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THE STATE AND REVOLUTION 1871-1971

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Introductory Statement

Because imperialism is state monopoly-capitalism, the basic question of State And Revolution is on the agenda for all forces that struggle against imperialism, for the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world. The fundamental question in all revolutions is what class wields state power. This question was first raised to world-historical importance in the Paris Commune of 1871, which conclusively pointed out that "The working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation." (The Civil War in France, Karl Marx). The Paris Commune is today 100 years old, but its historical lessons are as relevant in 1971 as they were March 18, 1871, when the proletariat opened the new historical era with the roar of guns from the barricades of Paris. As Lenin stated, in summing up this great event :

"The memory of the fighters of the Commune is honoured not only by the workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world. For the Commune fought, not for some local or narrow national aim, but for the emancipation of all toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As a foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat suffering and engaged in struggle. The epic of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and held it for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and the torments it underwent after its defeat—all this raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes, and enlisted their sympathy for the cause of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward sections of the proletariat from their deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary socialist propaganda. That is why the cause of the Commune is not dead. It lives to the present day in every one of us. The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal." (Writings on the Commune, V.I. Lenin)

The present historical period, from Indochina to the military convict prisons of the imperialist countries, sharpens the world contradictions to the point of the new state power of the masses in arms pitted in life-and-death struggle with the old state power of the bourgeoisie world-wide, its standing armies, bureaucracy, police, etc. The present world-wide deployment of forces is the unfolding of the process of development from organs of struggle into the organ of power. The guidelines for this development are the guidelines set by the Paris Commune: destruction of the bureaucratic-military machine, and its replacement by working, not legislative, bodies, and the rule by direct force, as opposed to law, by the masses in arms.

V.I. Lenin examined and summed up the experience of the Paris Commune in his most important work, The State And Revolution. The writing of this work, which was to contain an analysis of the events in Russia of 1905 and afterwards, was interrupted by the 1917 events. Therefore, in this work, we shall examine the process of development of the new organs of struggle and power from the point where Comrade Lenin left off in his work.

PARIS COMMUNE CENTENARY ISSUE

A. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1905 AND 1917

Lenin never finished the seventh chapter of his work The State And Revolution on paper, he finished it in practice, in the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. In his postscript to the last edition of the work, he wrote: "It is more pleasant and useful to go through the experience of the revolution than to write about it."

"In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organization was formed, the famous Soviets of Workers Deputies comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities, these Soviets of Workers Deputies began and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organize Soviets of Soldiers and Sailors Deputies and to combine these with the Soviets of Workers Deputies. For a time, several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics".

These new organs of struggle emerged thus in the year 1905, called the "mad year" by the Russian bourgeoisie. This was the year of sanity, of consciousness and organization for the proletariat and the advanced sectors of the peasantry, soldier and sailor masses, and others. What the proletariat invented and experimented with in the Paris Commune, it had raised again in 1905, and was to use with the full genius of its world-historical consciousness in 1917. Lenin defined the two main components of bourgeois state power as the standing army and the bureaucracy, with the army the main component. Thus, the central importance of the policy of worker-soldier-alliance, of the strikes of the proletariat combining with the mutinies of the largely-peasant troops, the confrontations between thousands of Russian workmen, for the most part, still unarmed, and the reactionary troops and police, in which, throughout the 1905 events, the women agitated among the troops, calling on them to join the revolution, were a key factor in this entire struggle, a fact which Comrade Stalin makes note of in his Short Course History of the CPSU(B).

"The development, perfection, and strengthening of the bureaucratic and military apparatuses proceeded during all the numerous bourgeois revolutions which Europe has witnessed since the fall of feudalism. In particular, it is precisely the petty bourgeoisie that is attracted to the side of this big bourgeoisie and is subordinated to a large extent by means of this apparatus, which provides the upper strata of the peasantry, small artisans, tradesmen, and the like with comparatively comfortable, quiet, and respectable jobs which raise their holders above the people." (The State And Revolution) Today, the same so-called "middle class" elements, the petty bourgeoisie and labor-aristocracy, including the revisionist-trotskyite pseudo-left, staff the bureaucracy of the bourgeois state, down to the cancerous "welfare" and "anti-poverty" and police-surveillance agencies. We must raise again the revolutionary banner of the worker-soldier, worker-peasant, and worker-unemployed alliances, against all the attempts of the CPUSA, SWP, PLP, and other social-fascists to pawn themselves, and the bribed upper layers, as our "allies" and "friends".

In 1917, at the 7th (April) All-Russia Conference of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin, in discussing the role of the Soviets, gives a good indication of how much the content as well as form of the Soviets had developed in the twelve years between 1905 and 1917:

"We are all agreed that power must be wielded by the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. But what can and should they do if power passes to them, i.e., if power is in the hands of the proletarians and semi-proletarians? This is an involved and difficult situation. Speaking of the transfer of power, there is a danger—one that played a big part in previous revolutions, too—namely, the danger that the revolutionary class will not know what to do with state power when it has won it. The history of revolutions gives us examples of revolutions that failed for this very reason. The Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies which cover the whole of Russia with their network, now stand at the centre of the revolution; it seems to me, however, that we have not sufficiently understood them. Should they take over the power, it will no longer be a state in the ordinary sense of the word. The world has seen no such state power functioning for any considerable length of time, but the whole world's labor movement has been approaching it. This would be a state of the Paris Commune type. Such power is a dictatorship i.e., it rests not on law, not on the form of will of the majority, but on direct, open force. Force is the instrument of power. How, then, will the Soviets apply this power? Will they return to the old way of governing, by means of the police? Will they govern by means of the old organs of power? In my opinion, they cannot do this. At any rate, they will be faced with the immediate task of creating a state that is not bourgeois. Among Bolsheviks, I have compared this state to the Paris Commune—in the sense that the latter destroyed the old administrative organs and replaced them by absolutely new ones that were direct organs of the workers.... Marx saw in this the greatest advance of the entire world proletarian movement."

Here, Lenin carried forward his basic proposition expressed in the State And Revolution that "we shall fight for the complete destruction of the old state machine, in order that the armed proletariat itself shall become the government." However, in defining the difference between socialism and communism, Lenin raises a fundamental theoretical question in regards to the state under socialism, the first or lower stage of communism, especially in regards to revisionist restoration of capitalism in this period: "It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right but even the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie! 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 it extraordinarily profound content. But as a matter of fact, remnants of the old surviving in the new, extraordinarily 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." And, in this same surviving in the new (and thus, a key to modern Soviet revisionism): "The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high stage 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 expropriation of the capitalists." Since the division of labor is central to male-domination, the Question of State And Revolution thus poses itself most sharply to the revolutionary women movement.

It is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and the development of Marxism-Leninism into Mao Tse Tung Thought, that has grasped the essence of these observations of Lenin, and of Stalin, who also recognized that class struggle would become sharper after the achievement of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the form at last discovered by which class struggle is continued under socialism, and restoration of capitalism is smashed. In the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People against Fascism, it was the vital sector of proletarian state power, the armed forces, that suffered the greatest losses in making the most heroic sacrifices. Many hundreds of thousands of the best proletarian communist cadre, the cream of the Lenin Enrollment, the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist vanguard, steeled in the heat of the battles against fascism, Trotskyism, and counter-revolution, of those were very reduced in number. Thus, the more inherently petty-bourgeois section of the state, the bureaucracy, the police, etc. took on a power and influence disproportionate to their original functions. And, as our comrades of the Soviet Revolutionary Communists (B) point out: "Stalin's death untied the hands to bureaucracy."

In fact, the entire revisionist gang impresses one as being, not soldiers, but cops. They are creatures of bureaucracy, the police being, in a sense, armed petty-bourgeois, with their endless paper-work and forms. It is not a question of Stalin as a personality, but rather the historical limitations of the Stalin Era, which did not give rise to the new form of the class struggle, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the face of these historical limitations, of which he was very conscious, Comrade Stalin, and the Stalinist Communist cadres world-wide, made glorious achievements and contributions to the overall development of the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution. Comrade Stalin's contribution on Party and State organization, on the National-Colonial Question, on which he is the foremost authority of the Lenin-Stalin Era as a whole, the Stalin military technique and strategy, and Stalin's firm grasp of dialectical and historical materialism, all of these remain important parts of the International Communist Movement. All of the scholar-despots and their re-writing of history, all of the petty-bourgeois Trotskyite filth, with their hatred of Communism, and their mystical adulation of that miserable Gestapo agent, can never erase the contributions of the great Stalin, and the love that the world's proletariat bears for him.

The core of the Krushchevite-Breshnevite clique that staged the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, beginning in 1953, and culminating in the infamous 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, restoring capitalism in the birthplace of the first socialist system in history, are made up precisely of bureaucrats, of professional pen-pushers, state functionaries, police officials, factory managers, and other segments of the bureaucracy. Like the US imperialist and other reactionary state apparatuses in the capitalist countries of England, Germany, Japan, etc., the Soviet revisionist clique today is an all-male sector, with a hard-core of degenerates, alcoholics, sexual perverts, etc.. A few revisionist equivalents of the "USA's" Bella Abzug, token bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "ladies", are here and there in the lower levels of the bureaucratic machine, but like the "USA", the key areas of decision-making are all-male.

The fact that Lenin's ideal of the masses in arms, women and men, young and old, replacing the "special bodies of armed men", the police and army, that characterizes the bourgeois state, was not fully realized, even under War Communism, expresses the division of labor, that "remnant of the old surviving in the new", that is an important aspect of the Lenin-Stalin Era as a whole, the era of the uneven development of the world proletarian revolution, and the building of socialism in one country, situations which magnified the division of labor to the point where a new bourgeoisie could emerge, exert its influence through the super-structure, and thus, seize political power, and liquidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It will be the workers, soldiers, and peasants, with the proletarian women in the lead (as already proved by the events in Poland) that will overthrow revisionist rule in the Soviet Union and elsewhere—a Second October.

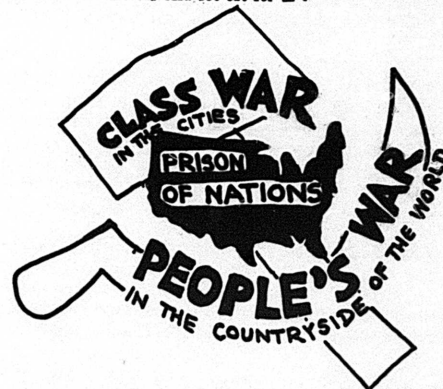
B. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

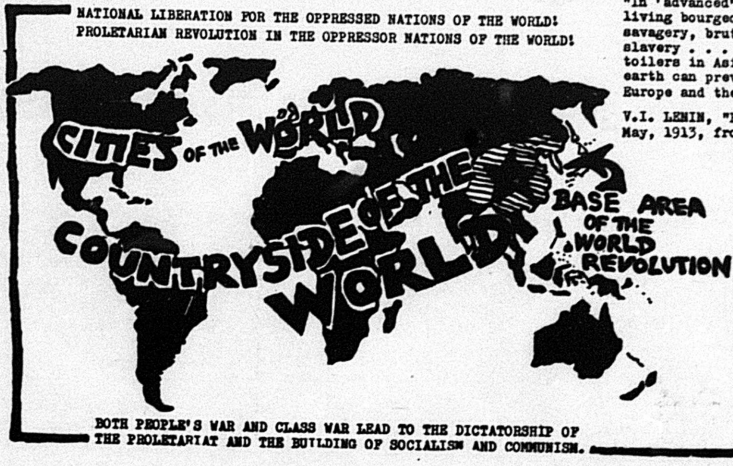
The People's Wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in the storm-center of the countryside of the world, the oppressed nations, has made the most fundamental contributions to the question of State And Revolution. The road of National Liberation in the oppressed nations is the road from People's War to the People's Power, and both the organs of struggle of the National Liberation Front, and the organs of power of the People's Democratic Dictatorship, are based on the firm foundations of the Worker-Peasant Alliance. This is not only the road for Indochina, Palestine, the three nations named inside the state boundaries of the so-called "USA", the South Viet Nam People's War against U.S. imperialist aggression is a great banner of the world proletarian revolution, a great historic event, from which numerous lessons may be gained, especially on the question of State And Revolution. The most direct manner of demonstrating this is to cite from the experience of the participants as presented in an article called "In the Liberated Areas" by Phan Cuong, published in Vietnamese Studies, issue no. 2:

At the beginning, in the free zone and even in contested areas, NLF committees and people's self-managing committees were set up, the latter being provisional administrative committees taking charge of public affairs and resistance work: they attend to security and order, self-defence, economy and finance, propaganda and education, health and social services. The most important questions are allotment of land, settlement of conflicts, organization and mobilization of human, material, and financial resources for the resistance. The NLF committee is responsible for the general leadership of the resistance. In the Central Highlands, inhabited by national minorities, national autonomy committees have been set up whose functions are similar to those of the people's self-managing committees. Thus, a people's power has been established on a vast and populated territory, with its armed forces, political organizations and administrative organs. This is not a simple affair (acquis-a term used to describe the French anti-Nazi underground), but a veritable State, a de facto government having delegations abroad. . . . In 1966, when the balance of forces definitely tipped in favor of the revolution, the NLF Central Committee put forward the slogan: "Crush the enemy administration, and win power for the people!" After the general offensive and concerted uprisings, everywhere the people strove to establish a new administration and enthusiastically elected people's revolutionary councils at various levels, from commune to province and zone. In some regions, despite the presence of enemy posts, these were successfully held. In the Saigon-Gia Dinh, the inhabitants rose up to punish wicked thugs and set up a particular form of revolutionary power, directing the masses in the struggle to defend their life and interests. . . . The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government is the climax of a process of setting up revolutionary power, beginning with the people's self-managing committees, then with the election of people's revolutionary committees at all levels. A national and popular base covering the greater part of the territory was thus set up, consolidated and put to the test for many years before the summit was reached. It is a government deeply rooted in the masses and solidly built on tested political, administrative, and military structures. In face of the Saigon administration, which is at the beck and call of foreigners, which is installed, financed, and swayed by Washington, and eaten up with corruption, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is the sole genuine legal government of the country."

A major expression of the higher development of the entire world proletarian revolution at this stage, especially in the People's Wars for National Liberation, is the increasingly central role of women, and of the specific struggles of women. Not simply in terms of a few individuals, but especially in the vanguard position of the masses of women as a whole, the South Viet Nam People's War has given rise to a new liberation collective of Vietnamese women, from the level of the self-defence and guerrilla formations, to the highest levels of political and military leadership. From the Women's Liberation Associations and Women's Unions and all-women's armed units to Mrs. Binh in Paris, and Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dinh, Deputy-Commander of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, the heroic women of Viet Nam are a beacon to the workingwomen and oppressed women of the world. This aspect of the National Liberation Struggles as a whole, the leadership given by women, is bound to be the rule rather than the exception, in the emerging People's Wars and Class Wars of this historical period of the world-wide collapse of imperialism.

After decades of the "burial" of the question of State And Revolution by the revisionists and opportunist of all shades, especially by the super-bribed running dogs in the capitalist countries of Europe and North America, the People's Wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and now, extending into the imperialist heartlands, with the revolutionary struggles in Ireland, Quebec, Puerto Rico, the Black Belt, etc. have brought this question back into central importance, through the practice of victory after victory by the oppressed nations and peoples. Lenin rightly spoke of "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia", and it is on the question of State And Revolution the central question of what class would state power, that Advanced Asia, Africa, and Latin America have surged ahead. We who are in the capitalist countries and oppressor nations of the world have our task set out for us!





"In advanced Europe, the sole advanced class is the proletariat. The living bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is prepared to go to any length of savagery, brutality, and crime in order to preserve perishing capitalist slavery . . . But all young Asia, that is, the hundreds of millions of toilers in Asia, have a reliable ally in the proletariat. No force on earth can prevent its victory, which will liberate both the peoples of Europe and the people of Asia."

V.I. LENIN, "BACKWARD EUROPE AND ADVANCED ASIA" (first published on May, 1913, from Vol. XII, Collected Works, Russian edition)

"Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the "cities of the world", then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute the "rural areas of the world". Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

LIN BIAO, "LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR" (Red Book edition, pages 188-199)

C. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Each historical epoch has thrown up its own forms, as well as its own content. Each great upsurge of the world proletarian revolution has raised a new banner of the higher development of the organs of proletarian struggle and power, as well as a higher development of the proletarian ideology and philosophy. As Marxist-Leninism and Proletarian-Revolution develops, so also develops Democratic-Centralism and its philosophy, which, as the full process unfolds, combine and inter-connect more and more, to the point where, in the Philosophy Mass Movement today in China for example, the correct ideas are grasped by the masses and transformed into a material force, on an everyday basis, and on every level. This actual and real unification of theory and practice is the main content of the present-day development of Marxist-Leninism into Mao Tse-tung Thought. This is the main aspect of the Era of Mao Tse-tung Thought in terms of the development of dialectical-materialism, the world-historic philosophic outlook of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune, the development of the fundamental basis of scientific communism by Marx and Engels, and the formation and experience of the First International are all integrally linked, as theoretical, political, military, achievements of the proletariat in that historical period. So also with the development of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the Bolshevism of Lenin and Stalin, and the formation and experience of the Communist International. So today with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China, the development of the Marxist-Leninism of our era, Mao Tse-tung Thought, and the struggle between the two lines, two roads, and two classes in all the various revolutionary movements: the National-Liberation movements, the Revolutionary Women's Movements, and the proletarian and lumpenproletarian movements, the Eras of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the present, the era of Mao Tse-tung Thought, are the three main historical periods in the overall development of the world proletarian revolutions.

Like the Paris Commune, the Great October Socialist Revolution, the People's Wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has also created in the heat of its mighty battles both new organs of struggle and the new organ of power, meeting the new tasks of the present-day world-wide struggles against modern revisionism as well as the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution aroused directly one-fourth of the people of the world in a gigantic revolutionary upsurge, the greatest numbers of people ever witnessed in any revolution or revolutionary struggle, but more importantly, the quantitative strength is linked with the qualitative Great Leap Forward for all the people of the world, that has been accomplished in the course of this revolution. Two great oppressed and exploited forces, the very young, and women, combined in this great revolution to shake the entire world with the thunder of the new society in birth. The very first Red Guard organizations were solidly based in the collective leadership and red political power of masses of women and youth, but not the 30-year old "youth" that permeate our so-called "left", but, in many cases, children, united around their own leadership, with their own publications, meeting places, and in fact, their own share in the state power. This situation continues to this day, and not only in the People's Republic of China. The first "Great Leap Forward" (big-character poster) was put up by a woman, a philosophy teacher in Peking University, and this historic act also gave a new content as well as form, to the Red Guard Movement as a whole. The revolutionary ballet, the Red Women's Detachment, concerning the women's armed units in the Chinese Revolutionary wars, is recognized as the first genuinely revolutionary ballet and opera, the first to place the worker-peasant-soldier masses in a genuinely heroic and leading role. This work has had a profound influence on the new proletarian revolutionary culture in China, emerging after the victories and peak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Look at any copy of the

China Reconstructs or China Historical, since the Cultural Revolution, and you will see the evidence of the leadership of women at all levels, as well as the strong collectivity of women, in the means of production, in state power, in the party, in the armed forces, in the health and education movements, etc. You will also see the almost total absence of any kind of sexist or chauvinist attitudes or habits towards children and very old people, as well as against women. There are still many struggles ahead, as the Chinese people as a whole well know, both internal and external struggles. However, the basic state power growing out of the barrels of the guns of the Chinese women-workers, peasants, soldiers, and vanguards in making revolution, is the basic guarantee that patriarchal-feudalism, foot-binding, pipes and brothels, and the other basic means of oppression and exploitation of women, are gone forever from China. The women of Viet Nam, Albania, and Korea (DPRK) also hold that basic "guarantee"—all the oppressed and exploited women of the world must do so.

The path from organs of struggle to the organ of power in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the path from the Red Guards to the Revolutionary 3-in-1 Committees, now consolidated throughout all of China, excepting imperialist-occupied Taiwan. In terms of the political and ideological leadership given to this development it is the path from the 16-Point Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, August 8, 1966, to the Report of Comrade Lin Biao to the Ninth Party Congress, April 1-14, 1969. In the 16-Point Decision, the ninth point clearly points out the central question of State and Revolution, and links the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the historical continuity of the Paris Commune:

"9. Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees, and Congresses Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Their struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools, and government and other organizations, but generally, also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups, committees, and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through elections or recalled by the masses after discussion."

Following these guidelines, the Proletarian Revolutionary Line, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, smashed the bourgeois counter-revolutionary headquarters of China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao Chi, and the organs of struggle became the new organs of power.

What were described in the 9th point as organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution, had to become the new organs of power for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a whole. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees, and congresses had to develop into the Revolutionary 3-in-1 Committees to carry the revolution through to the end. As stated in an article in Hongqui, No. 3, 1967 by "Commentator" (written before the establishment of the 3-in-1 Committees):

We must bear in mind the lesson that the Paris Commune made ~~too little use~~ (emphasis in the original) of its authority. The provisional organs of power and their responsible members who carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in directing the struggle to seize power must display the courage and resourcefulness of proletarian revolutionaries. They must make full use of the revolutionary authority of the proletariat so as to lead the masses to accomplish successfully the historic task of the struggle to seize power."

In his Report to the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Lin Biao sums up the road of struggle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: "Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working-class in Shanghai with its revolutionary tradition came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal Peoples Council. Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January Storm of Revolution in Shanghai and issued his call to the whole country: 'Proletarian Revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the whole country: in power taking the capitalist road!' Following that, Chairman Mao gave the instruction 'The Peoples Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left.' He went on to sum up the experience of Heilongjiang Province and other provinces and municipalities laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of revolutionary committees which embrace representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the PLA and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary 3-in-1 combination, and thus pushed forward the nation-wide struggle for the seizure of power.

During the course of this struggle, Chairman Mao gave specific instructions which dealt with the formation of the new organs at the point of production. (Consider these points especially in terms of the question of the division of labor discussed in the first part of this article)—"Struggle-Criticism-Transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee, carrying out mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, consolidating the Party organization, and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations, and sending office workers to the workshops." And, further on in this section, Chairman Mao points out: "The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of 'better troops and simpler administration' and organize itself into a revolutionized leading group which maintains close ties with the masses." Understanding that the army is the chief component of state power, the role of the People's Liberation Army as the "mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat is further developed to higher stage, not only in the participation of the PLA in the Revolutionary 3-in-1 Committees, but also in terms of the internal character of the armed forces themselves, the abolition of insignia of rank, saluting, privileges, etc. and the bringing of many millions into the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class' as Karl Marx defined the Dictatorship of the Proletariat after the historic experience of the Paris Commune. The People's Republic of China today is the historic continuation of the Paris Commune, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat of the New Type, and the Proletarian Center of the International Communist Movement and the world revolutionary process as a whole.

Together with the People's Republic of Albania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the other Liberated Zones and Red Base Areas, the People's Republic of China is today the living example of the new society of socialism and communism brought into being in the full process of the State and Revolution.

We must defeat all the chauvinist heritage of our reactionary educations in the oppressor nations in order to fully understand and recognize the great historic leap achieved by our Chinese, Vietnamese, Albanian, Korean, and other revolutionary comrades all over the world. However, we cannot slavishly copy everything that we see in the liberated areas of the world as they are today. Chairman Mao is well aware of this as he points out :

The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."

