

FORWARD ALONG THE ROAD OPENED BY
THE PARIS COMMUNE -- RAISE EVER HIGHER THE
BANNER OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN
DICTATORSHIP!

-- A REVIEW OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF
THE STATE, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN
DICTATORSHIP, AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHAIRMAN MAO
TSETUNG TO THAT THEORY.

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I. Learn From the Lessons of the Paris Commune!

The 100th Anniversary of the Paris Commune, like the anniversaries of the Russian, the Chinese and the Albanian revolutions, is an occasion for re-asserting the basic lessons of each revolution and for re-affirming the world-wide struggle for proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. For it is only by the world-wide triumph of the proletarian revolution and by the establishment, consolidation, and continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries, that the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world can build socialism and communism and put an end to the enslavement, exploitation, and oppression which the people face under the capitalist system.

It is necessary to re-affirm these principles and to carry through to the end the struggle against our class enemy -- imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, and its agents, revisionism, led by the Soviet revisionist clique -- to bring about the world-wide victory of the proletarian revolution. It is necessary to maintain this struggle through the time of the building of socialism and communism, which will represent an entire historical era. To carry on this struggle we must be ever-mindful of the deceptive practices of the imperialists and their revisionist henchmen, and we must arm ourselves with the class outlook and the class politics of the proletariat -- the proletarian revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The lessons of the Paris Commune are that the proletariat must smash the existing bourgeois state machinery and must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. These lessons were re-affirmed in the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. Comrades V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin led the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and carried out these policies in the Soviet Union.

The October Revolution marked the victorious advance of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against the then growing but historically doomed system of imperialism, the highest and the most predatory stage of capitalism. The newly-born Soviet Russia, and the Soviet Union which developed in the 1920s, was the first state to initiate the building of socialism. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union was carried out under the leadership of Lenin, until his death in 1924, and under the leadership of Stalin until his death in 1953.

Following the death of Stalin, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as the state apparatus of the Soviet Union, was usurped by the counter-revolutionary Khrushchev revisionist clique. The Khrushchev revisionist clique transformed the Soviet Union from a dictatorship of the proletariat building socialism to a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie degenerating to capitalism, and finally to capitalism's ultimate stage -- imperialism.

We are faced with the negative experience of the Paris Commune having been destroyed from without by the armed forces of the French bourgeoisie, after no more than 72 days of existence (March 18 to May 28, 1871), and of the Soviet Union having been destroyed from within by the Khrushchev revisionists, after four decades' time.

SAFEGUARD THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

The lessons are clear. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin have pointed to the fact that the Paris Commune did not use enough force against the French bourgeois army. They called this the major weakness of the Commune.

Marx stated: "If there is to be found fault with the conduct of the Central Committee (of the Paris Commune -- ed.) and the Paris workmen towards these 'men of order' from the 18th of March to the time of their exodus, it is an excess of moderation bordering upon weakness." (Karl

Marx, Second Draft of "Civil War in France", included in THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 223.)

Engels commented: "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?" (Frederick Engels, "On Authority", cited in V. I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 74.)

And Lenin pointed out: "It is still necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and crush its resistance. This was particularly necessary for the Commune; and one of the reasons for its defeat was that it did not do this with sufficient determination." (V. I. Lenin, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 50.)

The lessons of the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union have been made clear by the Communist Party of China under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung. HONGQI (Red Flag), the theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, pointed out in an editorial entitled "Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", that "After the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Soviet Union failed to carry out a proletarian cultural revolution in earnest.... Bourgeois ideas spreading unchecked, inevitably lead to the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the emergence of such representatives of the bourgeoisie as Khrushchev, who will seize power through a 'palace' coup or a military coup, or a combination of both." ("Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," PEKING REVIEW, No. 25, June 17, 1966.)

The Communist Party of China further pointed out:

"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 its political color. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution in theory and practice to the proletariat of the whole world.... The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. In the last few years Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said repeatedly that the issue of who will win in the 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.)

It can thus be said that as in the case of the Paris Commune, the Communists and the workers of the Soviet Union did not act with "sufficient determination" in suppressing the bourgeoisie on the ideological plane, and then subsequently in the fields of education, the state administration, the army, and the Communist Party itself. For the revisionists did not lose any time in putting forth their anti-working class line, first on the ideological plane as it was carried through in the field of education, and then, subsequently, carrying out the line organizationally. After they had secured leading positions in the field of education and in the Party apparatus, they were able to transform the class basis of the Soviet Union from Socialist Red to Capitalist White. In short, failure to launch a proletarian cultural revolution means failure to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat, failure to advance the ideological level of the people, failure to advance the building of socialism, and, most importantly, failure to expose and repudiate the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This failure to launch a proletarian cultural revolution also means failure to act with "sufficient determination" in suppressing the bourgeoisie -- as the people of the Soviet Union are painfully learning today under the exploitation of the new Russian Czars, the Khrushchev revisionist clique that is now headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin.

CHAIRMAN MAO'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO MARXISM-LENINISM

During the present period in history, Marxism-Leninism has reached a new stage, the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism in the period of the approaching final defeat of imperialism and the approaching final world-wide victory of socialism. Mao Tsetung is not only the great leader of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese people, but he is also the acknowledged leader of the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries throughout the world, as were Comrades V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin in their days.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a full acknowledgement of the great contribution of Chairman Mao Tsetung to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. They stated: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creativity, and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for

total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory." ("Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China -- August 12, 1966", PEKING REVIEW, No. 34, August 19, 1966.) This is a brief characterization of both the situation of our present era as well as the contribution of Chairman Mao Tsetung to the science of Marxism-Leninism and to the international communist movement, the practical expression of Marxism-Leninism.

It was three years ago -- on November 6, 1967 -- on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, that Vice-Chairman Lin Piao indicated the full significance of Chairman Mao Tsetung's contribution to Marxism-Leninism, and briefly went into the historical importance of the eras of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Further, the editorial of RENMIN RIBAO (People's Daily), HONGQI (Red Flag), and JIEFANGJUN BAO (Liberation Army Daily), entitled "Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution", issued on November 6, 1967, summed up the present worldwide significance of Comrade Mao Tsetung's great contribution to the science of Marxism-Leninism and to the international Communist movement.

The editorial stated:

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution to the international communist movement is his systematic summing up of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world since the October Revolution; he has summed up not only the positive but also the negative experience and, in particular, the grave lessons of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union; and he has comprehensively and thoroughly solved the cardinal issue of our time, the issue of carrying on the revolution and preventing capitalist restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great epoch-making development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.... Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, he has creatively put forward the great theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and he has personally initiated and led the first great proletarian cultural revolution in the history of mankind. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought." ("Advance Along the Road Opened Up By the October Socialist Revolution", PEKING REVIEW, No. 46, November 10, 1967.)

Lin Piao pointed out the significance of the October Revolution and of the great Marxists Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tsetung -- as follows:

"The October Revolution led by the great Lenin was a turning point in human history. The victory of the October Revolution broke through 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.

"For more than one hundred years since Marx and Engels formulated the theory of scientific socialism, the international proletariat, advancing wave upon wave and making heroic sacrifices, has been waging arduous struggles for the great ideal of communism and has performed immortal exploits in the cause of the emancipation of mankind. In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International and in the great practice of leading the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the problem of the victory for socialism in one country, thus developing Marxism to the stage of Leninism. Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The salvos of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, so that the world took on a new look.

"In the last fifty years, following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world have carried the world history forward to another entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a great new era in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in the decisive battle on a worldwide scale....

"It is our good fortune that because comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited and developed the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most fundamental issue of the world proletarian revolution, that is, the road to the seizure and consolidation of political power, has been brought to a higher stage in theory and in practice. Our great leader Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to an entirely new peak. The ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. In the course of leading the great struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has with genius solved a whole series of complicated problems concerning the seizure of political power by force of arms....

"Not only has Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively developed Leninism on the question of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, he has made an epoch-making creative development of Leninism on the most important question of our time -- the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. From the first day of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin paid close attention to the consolidation of the new-born Soviet state power. He recognized the sharp and protracted nature of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat,

pointing out that 'the transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration.' The biggest lesson in the history of the international communist movement in the last fifty years is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This harsh fact has strikingly brought the Marxist-Leninists of the world face to face with the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

"It is Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the world proletariat of our time, who in the new historical conditions, has systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, scientifically analyzed the contradictions in socialist society, profoundly shown the laws of class struggle in socialist society and put forward a whole set of theory, line, principles, methods and policies for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With supreme courage and wisdom, Chairman Mao has successfully led the first great proletarian cultural revolution in history. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought." (Lin Piao, "Speech at Peking Rally Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution," PEKING REVIEW, No. 46, November 10, 1967.)

Furthermore, the editorial indicated:

"Fifty years ago Lenin stressed that '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) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.' We may now say that only he is a genuine Marxist-Leninist who extends the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the recognition of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism-Leninism are to be tested." ("Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Revolution", PEKING REVIEW, No. 46, November 10, 1967.)

This is a brief summary of the basic contribution of Chairman Mao Tsetung to the science of Marxism-Leninism and to the international communist movement. Of tremendous importance in fully grasping the historical significance of that great contribution made by Mao Tsetung is a brief review of the history of the development of the Marxist-Leninist position on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, from Marx and Engels to Lenin to Stalin -- Mao Tsetung's predecessors.



Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. "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." Photo shows the People's Liberation Army soldiers in China helping the Left in the Chishuyen Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant, holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, as a meeting is held together with revolutionary masses to repudiate capitalist practices and bourgeois ideology.