

# Study Notes On :

# The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

## Part II—The State Under Socialism

### Introduction

*What is socialism? How is it different from the dictatorship of the proletariat? With all the problems of capitalism, why do you say that socialism is better? After all, there is no political liberty in Russia. These are some of the day-to-day questions and comments you hear from workers. But more than that, very often you find that many comrades really don't know deeply the answers to these questions.*

*The answers to these questions have a profound and strategic importance for workers and communists. As the late Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party put it, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, this understanding has to be propagated and struggled for, repeatedly, until it is grasped.*

*For us in the U.S., where the working class is not in power, lack of clarity on this question will definitely affect us in the way we prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the 80s, which is the basic task of the Party. A profound grasp of what the dictatorship of the proletariat is will help us to understand why we must, and how to, prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

*The following article consists of study notes taken from three pamphlets. **The State and Revolution** by*

*Lenin was written on the eve of the October Revolution in Russia. It represents a pinnacle in the summation of the proletariat's history and the development of Marxism.*

*The other two pamphlets are **Brief Notes from 'The State and Revolution'**, written by a Writing Group on the Brief Notes. It was published in February 1976 by the Shanghai People's Publishing House. The third pamphlet was written jointly by the theoretical group of Unit 51116 of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the worker, peasant, soldier, student group of the Philosophy Department of Peking University, China. The pamphlet was published in October 1976.*

*Both these pamphlets were written during the height of the study campaign on the dictatorship of the proletariat in China in that period.*

*Part I, "The State," laying out the Marxist view of the state, was printed in **Workers Viewpoint Journal** 5, August 1978.*

*Revisionists in the Soviet Union, China, and other countries uniformly advocate the theory of the importance of the productive forces and oppose the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this country, revisionists and legal Marxists alike think that socialism means a planned economy and nothing else. And since the Soviet Union and China and other*





**Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers rule and determine their own destiny. Above, the Petrograd Soviet – the governing body of the city under socialism in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. Twenty thousand workers were elected to that body.**

*places seem to have planned economies in contrast to the U.S. they claim that those countries are socialist. These views of socialism are hopelessly academic and lifeless, for what is essential in socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the heart of socialism, is cut out.*

*This revisionist conception of socialism, and therefore the aim of class struggle today under capitalism, inevitably corresponds to a definite method of preparation for it. And these methods are also inevitably revisionist. Relying on pragmatism and bourgeois ideology, taking short cuts and engaging in power politics, they are all characterized by shallowness in line and opportunism in practice.*

*It is important to understand these revisionists from this angle of political strategies, for they serve as a negative example for us.*

*The dictatorship of the proletariat is the cornerstone of our programme. **PREPARE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE 80s!***

**“In order to achieve its emancipation, proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie, win political power and establish its revolutionary dictatorship.”**



## Chapter II

# During the Whole Period of Socialism, We Must Persevere in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Lenin pointed out in *State and Revolution* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1976, p.43): "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the 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." Lenin's brilliant conclusion was not only greatly significant for combatting the Second International's revisionism and consolidating and developing the victory of the October Revolution; it also has great significance for us today by giving us lessons on consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in combatting and preventing revisionism. Seriously studying Lenin's writing on the dictatorship of the proletariat in *State and Revolution* can help us deepen our grasp of Chairman Mao's important instruction on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It can help to clarify why, during the whole historical period of socialism, we must persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will aid us in more consciously and thoroughly carrying out the basic line of the Party and persevere in continuing the revolution.

### 1. THE ESSENCE OF MARX'S THEORY OF THE STATE IS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Lenin said, "One of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism [is] on the subject of the state, namely, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*State and Revolution*, p.29)

This "most remarkable idea" of Marxism was raised as early as the mid-19th century, during Marxism's formation. In a letter to Weydemeyer on March 5, 1852, summarizing the experience of the European working class movement between 1848 and 1851, Marx made a more concentrated and comprehensive conclusion: "No credit is due to me for the discovering of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians described the historical de-

velopment 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*; and 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the *transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society*." (*State and Revolution*, p.41, emphasis added) In this paragraph Marx summed up concisely the three points he contributed. These three points clearly expressed the essence of Marx's theory of the state, and comprehensively explained the process of the emergence, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, it included all tasks and the concrete content of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his writing, Marx first of all told us that the existence of classes is an historical phenomenon. Classes have not existed from the very beginning of society and will not exist forever. They are only "bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production." In primitive society, because productive forces were at a low level, people could only survive based on common labor and common consumption, in a primitive communist type of living. Thus there were no classes. With the development of productive forces, the social division of labor and private ownership of the means of production appeared. Only then did classes gradually come into being. Following the rapid development of society's productive forces, human society will finally enter the phase of communist society, and at that time, classes will also be finally abolished.

Marx's second point was that "the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat." As long as there are classes there is class struggle, and class struggle is the motive force of social development. The bourgeoisie is the last exploiting class in history. In capitalist society, as the contradiction between the capitalist ownership of the means of production and the socialization of production be-



comes sharper and sharper, the class struggle between the proletariat, representing the demand of the advanced productive forces, and the bourgeoisie will also become more intense. Ultimately, it will necessarily lead to a violent revolution by the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state machinery and establish their own political rule, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx's third point was that the proletarian **"dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."** This means that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not eliminate classes and class struggle, nor can it immediately proceed to a classless society, that is, communist society. There has to be a transitional period, which is the period of socialism, from capitalist society to communist society. During this period of transition, we have to persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by relying on the strength of the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, can we effectively prevent and smash the aggression and subversion of the imperialists, suppress the resistance of the exploiting class internally, smash the hopes and attempts of capitalist restoration, continuously eliminate the soil and condition for the engendering of new bourgeois elements, and finally abolish all classes and class differences in order to realize communism. In communist society, because the dictatorship of the proletariat has already completed its historic mission, the dictatorship will automatically wither away.

These three points are interconnected and cannot be separated. Lenin pointed out that this paragraph by Marx clearly draws out: 1) the fundamental difference between Marx's theory on class struggle and that of the advanced bourgeois thinkers and 2) the essence of the Marxist theory of the state.

Precisely because the crux of Marx's theory of the state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, it has become the focal point of struggle between Marxism, and opportunism and revisionism. Determined by their reactionary stand and world outlook, all opportunists and revisionists do all they can to distort and attack the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was especially true after the victory of the October Revolution in 1917. Kautsky, the revisionist leader of the Second International, openly revised the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In August 1918 Kautsky put out a book called *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, which viciously attacked the October Revolution under Lenin's leadership. He lied that the reason the Bolsheviks practised the dictatorship of the proletariat was because they "just happened to remember Marx had mentioned this term in a letter in 1875." He also said some ridiculous thing about how "since the exploiters are always in the minority, once this minority loses state power they will obediently submit to the majority of the proletariat." He screamed that the dictatorship of the proletariat means "the killing of democracy," and is "dictator-



**Chairman Mao inherited and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Above, Chairman Mao in 1966 receiving the mighty army of the Cultural Revolution.**

ial" and he yelled about replacing it in the Soviet state with so-called "pure democracy." In reality he wanted to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Aimed at combatting Kautsky's reactionary nonsense Lenin wrote *Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky* between October and November 1918. Lenin thoroughly exposed and criticized Kautsky's criminal betrayal of Marxism. In December of the same year, Lenin used the opportunity of the second printing of *State and Revolution* to add the section "The presentation of the question by Marx in 1852." Based upon Marx's letter to Weydemeyer on the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the new experience gained since the October Revolution, Lenin further beat back Kautsky's lies and sophistry. He showed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the essence of Marx's theory of the state. Marx's letter to Weydemeyer sufficiently proved that as early as 1852, Marx already had a clear and precise position on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the most powerful rebuttal to Kautsky's lies that the dictatorship of the proletariat is only a "term" used casually by Marx in a letter in 1875. Lenin's addition ripped the fake cover of Marxism from Kautsky.

According to Lenin, the fundamental difference between Marxism and the bourgeoisie's theory is that Marx did not just recognize and discuss class struggle



“No credit is due to me for the discovering of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians 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*; and 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society.*”

— Karl Marx

in general, but he also studied and linked up class struggle with proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, Lenin emphasized: “Only he is a Marxist who *extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.*” (*State and Revolution*, p.42)

On the question of class struggle, we must draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and bourgeois theory. In the period of rising capitalism, the advanced thinkers of the bourgeoisie also recognized classes and class struggle in society. For example, in order to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and develop capitalism, they did recognize the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocrats. But determined by their class stand and world outlook, they could not truly grasp the law of classes and class struggle; they could not recognize the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; moreover, they could not recognize that class struggle will necessarily lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the bourgeois theory of class struggle, in the final analysis, is to maintain the class interest of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

On the question of class struggle, we must also draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. Revisionism is a trend of bourgeois ideology. Revisionists are the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement and the proletarian party. Revisionists cover themselves with Marxism and wave the flag of proletarian revolution. Hence, they are more deceiving and dangerous to the cause of proletarian revolution. Although revisionists also talk about Marxism, revolution, and socialism, they dis-

miss the difference between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They dismiss the difference between socialism and capitalism. In reality they carry out a bourgeois line to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. Before the proletariat seizes state power, revisionists strongly oppose the use of revolutionary violence by the proletariat. They oppose the smashing of the bourgeois state machinery. They spread lies that only by gaining the majority in the parliament can the proletariat make a peaceful transition to socialism. In fact, the bourgeoisie is not afraid of parliamentary struggle, and not only because under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie it is very hard for the proletariat to gain a majority in parliament. Even if we do gain the majority, the minute bourgeois rule is threatened, they will dissolve the parliament by force, and even call out the police and army and attack the proletariat. After the proletariat seizes state power, the revisionists go all out to propagate the theory of the dying out of class struggle and to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. They attempt to change the character of the proletarian state, and restore capitalism. The revisionists’ “*recognition of class struggle*” in reality is a means to oppose Marxism. It aims to “*confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle . . . curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable.*” (*State and Revolution*, p.42)

Historical experience tells us that after the dictatorship of the proletariat has won victory after victory, the bourgeoisie will pretend to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, but actually they are still working to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is a new tactic in the bourgeoisie’s attack on the proletariat. The Krushchev-Brezhnev clique did just that. After usurping the power of the Soviet party and state, they did not change the name of the Soviet nor the



name of the party of Lenin, nor even the name of the socialist republic. But they used these names as a cover to gut the real content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They changed it into a dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie, that is, an anti-Soviet, anti-Leninist party, in opposition to the socialist republic. They all-roundedly restored capitalism in the Soviet Union, and transformed a socialist country into a social-imperialist country. Once again the proletariat and the masses faced the tragic situation of being oppressed and exploited. In China, leaders of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and now Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, are also waving the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat but actually restoring capitalism. They bring the bourgeoisie back into power and carry out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, based on the new particularities of class struggle, we must constantly expose the class enemy's schemes, persist in the Marxist theory of the state and oppose all shades of revisionism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao inherited and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat under new historical conditions. In particular, he raised clearly and for the first time, that there are classes and class struggle even after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed. He formulated the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and both in theory and in practice solved the most important question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Later Chairman Mao taught: **"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation. . . . Our country at present practices a commodity system; the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."** (*On Exercising All-round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975) This tells us that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to combat and prevent revisionism, to prevent the restoration of capitalism, communists must persevere in the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end.

**2. THE STATE  
DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION  
FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM  
CAN BE NOTHING BUT  
THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

**Marxist theory says that the state during the transitional period from capitalism to communism can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1875, in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote, "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 in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."** (*State and Revolution*, pp. 104-105)

How did Marx arrive at this conclusion? Lenin pointed out that it is first based on **"an analysis of the role played by the proletariat in modern capitalist society."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 105) The proletariat is the product of modern capitalist large-scale industry and represents the most advanced productive forces. They are the most organized, the most disciplined, and have the most thorough revolutionary character. Under capitalism, their economic conditions prepared them for the overthrow of bourgeois rule. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie and seizure of state power is only the first step in the long march of revolution. To suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and completely eliminate the soil which grows new bourgeois elements, the proletariat has to go through a much more difficult and protracted process of struggle than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Thus, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must constantly consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Solely under this condition, the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying on the revolution to the end, can we reach communism.

Secondly, Marx's conclusion was based on **"the data concerning the development of this society and the irreconcilability of the antagonistic interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 105) The more developed capitalism is, the more intense the fundamental contradiction manifesting itself in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Capitalism's relations of production become more and more the stumbling block to the development of the social forces of production. Only the abolition of private ownership of the means of production (machines, buildings, etc.) by proletarian revolution, establishment of public ownership, and replacing capitalism with socialism, can resolve this contradiction. Socialist society is the inevitable product of the social forces which gave birth to the proletariat out of capitalist society. But socialism is a new society just born out of capitalism. In all aspects it still carries the traditions and marks of the old society. Therefore, the transition to communism can only be a period of continuous struggle between moribund capitalism and developing communism. Marx, through summing up the experience of the revolutionary struggle in 1848-1851, and especially the 1871 Paris Commune, made it clear that after the proletariat



seizes state power, it must smash the resistance of the bourgeoisie and continue the revolution. During this entire transition period, the proletariat must persevere in its all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres, and during all stages. Otherwise, the revolution cannot win a thorough victory.

Based on Marxist theory of the period of transition to communism and the concrete experience of proletarian dictatorship after the October Revolution, Lenin forcefully pointed out, **"In reality, this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly fierce class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms."** (*State and Revolution*, p.43) Why during this period is the class struggle unprecedentedly fierce, unprecedentedly acute? Because the exploiting class though overthrown still exists and always tries to snatch back their lost "heaven" and restore capitalism in a thousand and one ways. At the same time, they still resist strongly and even in some aspects actually have superiority. This is because they have the money, the commodities, a higher cultural standard and certain management abilities. They have broad social ties, social influence and rich experiences in counter-revolutionary activities. They also have international connections, and get support and aid from imperialists and reactionaries. In short, although their number is small their capability is very large. They constantly harbor hopes for restoration, and turn them into actual acts of restoration. They use counter-revolutionary violence to start armed revolt, and use ideological infiltration to push for "peaceful transition." To achieve their criminal aim of overturning proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism, they will exploit every opportunity and have no scruples about using any means possible.

An additional factor is that small production engenders new bourgeois elements constantly, and on a large scale. In China, the realization of agricultural collectivization meant the vast majority of the peasants became collective farmers under the leadership of the proletariat and took the road of socialism. However, the social consciousness of these peasants very often lags behind their social existence. To thoroughly transform the ideology, the psychological make-up, and forces of habit of small farmers takes a long time. Especially when the remnants of the private ownership economy still exist, that is when collective ownership has not been raised to the level of ownership of the whole people, the level of the productive forces is not very high, and the differences between the workers and peasants have not disappeared, the peasants cannot completely discard the particularities of small producers. Under these conditions, some of the rich peasants inevitably have strong spontaneous capitalist tendencies, and new bourgeois elements are engendered.

Also, due to the influence and corruption of bourgeois ideology and to the existence of bourgeois right, new bourgeois elements will be produced within

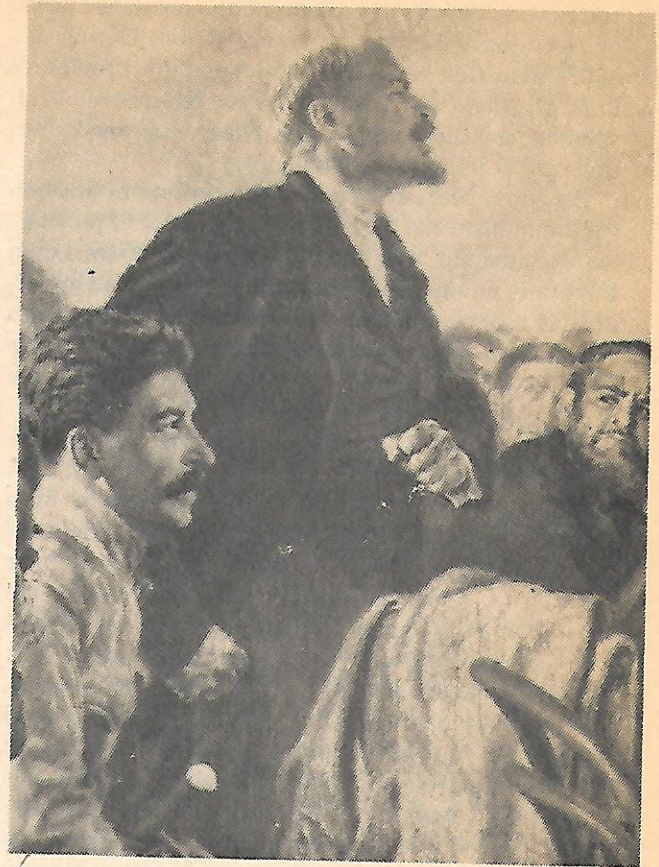
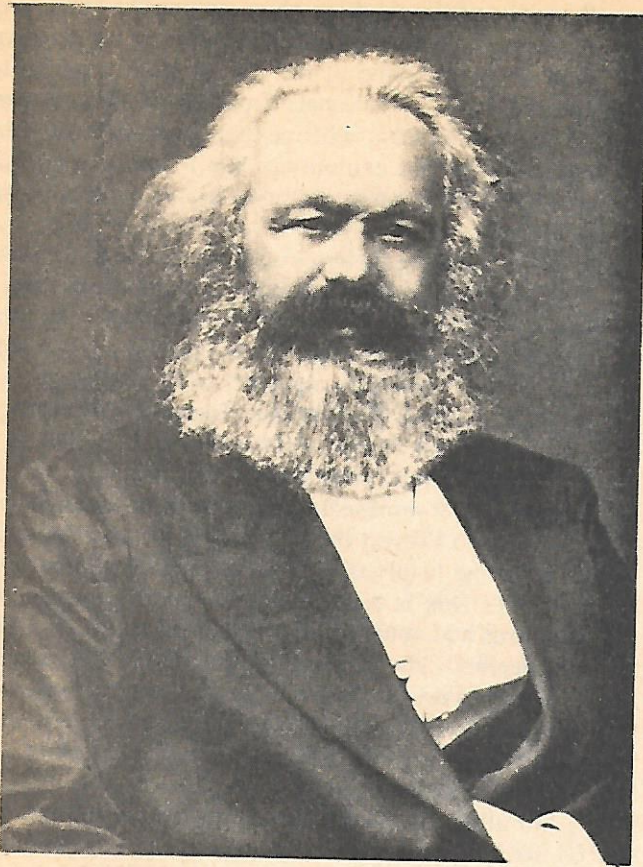
the ranks of the working class, among the employees of the state machinery, in the state-operated enterprises under the ownership of the whole people, and in the cultural and educational departments. These new bourgeois elements will inevitably collude with elements of the old exploiting class to attack socialism and do all they can to destroy socialist revolution and construction.

The class struggle in socialist society must necessarily be reflected within the Party and within the Party's leading organs. Invasion and subversion by the imperialists and social-imperialists is the external condition for the continuing existence of class struggle in a socialist country. But the class enemy within and outside a socialist country all know that it is easiest to destroy a fortress from within. It is far better for the bourgeoisie's representatives who have sneaked into the Party to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and the bourgeoisie themselves to do it. This is especially so when the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie are discredited and hated by the masses. The representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. When the time is ripe, they will seize state power, and transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

For all these reasons, in the whole historical period of socialism, we must persevere in the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is built on scientific analysis of the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, there will be no socialism, much less communism. To talk about socialism and communism apart from the dictatorship of the proletariat is to deceive and to betray Marxism.

Marxist teachings on the period of transition and the dictatorship of the proletariat continue to be developed and enriched through struggles. Lenin pointed out that previously, in writings like the *Communist Manifesto*, the question was posed as follows: **"In order to achieve its emancipation, the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie, win political power and establish its revolutionary dictatorship."** When Marx wrote *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* he put the question in a more developed way: **"The transition from capitalist society—which is developing towards communism—to a communist society is impossible without a 'political transition period', and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."** (*State and Revolution*, p.105) Lenin thought this Marxist conclusion was undebatable truth. **"This truth . . . includes the recognition of the fact that the state will exist until victorious socialism develops into full communism."** ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol.22, p.323) This means that during the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to





**Marx (left) and Lenin. Based on the teachings of Marx, Lenin defended and elaborated his teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said, "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested."**

communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably exist. This links together the dictatorship of the proletariat with the realization of communism and the withering away of the state. It also means that in order to thoroughly triumph over the bourgeoisie, to eliminate all classes and class differences, the dictatorship of the proletariat must exist until the state has withered away. This is what Chairman Mao pointed out when he said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is **"a protective talisman, an heirloom, which should under no circumstances be discarded before the thorough and total abolition of imperialism abroad and of classes within the country."** ("Why It Is Necessary to Discuss the White Paper," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol.IV, p.444)

To cover up their shameless betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet revisionist clique lied that the "transitional period" of the dictatorship of the proletariat that Marx and Lenin talked about is only the transition from capitalism to the first phase of communism, and not the transition to the higher phase of communism. They also spread the lie that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not necessary before the state withers away," but what is needed is a phase of the "state of the whole people." This is total sophistry and a rampant distortion of the Marxist

theory of the state. Marxism teaches that the state is an instrument of oppression by one class of another class. There is absolutely no such thing as the "state of the whole people." The Soviet revisionists' so-called "state of the whole people" does not belong at all to the "whole people." It is the restoration of capitalism. It is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the laboring masses.

Based on Marxist theory, Lenin deeply analyzed the relationship between the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy. First he pointed out, **"The Communist Manifesto simply places side by side the two concepts: 'to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class' and 'to win the battle of democracy!'"** (*State and Revolution*, p.105) The dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy are a dialectical unity of opposites and cannot be separated. Only by seizing state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat can the proletariat win the battle of democracy. At the same time, only by practising broad democracy among the masses can the proletariat clamp the most powerful dictatorship on the bourgeoisie. The revisionist leaders of the Second International such as Kautsky counterposed democracy and dictatorship and propagated lies like that if we develop bourgeois democracy, we can proceed toward 'more thorough



# 打倒经济主义!



## 彻底粉碎资产阶级反动路线的新反扑

Only by all-roundedly persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, can we realize communism. The poster reads: "Down with Economism! Completely smash the new counterattack of the bourgeois reactionary line!"

democracy' and reach communism. The essence of this reactionary garbage is to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. Developing bourgeois democracy can only maintain and lead to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It will not in any way realize communism. Aimed at the reactionary viewpoint of the Kautskyites, Lenin said, "Forward development, i.e. development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way." (*State and Revolution*, p. 107) He clearly pointed out that proletarian democracy has to be based on the premise of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by relying on the dictatorship of the proletariat can we smash the resistance of the class enemy, guarantee the democracy of the proletariat and move forward to the transition to communism.

Lenin said, "Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e. exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the transition from capitalism to communism." (*State and Revolution*, p. 108) Lenin's writings elaborated the essential difference between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy. Only under communist society, when classes are totally eliminated, can we realize real and complete democracy. Once real and complete democracy is realized, democracy will automatically wither away, because without dictatorship there will be no so-called democracy. The Soviet revisionist clique lied that only by replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the "state of the whole people," can we turn democracy into "pure democracy of the whole people." "State of the whole people" and "democracy of the whole people" are repeats of the old revisionists' catch-



words of "complete democracy" and "pure democracy!" They just do not exist and will never exist. They use the concepts of "state of the whole people" and "democracy of the whole people" to steal and exchange the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy. These are nothing but attempts to deceive the masses and cover up the essence of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In China, the traitor Lin Piao, in order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, also used vicious words to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat as the "feudal dictatorship," as "dictatorial," and as "to carry out the laws of Chin Shih-huang." He also screamed and shouted that "those who are benevolent will flourish, and those who rely on force will vanish." This proves beyond a doubt that Lin Piao and the old and new revisionists are birds of the same feather. They are deadly enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, can we realize communism. There is no other road.

### 3. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS TO TOTALLY ELIMINATE CLASSES AND CLASS DIFFERENCES

Lenin not only discussed the necessity of persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie during the whole historical period of socialism. He clearly set the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out, "**The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population—the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletariat—in the work of organizing socialist economy.**" (*State and Revolution*, p.32)

Concretely, what are the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

First, to crush the resistance of the exploiters. "**The dictatorship of the proletariat brings about a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressor, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must suppress them in order to free humanity from wage slavery; their resistance must be crushed by force.**" (*State and Revolution*, pp.107-108) After the proletariat seizes state power, the exploiting class is overthrown, but not destroyed. They will inevitably collaborate with the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in an attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat domestically are "**to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction,**" and externally, "**to protect our country from subversion**

**and possible aggression by external enemies.**" ("On the Correct Handling of Contradiction Among the People," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol.V, p.387)

To exercise dictatorship over the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie is very important. Based on the lessons of the Paris Commune, Lenin pointed out, "**One of the reasons for its defeat was that it did not do this with sufficient determination.**" (*State and Revolution*, p.52) Based on the experience of class struggle after the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that on top of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters, the dictatorship of the proletariat must also suppress all sorts of bad elements who wreck socialist revolution and socialist construction. He saw that all bad elements of the old society—inevitably very numerous—are bound to "reveal themselves" during a profound revolution. He said, "**. . . and these elements of disintegration cannot 'reveal themselves' otherwise than in an increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and requires an iron hand. . . . The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength to suppress ruthlessly the elements of disintegration did not last long.**" ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol.27, p.264) Clearly then, it "**requires an iron hand**" for the proletariat to win complete victory in the revolution. The proletariat must persevere in suppressing all resistance and sabotage by the class enemy.

Secondly, the proletariat must fight all spontaneous tendencies of capitalism and the newly produced bourgeois elements. Lenin particularly stressed that transformation of small producers is another serious task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because small production produces capitalism hourly, and daily. "**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 despair.**" ("Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol.31, p.44) Therefore, for the proletariat to win complete victory over the exploiting classes, they must carry out socialist transformation of the small producers. Only through protracted organizing and ideological education can this task be done.

Socialist society is born from capitalist society. Inevitably it still has traces of the old society and bourgeois right still exists. Analyzing the dialectical relationship between the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois right, Lenin stressed that in the first phase of communism, socialism, in the distribution of consumer goods "**there is no other standard than**



that of 'bourgeois right'. To this extent, therefore, there still remains the need for a state, which, while safeguarding the public ownership of the means of production, would safeguard equality in labor and equality in distribution of products." (*State and Revolution*, p. 115) Bourgeois right is implementing an unequal system under the name of equality. Its crux is that it **"recognizes them as the private property of individuals."** (*Ibid.*, p. 114) The capitalist system, like the slave and feudal systems, is based on the unequal system of man exploiting man. In this regard they are the same. The only difference is under capitalism this unequal system is clothed with a cover of equality to hide the actual inequality.

Lenin pointed out that under socialism the socialist principles of **"he who does not work, neither shall he eat. . . [and] an equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor"** (*State and Revolution*, p. 114) are already realized. This is a fundamental change from the capitalist principle of "he who labors does not eat, he who eats does not labor." It is a big step forward. But, at the same time, compared with communism, it is an inevitable defect because it **"does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right', which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labor, equal amounts of products."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 115) According to the principle "to each according to his work," in order to receive an equal amount of products one must give an equal amount of labor. This proves that "to each according to his work" still does not abolish the principle of exchange of equal values affirmed by bourgeois law: and the consequence of implementing "to each according to his work" is while in appearance there is equality, in essence it is still unequal.

There is inequality because each worker is different in his physical strength, technical skills and experience. Within a given time period the amounts of labor workers can provide are different and, therefore, the rewards received from society will vary—some get more, some less. Due to these differences in physical ability, technical skills and experiences, in order to gain equal rewards, one has to perform an unequal amount of labor. This means those who are weaker physically, or less skilled and less experienced, have to work more and longer hours than those who are stronger physically, or more skilled and experienced in order to catch up and get equal pay. So in the same time period, the rewards received are unequal. This inequality, when using money wage to distribute consumer goods, becomes the difference in wages. This is the basis for grades in the wage scale system. Therefore the "equal right" of "to each according to his work," just like any other right, in reality is an unequal right.

Marx said, **"It [equal right] recognizes no class difference, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of**

**the workers as natural privileges."** (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*, p. 16) This explains that the inequality of "to each according to his work" covers up the real inequality. Not only does it quietly accept the injustice, the inequality of individual "natural gifts" as the "natural privilege" to receive the rewards of labor, it also covers up the inequality of classes and class differences among people in socialist society.

Secondarily, because the family burden of each worker is different, even if they receive equal amounts of products, their real standards of living are different—some higher, some lower—so there is inequality. For all these reasons, in carrying out the principle of "to each according to his work," there will inevitably be rich and poor. And this provides the soil and condition for the engendering of capitalism and new bourgeois elements. Therefore, **"This can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat."** If we do not restrict it, but one-sidedly emphasize "to each according to his work" and widen the gap, then it will very easily lead to the polarization between rich and poor, the formation of a new exploiting class, and the restoration of capitalism. Similarly, in the commodity system and in money exchange, we must set restrictions under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we allow them to develop, they will inevitably undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since the principle "to each according to his work" is still a bourgeois right, and not only is it real inequality, but it will also lead to many defects, then why do we have to carry out this principle in socialist society? Lenin said this is because **"right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 114) This explains why in socialist society we have to apply the principle of "to each according to his work." Any right is determined by the economic conditions of a society and also corresponds to its cultural development. The right people enjoy in the distribution of consumer goods follows the same law. In a socialist society, when productive forces are not very developed and consumer goods not plentiful, the consciousness of the people on a mass scale cannot reach the level of laboring without reward. Therefore, this determines that in socialist society we can only carry out the principle of "to each according to his work." Lenin pointed out that under the condition of socialism, **"if we are not to fall into utopianism, we must not think that, having overthrown capitalism, people will at once learn to work for society without any standard of right."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 115) Hence, in socialist society we still need the enforcement of rights to adjust and protect economic and social relationships, to bind people to work for society. Since there are rights there must be enforcement institutions to formulate and safeguard the rights. We must have the state. Lenin further explained, **"Of course, bourgeois right in regard to distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the**





**The great "January Revolution" in Shanghai, China, one of the massive demonstrations of the workers, peasants, students and soldiers, during the Great Cultural Revolution aimed at overthrowing the bourgeoisie – old and new – who wormed their way into the Party and leading positions in the state. Personally initiated and led by Mao, the Cultural Revolution**

existence of the *bourgeois state*, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of *enforcing the observance of the standards of right*. . . . It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state—without the bourgeoisie." (*State and Revolution*, p. 120) This means that, precisely because the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat still has to preserve bourgeois right, from this particular definition, it is still a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie. But the purpose of preserving bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally different from the purpose of protecting bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The state under the dictatorship of the proletariat has to preserve bourgeois right, but also has to restrict it and create conditions to finally eliminate it.

In China, because there are still the two types of socialist ownership, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, the commodity system is necessary. In the spheres of distribution and exchange, bourgeois right inevitably exists, and still occupies the dominant position: in the relations among people, it still exists to a great extent, and it is not totally eliminated in the spheres of ownership. Precisely because bourgeois right exists, the development of elements of capitalism in cities and the countryside and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are inevitable. If it is not restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, capitalism and the capitalist class will flourish.

Because bourgeois right exists, some people, through certain legal but mostly illegal methods, use it

to accumulate a lot of commodities and money in the sphere of distribution; transform the commodities and money into capital, and labor power into a commodity; and proceed with capitalist exploitation. As a result, among Party members, workers, rich peasants and government workers, a small number of new bourgeois elements will be produced who have completely transformed. Therefore, to consolidate and develop socialist ownership of the whole people and socialist collective ownership of the laboring masses, we must take class struggle as the key link; persist in education on the basic line of the Party in cities and countryside; boldly criticize capitalism and carry out socialism; firmly beat back all spontaneous tendencies of capitalism; achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism; and create conditions to finally eliminate bourgeois right.

Thirdly, the proletariat must occupy the superstructure. In order to win complete victory of the socialist revolution, the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all the different cultural spheres. They must constantly criticize the bourgeoisie, criticize revisionism, criticize the ideology of all decadent and degenerate classes, and never allow them to flourish freely. It must be seen that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the ideological front is protracted, has twists and turns, and sometimes gets very sharp.

In China under Chairman Mao, some spheres of the superstructure in reality were controlled by the bourgeoisie and they had superiority. Other spheres were being reformed, but the fruits were not consolidated. So old ideology and old stubborn forces of





**represents the most acute and fierce class struggle under socialism to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is fully necessary to prevent capitalists from making a comeback.**

habit blocked the growth of socialist new things. The sphere of ideology is an important battlefield of struggle between the two classes and two lines. Once a definite ideology is formed, it has its relative independence, and cannot be changed immediately following the change in the economic base. After the bourgeoisie is overthrown, they must step up the ideological and cultural warfare to corrupt the people's thinking and wildly attack the proletariat. The bourgeoisie are few in number, but their ability is great. This is because there is still a market for the exploiting class' ideology, old thinking, culture, customs, and habits left over from the old society. This means we need to persevere in the political and ideological struggles for the proletariat's triumph over the bourgeoisie and for Marxism's triumph over revisionism.

We need communist ideology to criticize and remold old ideology. Chairman Mao taught us during the period of the New Democratic Revolution, **"Beyond all doubt, now is the time to spread communist ideas more widely and put more energy into the study of Marxism-Leninism or otherwise we shall not only be unable to lead the Chinese revolution forward to the future state of socialism, but shall also be unable to guide the present democratic revolution to victory."** ("On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. II, p. 379) Today, we have to further propagate communist ideology and step up the study of Marxism-Leninism to guide the practice of socialism and push forward the socialist revolution.

Fourth, the proletariat must continuously consolidate and develop socialist economy. Lenin pointed

out, **"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 sources of modern social inequality disappears—this source, moreover, 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."** (*State and Revolution*, p. 116) Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat must grasp Mao's directive of **"Grasp revolution, promote production,"** to continuously develop socialist economy. The high development of the socialist economy is not only the material guarantee of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is also the economic foundation for the abolition of classes and class differences and towards the development of communism. Therefore, developing the socialist economy is a fundamental task of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuously perfect the socialist relations of production and other parts of the superstructure is the motive force pushing forward the development of social productive forces. Thus, Marxists always insist on the line of **"Grasp revolution, promote production,"** to use revolution to lead production. Chairman Mao again and again taught to persist in carrying out the directive **"Grasp revolution, promote production,"** other work, and preparedness against war. He also urged, **"In agriculture, learn from Tachai . . . in industry, learn from Taching."** In China under Mao's leadership, the genuine communists pushed the line that they must follow Mao's teachings under the command of revolution, exert



themselves to increase production, work hard to build China into a modernized socialist country within this century and make the Chinese national economy leap into the front ranks of the world.

Fifth, revolutionaries must unite with the oppressed classes and oppressed peoples of the world to fight together; to thoroughly eliminate imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries; and to emancipate the whole of mankind. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat emancipate itself.

To sum up, the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is best generalized in Marx's book *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*. He wrote, **"This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."** (*The Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850*, International Publishers, p.126) The whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to abolish these four "alls." The same point was made by Marx in his three contributions, that the purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat is **"to abolish all classes."**

**Revolutionary intellectuals in China under Mao's leadership discussing their gains from being tempered through manual labor. One of the aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to narrow the gap between manual and mental labor, to create the conditions for classless society - communism.**

The dictatorship of the proletariat is to **"abolish all classes and all class distinctions,"** and make the transition from class society to classless society. And to abolish all classes and class distinctions is not merely to abolish all exploiting classes, but also to abolish the difference between workers and peasants, city and countryside, and mental and physical labor—that is, abolish the old social division of labor, the basis to differentiate classes.

The existence of classes is related to certain economic conditions. To abolish all classes and class differences, we must carry out **"the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest."** This means not only abolishing private ownership of the means of production, and thoroughly solving the question of the ownership system, but also abolishing bourgeois right in relations among people and in distribution.

In class society, all social relations like political relations, cultural relations, and marriage and family relations, corresponding to the relations of production based on the private ownership system, all have class content. To abolish all classes and class differences we must carry out the **"abolition of all social relations that correspond to these relations of production."**

Certain ideas reflect definite social relations. To abolish all classes and class differences, we must also carry out **"the revolutionizing of all the ideas that**





result from these social relations," to thoroughly sweep away all old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits.

This passage of Marx clearly tells us that during the whole historical period of socialism, the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres, and in all stages of the development of the revolution, in order to carry on the continuous revolution of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the end. Only in this way can the proletariat completely abolish classes and class differences, and achieve the noble aim of communism, to win its own emancipation through the emancipation of the whole of mankind.

#### 4. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY IS THE FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Lenin pointed out, "By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat which is capable of taking power and of leading the whole people to socialism, of orienting and organizing the new order, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in the task of building up their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie." (*State and Revolution*, p.32) This means the leadership of the party is not only the fundamental guarantee for the proletariat to seize state power, but also for establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and finally carrying out the proletariat's historic mission.

The revolutionary teachers of the proletariat always stress the role of party leadership. In summing up the historic lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels said, "In its struggle against the collective power of the possessing classes the proletariat can act as a class only by constituting itself a distinct political party. . . . [only thus can it] ensure the triumph of the social revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes." [Resolution IX of the London Conference—September 1871] ("From the Resolutions of the General Congress Held in the Hague, September 1872," *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p.291) After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin made a timely sum-up of the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and pointed out, "All the political and economic activities of (the government) are guided by the class conscious vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party." ("The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p.190)

Mao has also stressed, "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs." ("Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite,

Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!" *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. IV, p.284)

Why must the leadership of the party under the dictatorship of the proletariat be resolutely upheld?

First, because the party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The class that occupies the ruling position uses state power to maintain and consolidate its rule, and classes are usually led by a political party. Therefore, the proletariat not only needs its own vanguard organization in the struggle to seize state power. It needs it after the overthrow of the state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to mobilize and organize its forces, to establish and maintain its rule over the whole society and to adhere firmly to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It still needs a vanguard force which represents the interest and concentrates the will of the class—the communist party—to lead the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. The party is organized by the advanced elements of the class. It is made up of the most conscious elements of the proletariat and has the greatest fighting strength. Without the leadership of its party, the proletariat is like an army without headquarters and will not be able to carry out its rule.

The party is armed with Marxism. Marxism is a science correctly revealing the law of development of nature and society. This science guides the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and of all oppressed and exploited peoples. This science guides socialism and communism to world-wide victory. The world outlook of Marxism is dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It is the proletariat's sharpest weapon to know the world and change the world. Only a party armed with Marxism can correctly understand and grasp the objective law of social development. Only such a party can formulate the party's line, general and specific policies based on objective reality, "orienting and organizing the new order" to lead the proletariat and the whole people to march towards socialism and communism.

Second, the party's leadership must be upheld because of its iron discipline. Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of lines. The proletarian political party and its strict discipline are the basic condition for the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. As Lenin said, "The Bolsheviks could not have retained power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, without the most rigorous and truly iron discipline in our Party." ("Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p.23) The iron discipline of the proletarian party comes from the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, its endless devotion to the revolutionary cause, its unswerving confidence in final victory, and its revolutionary spirit which is indomitable and dares to sacrifice. The party's discipline is not blind but self-conscious. Only self-conscious discipline can become a real iron discipline. It is not possible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat without the leadership of a proletarian party with its iron



discipline and full force.

The historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to create the conditions under which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor be regenerated, to abolish all classes and class differences, and to realize communism. This task is very difficult. To accomplish this we need the party's firm leadership. Only under the party's leadership can we organize the proletariat and broad masses to systematically and step-by-step fight together towards the common aim.

The party's leadership is fundamentally the leadership of the correct ideological and political line. Chairman Mao said, "**The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.**" (*The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.17) The historical experience of the international communist movement fully verifies that the success or failure of a revolution led by a political party depends on the correctness or incorrectness of its line. If our line is correct, we can stand in the forefront of history and lead the proletariat and the masses forward. Even if at first we have no people, soon there will be people; even if at first we have no guns, soon there will be plenty of guns; and even if we do not have political power, we can seize political power. On the other hand, if our line is incorrect, we are doomed to fail. Even if we have gained the fruits of revolution, we will lose them fast. Thus, only by persisting in the Marxist line can the party have correct direction, flourish and lead the proletariat and broad masses to overcome all difficulties and win victory after victory.

To understand the party's leadership as the fundamental guarantee of the dictatorship of the proletariat we must correctly handle the relationship between the party and the different departments of the state, the army and the revolutionary mass organizations, to

stand firm on persisting and strengthening the party's centralized leadership. Chairman Mao taught, "**Of the seven sectors—industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the army, the government and the Party—it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.**" (*The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, p.34) Only under the absolute leadership of the party and the guidance of its proletarian revolutionary lines can all other revolutionary mass organizations fully and properly play their roles with the correct direction.

Historically, opportunists and revisionists try their best to revise Marxist theory on the party and oppose the leadership of the party in order to push their revisionist line. This is one method the bourgeoisie uses to attack the proletariat. The Krushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique twisted and revised the correct line of the Leninist party, even though they did not change the name, and transformed the proletarian party into a revisionist, so-called "party of the whole people" which is actually a fascist party. They transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a fascist dictatorship. Lin Piao and his kind, trying to restore capitalism in China and transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, found all kinds of ways to split the party and to weaken and oppose the leadership of the party. On the one hand, they pushed the incorrect line of "many centers means no centers." On the other hand, they spread the lie that all mass movements are "naturally reasonable" to oppose the party's leadership. The history of two-line struggle within the party proves that only persistence in the party's correct leadership is the fundamental guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. □