into the stage of Mao Tsetung's thought.

"Chairman Mao tells us that the main targets of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradiction between this handful of people on the one hand, and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals on the other, is the principal contradiction and is an antagonistic one. The struggle to resolve this contradiction is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between two classes - the proletariat and the bourgeoisie - and two roads, socialism and capitalism. To expose this handful of people, put before the public and thoroughly criticize and repudiate their revisionist wares, completely refute, discredit and overthrow them and carry out the struggle to seize power from them - this is the main task that the great proletarian cultural revolution has to accomplish. This is the general orientation of the struggle and we must hold firmly to it....

"The exposure in broad daylight of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a most important event affecting the destiny of our socialist state and the future of the world revolution. It is the most important outcome of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary people of China and of the whole world unanimously acclaim this great victory. The intrigues of imperialism and modern revisionism, by which they vainly attempt to create subversion in China, through their agents, have suffered the heaviest failure.

"The fact that the revisionist clique has usurped Party and state leadership and is restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, provides the biggest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. It has happened, too, in a number of other socialist countries. And precisely by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, our great leader Chairman Mao has aroused hundreds of millions of people to undertake the historically unparalleled proletarian cultural revolution, providing the surest guarantee that our Party and country will never change political color. This is Comrade Mao Tsetung's greatest contribution in theory and practice to the proletariat of the whole world....

"The present great proletarian cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. In the last few years Comrade Mao Tsetung has said repeatedly that the issue of who will win in this revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Let no one in the Party or among the people in our country think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance." (A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT, PEKING REVIEW, No. 21, May 19, 1967.)

In the great historic document, the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party of May 16, 1966, the following contributions by Mao Tsetung are featured:

"...the aim of this great struggle...is to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of them in the Central Committee and in the Party, governmental and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels - C.P.C.)....

"We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, and all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked...."

"To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinion freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate...."



Chairman Mao Tsetung and his close comrade-in-arms, Vice-Chairman Lin Biao, shown as Chairman Mao delivers a most important speech at the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao's greatest contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave 'red flags' to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relationship in which one class oppresses another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relationship, such as a so-called relationship of equality or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity....

"Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction....

"As a matter of fact, those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants are big Party tyrants who usurped the name of the Party. They do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on 'acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power'....

"....most Party Committees concerned (with the new and fierce struggle on the ideological front - A.M.H.) give free rein to all the ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-books, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads, and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc., and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval." (CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, May 16, 1966, PEKING REVIEW, No. 21, May 19, 1967; Published as a pamphlet, A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967, p. 5-17.)

The following instructions by Mao Tsetung to the Party serve as the conclusion of the circular:

"...hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art, and publishing, and seize the leadership in their cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army, and all spheres of culture. and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various sphere of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter." (CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY - May 16, 1966.)

This is Mao Tsetung's contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is living proof of the validity of this contribution to the science of Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to further the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China, so as not to duplicate the great tragedy of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of China has indicated:

"After Stalin's death the Khrushchev revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and began to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country. This is the biggest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of world proletariat.

"Our greatest leader, Chairman Mao, has given the closest attention to the entire historical experience of the Soviet Union. He has correctly and in an all-round way



Carrying forward the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat! The Revolutionary Committee of the Shanghai No. 3 Iron and Steel Plant leads revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to wipe out the counter revolutionary revisionist line pushed by certain bourgeois-"experts" and capitalist-roaders.

solved a series of major problems concerning class struggle and revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in many brilliant writings and instructions, in the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party - a historic document - and in the most significant practice of the proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. All this constitutes an epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism." (REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF 'A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT', published in A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT, pp. 80-81).

"The big historical retrogression in the Soviet Union has confronted the international communist movement with an extremely important new question - that is, after seizing power how can the proletariat retain it and prevent the restoration of capitalism, and how can the socialist revolution be carried through to the end in the midst of the acute and complex class struggle? This is a major question which our Marxist-Leninist predecessors did not encounter, or did not live long enough to solve or were unable to solve.

"It is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, our leader of genius Chairman Mao, and the historically unparalleled great proletarian cultural revolution in China led by him that have solved this question theoretically and answered it through the earth-shaking revolutionary practice of millions and millions of people.

"The most fundamental lesson to be drawn from the tragedy that took place in the Soviet Union is that proletarian state power has been usurped by the Khrushchev revisionist clique. After the death of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, Khrushchev, a careerist and long-time schemer who had sneaked into the Party, and his gang found conditions ripe and, staging a palace coup, usurped Party, army, and government leadership in the Soviet Union. Since then, state power in the Soviet Union has changed character, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has effected counter-revolutionary restoration through its agents....

"Exactly because China had learnt this serious historical lesson of the Soviet Union she launched the proletarian cultural revolution.

"This great revolution has profoundly educated and tempered the Chinese people and has also profoundly educated and influenced the revolutionary people all over the world....

"Through this great revolution, all revolutionaries understand more and more clearly that in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat political power remains the most fundamental thing of all. The proletariat wants to consolidate its political power and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. The proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. This is a life-and-death struggle. If we lose our vigilance state power will be usurped by persons of the Khrushchev type and the political power of the proletariat will be lost after it has been seized.

"Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries understand ever more clearly that the danger of capitalist restoration comes mainly from those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction in socialist society. This is the concentrated expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries understand more clearly that the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere is of vital importance and necessity....If the proletariat does not thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural revolution, then the bourgeoisie will attack the proletariat, first of all, from the ideological and cultural positions, the political power of the proletariat may still be seized by the bourgeoisie and everything that has been achieved through struggle by the laboring people may still be lost overnight....

"In a word, through this great revolution, all revolutionaries have acquired a clearer understanding of the laws of the development of socialist society, the laws of the class struggle in socialist society and the laws of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this is the distinguished result brought about by our great leader Chairman Mao who has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by penetratingly summing up the historical experience of the international proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, drawing particularly on the historical lessons of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and analyzing the contradictions in socialist society.

"Marx and Engels analyzed the contradictions in capitalist society, discovered the law of the inevitable extinction of capitalism and founded the theory of scientific socialism.

"Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism. They analyzed the contradictions of imperialism, solved a series of problems concerning the revolution of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism, and resolved the theoretical and practical questions of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country.

"Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism still further, solved a series of problems concerning the proletarian revolution in the present era, and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great leap forward in the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. It indicates that Marxism-Leninism has developed to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tsetung's thought.

"Thus the great proletarian cultural revolution which was launched in China on the basis of the scientific theory discovered by Chairman Mao has not only prevented a repetition of the Soviet Union's tragedy in China and smashed the dream of the imperialists and revisionists to restore capitalism in China, but it has also opened up a new era in the international communist movement, a new epoch of proletarian socialist world revolution....

"In the history of mankind, the replacement of one social system by another must go through twists and turns and reversals. As this was even true of the bourgeois revolution which was the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, it is still more inconceivable that there would be no twists and turns and reversals in the proletarian revolution which aims to eliminate all systems of exploitation. From the historical materialist point of view, the big historical retrogression brought about in the Soviet Union by a bunch of big renegades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, is only an episode in history. It is an immensely bad thing. But Chairman Mao has summed up both the positive and the negative historical experiences and found the way to prevent the restoration of capitalism, and so this immensely bad thing is turned into an immensely good thing.

"We are now in a new era, an era under the great banner of Mao Tsetung's thought. The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world, armed with the great invincible thought of Mao Tsetung, will certainly be able to smash the old world to pieces and drive imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, these monsters and demons, off the stage of history." (CHINA'S GREAT REVOLUTION AND THE SOVIET UNION'S GREAT TRAGEDY, PEKING REVIEW, No.24, June 9, 1967; published as a pamphlet by Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967, pp. 5-14.)

The stage of Mao Tsetung Thought, the present level of Marxism-Leninism, is characterized by the growth and development of revolutionary movements led by Marxist-Leninist parties; and this period will culminate in the worldwide victory of socialism and in the worldwide destruction of imperialism.

Just as historically Stalin came in 1952 to see that the contradictions in the Soviet Union could become antagonistic, it was following the fruition of those antagonistic contradictions during the international struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism that Mao Tsetung has become the acknowledged leader of the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is the event that marks this stage.

But even before the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao Tsetung's brilliant writings - notably the REPORT TO THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (1949), ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE (1957), and the SPEECH AT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROPAGANDA WORK (1957) - deal with the problems of class struggle during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and outline the strategic tasks that the proletarian forces must accomplish for victory.

The following excerpts illustrate this point:

"...In the cities we must learn how to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie and also know how to wage diplomatic struggles against the imperialists. We must learn how to carry on overt struggles against them. If we do not pay attention to these problems, if we do not learn how to wage these struggles against them and win victory in the struggles, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail. After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes." (Mao Tsetung, REPORT TO SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, published in SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 364).

"Very soon we shall be victorious throughout the country. This victory will breach the eastern front of imperialism and will have great international significance. To win this victory will not require much more time and effort, but to consolidate it will. The bourgeoisie doubts our ability to construct. The imperialists reckon that eventually we will beg alms from them in order to live. With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party - arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation. To win countryside victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good. We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new. Not only will the Chinese people live without begging alms from the imperialists, they will live a better life than that in the imperialist countries." (Mao, REPORT TO THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. IV, pp. 373-374.)

Led by the working class and the Communist Party, our six hundred million people, united as one, are engaged in the great task of building socialism. The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities - these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. However, this does not mean that contradictions no longer exist in our society. To imagine that none exist is a naive idea which is at variance with objective reality. We are confronted by two types of social contradictions - those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature.

"To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by 'the people' and what is meant by 'the enemy'. The concept of 'the people' varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in the same country....At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or resist the socialist construction are all enemies of the people.

"The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a non-antagonistic aspect in addition to an antagonistic aspect. There have always been contradictions among the people but their content differs in each period of the revolution and in the period of socialist construction. In the conditions prevailing in China today, the contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry, the contradictions within the intelligentsia, the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other, the contradiction between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, the contradictions within the national bourgeoisie

and so on. Our People's Government is one that genuinely represents the people's interests, it is a government that serves the people. Nevertheless, there are still certain contradictions between the government and the people. These include contradictions among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual; between democracy and centralism; between the leadership and the led; and the contradictions arising from the bureaucratic style of work of certain government workers in their relations with the masses. All these are also contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the people's basic identity of interests underlies the contradictions among the people.

"In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a dual character. In the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution, it had both a revolutionary and a conciliationist side to its character. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalists. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class is one between the exploiter and the exploited, and is by nature antagonistic. But in the concrete conditions of China, this antagonistic class contradiction can, if properly handled, be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and be resolved by peaceful methods. However, it will change into a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy if we do not handle it properly and do not follow the policy of uniting with, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie, or if the national bourgeoisie does not accept this policy of ours....

"Our state is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.... The aim of this dictatorship is to protect all our people so that they can devote themselves to peaceful labor and build China into a socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally, the working class and the entire people under its leadership. Dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people. The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another. Law-breaking elements among the people will be punished according to law, but this is different in principle from the exercise of dictatorship to suppress the enemies of the people.... Our dictatorship is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. That is to say, democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while the working class, uniting with all others enjoying civil rights, and in the first place with the peasantry, enforces dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction. By civil rights, we mean, politically, the rights of freedom and democracy.

"But this freedom is freedom with leadership and this democracy is democracy under centralized guidance, not anarchy. Anarchy does not accord with the interests or wishes of the people." (Mao Tsetung, ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE, (written February 27, 1957), published in SELECTED READINGS FROM THE WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967, pp. 350-354.)

"Quite a few people fail to make a clear distinction between these two different types of contradictions - those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people - and are prone to confuse the two. It must be admitted that it is sometimes quite easy to do so. We have had instances of such confusion in our work in the past. In the course of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, good people were sometimes mistaken for bad, and such things still happen today. We are able to keep our mistakes within bounds because it has been our policy to draw a sharp line between ourselves and the enemy and to rectify mistakes whenever discovered.

"Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute. Lenin gave a very clear exposition of this law. In our country, a growing number of people have come to understand it. For many people, however, acceptance of this law is one thing, and its application in examining and dealing with problems is quite another. Many dare not openly admit that contradictions still exist among the people of our country, although it is these very contradictions that are pushing our society forward. Many do not admit that contradictions continue to exist in a socialist society, with the result that they are handicapped and passive when confronted with social contradictions; they do not

understand that socialist society will grow more united and consolidate through the ceaseless process of the correct handling and resolving of contradictions. For this reason, we need to explain things to our people, and to our cadres in the first place, in order to help them understand the contradictions in a socialist society and learn to use correct methods for handling these contradictions.

"Contradictions in a socialist society are fundamentally different from those in the old societies, such as capitalist society. In capitalist society contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution. On the contrary, the case is different with contradictions in socialist society, where they are not antagonistic and can be resolved one after another by the socialist system itself.

"The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, they are fundamentally different in character and have different features from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies....

"But our socialist system has only just been set up; it is not yet fully established or fully consolidated. In joint state-private industrial and commercial enterprises, capitalists still receive a fixed rate of interest on their capital, that is to say, exploitation still exists. So far as ownership is concerned, these enterprises are not yet completely socialist in character. Some of our agricultural and handicraft producers' cooperatives are still semi-socialist, while even in the fully socialist cooperatives



Displaying the revolutionary tradition, the Revolutionary Committee of Hsingkuo County in Kiangsi Province strengthens militia work to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend China against attack by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Members of the County Revolutionary Committee and the militia of the Changkung Commune are shown returning from a shooting practice.

certain problems of ownership remain to be solved. Relations between production and exchange in accordance with socialist principles are still being gradually established in various departments of our economy, and more and more appropriate forms are being sought. To decide the proper ratio between accumulation and consumption within each of the two sectors of socialist economy - that in which the means of production are owned by the people and that in which the means of production are collectively owned - and also between the two sectors themselves is a complicated problem for which it is not easy to work out a perfectly rational solution all at once. To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. The superstructure consisting of the state system and the laws of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist ideology guided by Marxism-Leninism plays a positive role in facilitating the victory of socialist transformation and the establishment of the socialist organization of labor; it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, to socialist relations of production. But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base. We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions....

"Today, matters stand as follows. The large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of previous revolutionary periods have in the main ended, but class struggle is by no means entirely over. While welcoming the new system, the broad masses of the people are not yet quite accustomed to it. Government workers are not sufficiently experienced and have to undertake further study and exploration of specific policies. In other words, time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated, for the masses to become accustomed to the new system, and for the government workers to learn and acquire experience. It is therefore imperative at this juncture that we should raise the question of distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy as well as the question of the correct handling of the contradictions among the people, so as to unite the people of all nationalities in our country for a new battle against nature, to develop our economy and culture, to help the whole nation to traverse this period of transition fairly smoothly, to consolidate our new system and build up our new state." (Mao, ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE, SELECTED READINGS, pp. 358-362.)

"...In China although in the main socialist transformation has been complete with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrow landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled....

"It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society will remain in our country for a long time to come, and so will their class ideology. If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored. Ideological is not like other forms of struggle. The only method to be used in this struggle is that of painstaking reasoning and not crude coercion. Today, socialism is in an advantageous position in the ideological struggle. The main power of the state is in the hands of the working people led by the proletariat. The Communist Party is strong and its prestige stands high. Although there are defects and mistakes in our work, every fair-minded person can see that we are loyal to the people, that we are both determined and able to build up our motherland together with them, and that we have already achieved great successes and will achieve still greater ones. The vast majority of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals who come from the old society are patriotic and are willing to serve their flourishing socialist motherland; they know they will be helpless and have no bright future to look forward to if they turn away from the socialist cause and from the working people led by the Communist Party....

"What should our policy be toward non-Marxist ideas? As far as unmistakable counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs of the socialist cause are concerned, the matter is easy: we simply deprive them of their freedom of speech. But incorrect ideas among the people are quite a different matter. Will it do to ban such ideas and deny them any opportunity for expression? Certainly not. It is not only futile but very harmful to use summary methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions concerned

with man's mental world. You may ban the expression of wrong ideas, but the ideas will still be there. On the other hand, if correct ideas are pampered in hot-houses without being exposed to the elements or immunized from disease, they will not win out against erroneous ones. Therefore, it is only by employing the method of discussion, criticism and reasoning that we can really settle issues....

"At the same time as we criticize dogmatism, we must direct our attention to criticizing revisionism. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism; they too attack 'dogmatism'. But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism. They oppose or distort materialism and dialectics, oppose or try to weaken the people's democratic dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party, and oppose or try to weaken socialist transformation and socialist construction. After the basic victory of the socialist revolution in our country, there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one. And their right hand men in this struggle are the revisionists." (Mao, ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE, SELECTED READINGS, pp. 375-378.)

"...In China the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture....

"In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic." (Mao Tsetung, SPEECH AT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROPAGANDA WORK (March 12, 1957) published in SELECTED READINGS, pp. 389 and 400).

Of Mao Tsetung's writings since 1957 on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat the most notable statements have been his directives on the cultural revolution incorporated in the Circular and those subsequent directives and instructions issued at different times since then.

The following is a list of some of the directives and instructions issued by Mao Tsetung since the issuance of the Circular:

"You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." (PEKING REVIEW, August 1967, No. 33)

"Correct treatment of cadres is the key to creating revolutionary 'three-in-one' combinations, consolidating the revolutionary great alliance and making a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit. It must be handled well. (PEKING REVIEW, October 1967, No. 45)

"While their (the students') main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of ours by the bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue." (PEKING REVIEW, October 1967, No. 45)

"The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the activists among them, namely, those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." (PEKING REVIEW, November 1967, No. 47)

"Socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage. In this stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains." (PEKING REVIEW, November 1967, No. 49)

"In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary 'three-way alliance' in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the Revolutionary Committee." (PEKING REVIEW, December, 1967, No. 51)

"The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, it should be a vigorous and vital organization of vanguards which can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the class enemy." (PEKING REVIEW, January 1968, No. 1)

"The army should give military and political training in the universities, middle schools and the higher classes of primary schools, stage by stage and group by group. It should help in re-opening school classes, strengthening organization, setting up the leading bodies on the principle of the 'three-in-one' combination and carrying out the task of

'struggle-criticism-transformation'. It should first make experiments at selected points and acquire experience and then popularize it step by step. And the students should be persuaded to implement the teaching of Marx that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation, and in military and political training, they should not exclude those teachers and cadres who have made mistakes. Apart from the aged and the sick, these people should be allowed to take part so as to facilitate their remoulding. Provided all this is done conscientiously, it is not difficult to solve the problems." (PEKING REVIEW, March, 1968, No. 11).

"The basic experience of revolutionary committees is this - they are threefold: they have representatives of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses. This forms a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, do away with redundant or overlapping administrative structures, have 'better troops and simpler administration' and organize a revolutionized leading apparatus which is linked with the masses." (PEKING REVIEW, April, 1968, No. 14).

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution made under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of the revolutionary people under the Party's leadership on the one hand and the Kuomintang reactionaries on the other, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." (PEKING REVIEW, April, 1968, No. 16).

"To protect or to suppress the broad masses of the people - this is a fundamental distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (PEKING REVIEW, June, 1968, No. 23).

"Our country has 700 million people and the working class is the leading class. Its leading role in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work should be brought into full play. The working class also should continuously enhance its political consciousness in the course of the struggle." (PEKING REVIEW, August, 1968, No. 34).

"In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in cooperation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by poor and lower-middle peasants - the most reliable ally of the working class." (PEKING REVIEW, August, 1968, No. 34).

"The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following changes: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the 'three-in-one' combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels."

"A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian Party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigor." (PEKING REVIEW, October, 1968, No. 43).

"Who is it that gives us our power? It is the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90 percent of the population. We represent the proletariat and the masses and have overthrown the enemies of the people, and therefore the people support us. Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party. (PEKING REVIEW, October, 1968, No. 43).

"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." (PEKING REVIEW, October, 1968, No. 44, Supplement).

"Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses." (PEKING REVIEW, November, 1968, No. 48).

"All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction." (PEKING REVIEW, January, 1969, No. 5).

"In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

"In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed." (PEKING REVIEW, February, 1969, No. 7).

"The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and every other country where the modern revisionist clique is in power have either changed or are in the process of doing so. Capitalism

has been or is being restored there, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been or is being changed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (PEKING REVIEW), February, 1969, No. 7).

"The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically, and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them. (PEKING REVIEW, May, 1969, No. 20).

"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." (PEKING REVIEW, May, 1969, No. 20).

"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and the class struggle still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." (PEKING REVIEW, May, 1969, No. 21)

"Unite to win still greater victories.

"In speaking of victory we mean to ensure that the masses of the people throughout the country are united under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory.

"Unite for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school." (PEKING REVIEW, June, 1969, No. 24).

E. Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

To sum up, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the highest stage of the class struggle so far reached by the proletariat - i.e., the waging of revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat to remove from power those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road - to safeguard and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. A further purpose is to raise the ideological and political level of the people - workers, peasants, soldiers, and intellectuals - to further the development and the construction of socialism in China and to encourage and assist all revolutionary movements internationally.

During the period following the Paris Commune and the Great October Socialist Revolution, those people who fought for proletarian revolution rallied to the banner of the October Revolution and Leninism. Today those people who fight for proletarian revolution rally to the banner of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to Mao Tsetung Thought - Marxism-Leninism in the era of the approaching collapse of imperialism and the approaching worldwide victory of socialism.

To be true to the principles of the Paris Commune, of the October Revolution, true to Marxism-Leninism, one must persist in carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line which today is exemplified by Chairman Mao Tsetung. Mao Tsetung is the Lenin of our time, leading the revolutionary forces in this era, the era of the decline and fall of imperialism, and the advance of socialism to world-wide victory. This is the new stage reached, the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.

We must commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune by raising ever higher the banner of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship - the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought - and carry the revolutionary struggle to the very end against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and all reactionaries!

Workers of all countries unite!

Workers and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!

Long live the revolutionary lessons of the Paris Commune!

Long live the revolutionary lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Down with U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and the reactionaries of all countries!

Long live ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great leader of the international proletariat, Chairman Mao Tsetung! A long, long life to him!