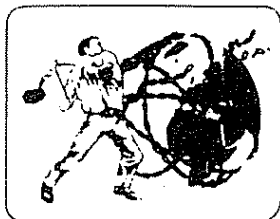


PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER VEREINIGT EUCH!
PROLETARIER ALLER LÄNDER UND UNTERDRÜCKTE VÖLKER VEREINIGT EUCH!

GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG



Organ für den Aufbau der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei Westdeutschlands

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On the "Proposal" of the C.P. of China's "General
Line of the International Communist Movement", 1963

THE REQUIREMENTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-
LENINIST GENERAL LINE

P a r t VI

The Scheme of the "Peaceful and Non-peaceful Path" Contradicts Marxism-Leninism

Basis for Discussion

Joint Statement of the Editorial Boards of
ROTE FAHNE (Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party
of Austria)

WESTBERLINER KOMMUNIST (Organ for the Building of the
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I. THE THESES OF THE KRUSHCHOVITE REVISIONISTS ON THE "PEACEFUL PATH" AND THE C.P. OF CHINA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM (SUMMARY)

1. Krushchov Serves up the Tale of the "Peaceful Parliamentary Path" at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

At the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956, Krushchov's probably "most sensational" "innovation", apart from the condemnation of Stalin, was the propaganda of the possibility of a "peaceful path" to socialism. The revisionists asserted that this was merely a "question of tactics". However, at the same time, they mobilized their pen-pushers in all areas of Marxist theory in order to give their theses a Marxist-Leninist cover, while, at the same time, removing the Marxist-Leninist core from the theory of Marxism-Leninism. (*)

While Togliatti raised the "peaceful development of the revolution" into a "principle of world strategy" at the 10th Congress of the CP of Italy (**), Krushchov strove to declare his "peaceful-parliamentary path", his path to socialism "without violence", to be one of the two possible paths.

Thereby, the Krushchovite revisionists made a frontal attack on the path of the October Revolution, as the generally valid path of the violent proletarian revolution. In its place they set a host of speculations "about the various possibilities of transition" from capitalism to socialism:

"It is probable that more forms of transition to socialism will appear. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need

(*) See Note 1: "Krushchov's theory of the 'peaceful- non-violent' path contains fundamental attacks on dialectical and historical materialism and on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." p. 49

(**) Togliatti declared:

"Today, we have elevated the Leninist thesis about the peaceful development of the revolution, which Lenin in his time hardly held to be possible, to a principle of world strategy of the Workers' Movement."

("Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph Over Revisionism", PLA Collection, p. 113, Translated from the Ger. ed. - Transl.)

We shall see in the following that the essential difference between Lenin and Togliatti does not at all consist in their assessment of the probability of a peaceful path. On the contrary, Lenin's understanding of the possibility of a peaceful path, or a relatively peaceful stage of the revolution, was principally different from that of Togliatti.

 In the quotations, all the emphases in capital letters are taken over from the original version;
 all other emphases are made by the editors

not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognize the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to make society."

("Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the 20th Party Congress", February 14, 1956, FLPH, Moscow 1956, p.55, also "Contributions Towards An Ideological Struggle" by the Editorial Board of Westberliner Kommunist : " Main Positions of the 20th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U." (German ed.),p.10)

As can be seen, Krushchov does not recoil from representing and rejecting Lenin's theory of the absolute necessity of violent revolution to be a thesis of the enemies. Thereby Krushchov mixes in a highly demagogical way two totally different questions. This he does by naming "violence and civil war" in one breath. Lenin constantly underlined the generally valid law of proletarian revolution, i.e., the violent smashing of the old state apparatus. He never understood the exceptional case of a "peaceful" development of the revolution, or some phases of it in the sense of being "non-violent" or "parliamentary", to which we shall return in greater detail later. Krushchov, however, unrestrainedly falsified all Lenin's comments, thereby transfiguring Kautsky and Co's old revisionist nonsense into the "most recent understanding of Marxism-Leninism."

The "peaceful" "path to socialism", proclaimed by Krushchov, which renounces revolutionary violence and is based on the ostensible possibility of "transformating" the bourgeois parliament by means of the vote, has absolutely nothing in common with Lenin and his teachings, i.e. with Marxism-Leninism.

Krushchov said:

"At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real possibility to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. The Right-Wing bourgeois parties and their governments are suffering bankruptcy with increasing frequency. In these circumstances the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to popular interest, to capture a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. (Applause) In such an event this institution, traditional in

many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people."

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes."

(Ibid., pp. 45,46; "Contributions Towards An Ideological Struggle", p. 11)

As one can see, this is nothing but the age old revisionist path of "parliamentary transition" to socialism without proletarian revolution, which was propagated by the most stale revisionists of the Second International. Krushchov even "outdid" Kautsky and consorts in so far as he proclaimed this parliamentary path towards "fundamental social changes" to be a new possibility even for "former colonial countries".

So far as the Krushchovites conceived of a revolution or of a revolutionary use of violence, they did it entirely defensive only. They recognized the possibility of a "non-peaceful" path only

"if the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people"

("The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P. of China", in: Peking Review, No. 25, 1963, p.28)

The Krushchovite revisionists spread massive illusions about the fact that at the decisive moment the exploiting classes would neither be ready nor capable of using violence. They recommended to the communists and revolutionaries of practically the entire world to orientate themselves entirely towards and prepare for the "peaceful path". On what reasoning did the Krushchovites base their betrayal of Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution?

Their main argument was that as a consequence of the existence of the 13 countries of the socialist camp, which had totally altered the international balance of forces, the violent smashing of the old state apparatus by means of armed struggle became "superfluous".

They tried to make people believe that, as a consequence of the "favourable international situation", because of the pressure from outside, real conditions had emerged for the parliamentary, peaceful path. For them, the laws of history till then were no longer valid because of the "new conditions", which had ostensible set in. (See: "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", 1959, p.571, Ger.ed.).

Moreover, the Krushchovites also endeavoured to "exploit" various passages of Marx, Engels, Lenin and even Stalin for their purposes (+), where they spoke about the possibility of a "peaceful development of the revolution."

(+) For example, at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity (Footnote contd. on next page).

The revisionists have especially referred to and still refer to statements by Marx and Engels about England and America in the pre-monopoly epoch of capitalism (See, for example, O. Kuusinen and others, "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism", Moscow 1960, p. 79, Ger.ed. Or later also R. Fahrle and P. Schöttler "Chinas Weg - Marxismus oder Maoismus" (China's Path - Marxism or Maoism), Frankfurt/Main 1969, pp. 181,182)

The revisionists also specially like to refer to L e n i n ' s statements about the possibility of a peaceful development of the revolution in the distant future and especially in the short period before the victory of the October Revolution. (See A. Belykov and F. Burlatski, "Communist", No.3, 1960, quoted in: "The Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism", Peking Review No. 14/1964. See also: "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", 1959, Moscow, p. 569, Ger.ed)

The purpose of these manoeuvres, which we shall deal with in detail later because they have also misled and confused many conscious communists, consisted in pretending that Krushchov's conceptions of the peaceful path were a continuation and a further development of the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. However, in reality, there is an unbridgeable chasm between Krushchov and the classics, even if to some extent similar-sounding terms are used. For, wherever a peaceful path is mentioned in the Marxist-Leninist works, there is - in contrast to Krushchov's views - no question at all of sliding into socialism with the help of the parliament and without violent revolution.

The Marxist-Leninists were faced with, and are still faced with the task of exposing the falsifications of the modern revisionists in this vital question. It is their task to remove the confusion created by them so that the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin can correctly be understood, and are a help and a guideline in solving the problem of violent revolution.

2. The C.P. of China's Struggle Against Krushchov's Revisionism

Undoubtedly the C.P. of China was one of the parties and forces not agreeing with Krushchov's "theories" and the 20th Congress about the "peaceful-parliamentary path".(*)

The C.P. of China's ideological struggle suitably repudiated a series of absurdities of revisionist 20th Congress. However, in some other questions, the C.P. of China remained in the theoretical frame created by the revisionists. Let us now consider both these aspects of the C.P. of China's ideological struggle.

Let us first begin with the C.P. of China's correct positions:

(Footnote contd. from last page)

Party of Germany (SED) in 1962, Krushchov referred to Stalin's mention of a peaceful path of the revolution. Unfortunately, in the years after the 20th Congress, the PLA too interpreted some of Stalin's remarks entirely in a revisionist way. See for that Note 2: "The Attitude of the Party of Labour Albania Towards Violent Revolution", p.52

(*) See Note 3: "The Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 on the Question of Violent Proletarian Revolution and the C.P. of China's Position at these Conferences", p.57

Point 11 and 12 of the "Proposal Concerning the General Line" as well as the comment "The Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism" (Peking Review, No. 14/1964, pp.5-22) deal with Krushchov's theses on the "peaceful path". Side by side with a series of incorrect or insufficient formulations and theses, these passages by the C.P. of China also contain many truly fundamental Marxist-Leninist arguments and positions, which constitute a declaration of war against the Krushchovite revisionists and in so far still have great significance.

Therefore our task consists not only in criticising and repudiating the C.P. of China's w r o n g formulations and theses, but also in recognizing and defending their correct positions at that time.

*** In the "Proposal" the C.P. of China emphasizes that the ruling class will "never relinquish power voluntarily" (p.21) and stresses that "there never was a revolution which was able to achieve victory without zigzags and sacrifices". The C.P. of China stresses that

"the birthpangs of a revolution are far less painful than the chronic agony of the old society". (p.23)

The "comment" then states more comprehensively and much more precisely:

*** "Violent revolution is... the only road ...and (is) a universal law of proletarian revolution." (Peking Review, No.14, 1964, p.7) (*)

*** The comment quotes Mao Tsetung's Marxist-Leninist thesis that "the seizure of power by armed force...is the central task...of revolution." (Peking Review, No.14/1964, p.7) (**)

(*) The revisionist standard work "A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", published in Moscow in 1970, which originates from a "Group of Authors" of revisionist professors (Ger.ed. 1973, Frankfurt/Main, Engl.ed 1972, Moscow) also vilifies the correct Marxist-Leninist theses of the "Proposal Concerning the General Line" of the C.P. of China of 1963. There it is said about the comment "Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism", which appeared in September 1963:

"The same 'violent revolution is the universal law of proletarian revolution' was proclaimed to be the only Marxist approach". (eng. ed.p.96)

These revisionist "savants" do not recoil from putting aside Lenin's teaching on the law of violent revolution, put forth by him in works like "The State and Revolution" and "Renegade Kautsky" from ridiculing and sneering at it. It can be seen that in this question they have absolutely no arguments at all to oppose these Marxist-Leninist positions of the C.P. of China.

(**) See also Note 4: "Mao Tse-tung's Attitude Towards the Law of Violent Revolution", p.60

- *** More than once it is unambiguously stressed: to "realize socialism through the 'parliamentary road' is utterly impossible and is mere deceptive talk". (Ibid.p.13 ,p.5)
- *** The C.P.of China quotes Lenin that the masses must systematically be educated in the Marxist views on violent revolution and affirms that these teachings of Lenin are still valid.(Ibid.p.7).
- *** The C.P.of China also refutes the particular arguments of the modern revisionists, namely, their completely absurd reference to Hungary after World War I, as well as their reference to Czechoslovakia after World War II and proves that in both cases the people's arms were decisive. Similarly, the "comment" rightly characterizes the peculiarities of the phase of the "dual power" in Russia, namely, that the "arms were in the hands of the people, and that no coercion from outside was exercised in regard to the people" (Ibid, pp 1off.)
- *** The C.P. of China shows the historical connection of Krushchov's revisionism with Kautsky and Bernstein - and exposes the revisionist currents of Browder, Togliatti and Thorez (Ibid, pp.5-6,18-21).
- *** On the basis of the reality after World War II, the C.P. of China shows that the modern revisionists' reference to the existence of the 13 socialist countries as a basis for a "peaceful path" is absurd because this external factor cannot prevent the immense expansion and militarization of the state machines in the capitalist world. Similarly, in spite of this factor, counter-revolutionary wars of intervention have been the order of the day. (p.12)
- *** The C.P.China's comment closes with the famous conclusion of Marx's and Engels' "Manifesto of the Communist Party" that the Communists can achieve their aims only "by the forcible overthrow" (Ibid,p.21) , which they declare openly.

In view of these excellent arguments by the C.P. of China against the Krushchovite revisionists, which we have sketched here only in brief, it is all the more important to c r i t i c i z e even the w r o n g views of the C. P. of China which contradict in part the correct views mentioned above.

Our criticism essentially aims at the following views of the C.P. of China from this period:

- *** The theses of "preparation" both for the "peaceful" as well as the "non-peaceful path": We find it absolutely wrong because it accepts the core of the revisionists' views. (See Point 11 of the "25-Point Proposal", p.20)
- *** The C.P. of China not only accepts the essence of the scheme of the "two paths", but in the case of violent revolution it also in fact proceeds from the defensive. It does not propagate violent revolution offensively, it completely overlooks the liberating and educative role of armed struggle and is inconsequent in so far as it finds it permissible to mention

the "peaceful path" simply for "tactical reasons".

- *** The C.P. of China does n o t make a distinction in principle between Lenin's comments regarding a "peaceful path" in a certain p h a s e of the Russian Revolution and Krushchov's programmatic theses. The views of Marxism-Leninism, complete in themselves, are not comprehensively defended, as we shall show. Rather, the C.P. of China also violates them.

In order to be able to fundamentally oppose the revisionist distortions, we cannot only enumerate the C.P. of China's wrong views, but must present the problem in a comprehensive manner. For this, we find it absolutely essential to examine closely and systematically Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's views, which constitute a complete system, taking into consideration the exceptional historical situations which have often been quoted and distorted.

II. SOME FUNDAMENTAL TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE NECESSITY OF THE VIOLENT SMASHING OF THE OLD STATE APPARATUS AND THE PREPARATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE'S MASSES

1. Marxism-Leninism On the Necessity of the Violent Smashing of the Bourgeois State Apparatus

In his unsurpassed work "The State and Revolution" with the subtitle "The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution", written by Lenin in August/September 1917, i.e., between the February Revolution and the October Revolution, he first explains in the first chapter that the state is a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. For this, Lenin evaluated Marx's and Engels' entire writings and worked out the fundamental understanding of Marxism that the army and police apparatus are the main instruments of the State. In this first chapter he exposes bourgeois democracy as a form of rule of the capitalist class. He repudiates all illusions regarding the possibility of avoiding violent revolution and states:

Firstly:

|| "The suppression of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution".
(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Coll.Works 25,p.4o5)

Secondly: The liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed classes is

|| "impossible not only without a violent revolution, BUT ALSO WITHOUT THE DESTRUCTION of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class..."
(Ibid., p. 393)

The basic law, discovered (*) already by Marx on the basis of the experiences of the 1848 revolution, brilliantly confirmed by the Paris Commune in 1871 is that the working class must smash, break the existing state machinery, because the proletariat can neither simply take it over, nor can it, so to say, bypass it and slide into socialism. This is, also Lenin emphasizes:

|| "the principal lesson of Marxism regarding the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution in relation to the state."
(Lenin, Coll. Works 25, p. 420)

Already the terms "smash", "break", "destroy" the old state apparatus, the old state machinery, by means of the revolution contain in themselves the conception of violence and the use of violence and would obviously be without any content without that.

* The immediate practical consequence of these teachings is the
* all-round preparation for civil war in the capitalist countries, is the preparation for the revolutionary wars of liberation in the countries dependent on imperialism. The consequence
* is also to educate the masses for armed struggle and for armed
* seizure of power. Thereby, the C.P. must prepare itself in an
* all-round manner to really master the education and organization of the masses for the fulfillment of these tasks.

Proceeding from these fundamental guidelines in "The State and Revolution", and including some of Lenin's later writings (especially his writing "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") and Stalin's writings, we want in particular to deal with three aspects of violent revolution, which are specially significant for fighting against revisionism and for criticizing insufficient and wrong positions of the C.P. of China.

- ** How can the desire of the Communists to live in a world without war be consistent with the active preparation for revolutionary war?
- ** In general, it is always the ruling class which begins with the use of violence against the oppressed class. However, the proletariat must not prepare and carry out the revolutionary war defensively, but must do it offensively.
- ** Kautsky's "peaceful-democratic" path and Lenin's "violent-dictatorial path" are not two possibilities, but an irreconcilable antithesis.

2. The Great Ideals of Communism Do Not Permit Any Margin For Bourgeois Pacifism

The revisionists of all times and all countries have always dema-

(*) See for that Note 5: "The Development of Marx's and Engels' Views on the State and Revolution", p. 68

gogically asked and still ask the Marxists the question: Do you not regard the peaceful seizure of power to be desirable? Would you not prefer it to civil war, which demands many dead and many sacrifices? Would it not therefore be better to first prepare for a "peaceful path"? (*)

In 1899, when Lenin began his revolutionary activity in Russia, he was already confronted with this demagogic question by the editors of "Rabochaya Mysl". He replied:

|| "The working class would, of course, prefer to take power PEACEFULLY..., but to RENOUNCE the revolutionary seizure of power would be MADNESS on the part of the proletariat, both from the theoretical and the practical-political points of view; it would mean nothing but a disgraceful retreat in face of the bourgeoisie and all other propertied classes."
(Lenin, 1899, Coll. Works 4, p. 276-277)

With these words, already written by Lenin before the turn of the century, long before the publication of "The State and Revolution", where he naturally could not yet consider the general features of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, he already clearly pointed out the distinction between wish and reality. Lenin showed that the reformists advanced the primitive question: "Desirable is the struggle that is possible, and possible is the struggle which the workers are waging 'at the given moment' !!!" Lenin lashed at this representation to be crass opportunism:

|| "It would be difficult to express more glaringly the senseless and unprincipled opportunism." (Ibid, p. 274)

It is very obvious that with the phrase "desirable struggle" the opportunists want to misuse the - in a very general sense quite understandable - desire for a peaceful take-over of the proletariat, i.e., a take-over without sacrifices by the working class in order to propagate bourgeois pacifism.

What would be agreeable is one thing and the necessities and demands of reality are another. Only in this sense and with this emphasis, Lenin spoke about the fact that the proletariat would have naturally preferred a "peaceful path" and emphasized elsewhere that:

|| "violence is, of course, alien to our ideals".
(Lenin, Coll. Works 23, p. 69)

(*) In order to make themselves popular with the bourgeoisie, the revisionists even propagated that the peaceful path would serve the "national interests of the country" ("The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P. of China", in: Peking Review, No. 25, 1963, p. 28). The revisionists thus documented how they looked after the interests of the bourgeoisie. In contrast, Lenin never allowed himself to be impressed by the "interests of the whole nation", i.e., by the cares and needs even of the bourgeoisie. He was always concerned with avoiding unnecessary sacrifices among the working class and the working people.

The conditions, which the revolutionaries meet with and which they have to take account of in their struggle, naturally differ from the world historical aims and ideals of Communism. As a result, there is necessarily a distinction between these ideals on the one hand, and the necessary tasks and forms of political struggle leading to them on the other.

Answering the hypocritical reproaches of the bourgeoisie or their helpers, the opportunists, who assert : Communism, that is surely elimination of war, oppression and violence against human beings - therefore, how can you yourselves resort to such means (*), the Communists say : Yes, we stand for communism, for the elimination of wars, of arms , of oppression and of violence, for the elimination of the state. But it fully corresponds to the world outlook of dialectical materialism that, in order to eliminate counter-revolutionary war, at first revolutionary war will have to be waged and be victorious. And in order to eliminate arms, one must take hold of arms. In order to eliminate oppression, the exploiting classes must be suppressed. In order to abolish the state and eliminate violence, we need the dictatorship of the proletariat at long date, which is based on the might of the armed proletariat. These are no anachronisms. We are fighting to realize our wishes . However, we do not do this independently of the given conditions, but according to the exigencies of the revolution, which alone can pave the way to Communism. Thus it is also clear why Lenin demanded in precisely the same sentence , in which he pointed out that "violence is, of course, alien to our ideals", that the programme of the International Communist Movement can only be "recognition of civil war".(Lenin,"A Caricature of Marxism", 1916, Coll. Works 23, p.69) (**)

For the same reasons it is also understandable why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did not limit the education of the proletariat to recognizing the ideals of Communism, although such an education is indispensable. At the same time, they also educated the proletariat, still living in the world of capitalism, to realize the liberating role of revolutionary violence in general, and armed struggle in particular.

The statements of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism quoted below are a slap in the face of all pseudo-Marxists who, with

(*) Already in 1891, Wilhelm Liebknecht, in agreement with Kautsky, fell into the trap of such a pacifist presentation of the question:

"What is revolutionary is not the means , but the goal. Violence is a reactionary factor since centuries".
("Protocol. of the Erfurt Congress of German Social Democracy", 1891, p. 206 - Translation from Ger.ed)

(**) We shall see in the analysis of the "dual power" that after the first civil war in February 1917, Lenin, as he saw the chance of avoiding a second civil war and thus "peacefully" achieving the transition to the socialist stage of the revolution, naturally evaluated the realization of this chance to be "desirable" (Lenin, Coll.Works 25,p.182, Ger.ed.). However, he did this without making any concessions whatsoever to bourgeois pacifism.

clenched teeth, stammer the proletariat will resort to violence "only if it is forced to", "if necessary" (*).

Behind such opportunist tirades there is fundamentally the view: "war is war", "violence is violence". The basic distinction between a revolutionary war of liberation and its effects on the fighters in this war on the one hand, and an imperialist war of plunder and oppression, a counter-revolutionary war, and its effects on the soldiers of this war on the other, the fundamental distinction between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary violence, is thereby totally hushed up, whereas Marxist-Leninists lay emphasis on precisely this distinction.

In "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin recalled Karl Marx's revolutionary approach to this question:

"You will have to go through 15,20,50 years of civil wars and international conflicts", Marx said to the workers, 'not only to change existing conditions, but also to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power.' (See Karl Marx, "Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne", Collected Works, Vol 11, p. 403; quoted in "The Foundations of Leninism", p.45)

In "The German Ideology", Marx and Engels wrote that

"Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a REVOLUTION; the revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the RULING class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class OVERTHROWING it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew."
(Marx/Engels: "The German Ideology", 1845/46, Coll.Works, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1976, pp.52,53)

Only by the use of revolutionary violence against its torturers the proletariat will "rid itself of" the "muck" of illusions, and also that of servility, of dullness and of humiliation.

With sharp irony, Engels exposed all "lamenting preachers" of Herr Dühring's kind.

"To Herr Dühring force is the absolute evil; the first act of force is to him the original sin; his whole exposition is a jeremiad on the contamination of all subsequent history consummated by this original sin; a jeremiad on the shameful perversion of all natural and social laws by this diabolical power , force. That force, however, plays also another role in

(*) For example, it is typical for the Communist party of Germany, ML that the "Rote Rebell", organ of their youth organization "Rote Garde" constantly propagated that one will fight for socialism, "if necessary with violence".

history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, that it is the instrument with the aid of which a social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms - of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation - unfortunately, because all use of force, forsooth, demoralizes the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has been given by every victorious revolution! And this in Germany, where a violent collision - which indeed may be forced on the people - would at least have the advantage of wiping out the servility which has permeated the national consciousness as a result of the humiliation of the Thirty Years' War. And this parsons' mode of thought - lifeless, insipid and impotent - claims the right to impose itself on the most revolutionary party that history has known!" (Engels, "Anti-Dühring", 1878, FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p.255)

Lenin said with regard to these words by Engels:

"The panegyric Engels sang in its honour and which fully corresponds to Marx's repeated statements...this panegyric is by no means a mere 'impulse', a mere declamation or a polemic sally. The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with THIS and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the ENTIRE theory of Marx and Engels." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Coll. Works 25, p.405)

Lenin underlined:

"Civil war is the most intense form of class struggle, but the more intense it is, the more rapidly its flames consume all petty-bourgeois illusions and prejudices." (Lenin, "Third Congress of the Communist International", 1921, Selected Works in 3 Volumes, Moscow 1977, Vol.3, p.562)

And elsewhere he said:

"The school of civil war is never lost upon nations. It is a hard school...it is one that teaches the oppressed classes how to wage civil war and how to carry the revolution to victory. It concentrates in the masses of contemporary slaves the hatred which downtrodden, benighted and ignorant slaves have always carried within them, and which leads to the supreme history-making feats of slaves who have realised the shame of their slavery." (Lenin, as quoted by Dimitroff at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, p. 28, in: "The United Front. The Struggle Against Fascism and War."; International Publishers, New York, 1938; Lenin, Col. Works 15, p.183)

Lenin's passionate avowals to the immense educational significance of the school of civil war and the use of revolutionary violence, with the help of which the proletariat gains its emancipation and becomes capable of exercising its rule, thoroughly ex-

pose all the lamentations by the opportunists about the possible, or "if necessary" perhaps after all not quite avoidable, use of revolutionary violence.

Of course, the civil war, the revolutionary wars of liberation will entail sacrifices by the working class and by the people. However, Lenin proved that all the attempts to lament about this indisputable fact only mean rendering flunkey services for the counter-revolution.

"To bemoan a civil war against the exploiters, to condemn it and to fear it is tantamount to becoming a reactionary.

It means fearing the victory of the workers that may possibly cost tens of thousands of lives and allowing for certain another imperialist bloodbath that yesterday cost millions of lives and will tomorrow cost millions more."

(Lenin, "Draft (or Theses) of the R.C.P.'s Reply to the Letter of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany", 1920, Coll. Works 30, p. 341)

From all these realizations, Lenin not only concluded the absolute necessity of educating the proletariat and the working masses in the theory of violent revolution, but also in the necessity of training them p r a c t i c a l l y to be ready to execute revolutionary violence, and finally to carry out armed struggle. (*)

On this question he wrote:

"We have not confined ourselves to accepting violence in principle and to propaganda for armed uprising. For example, four years before the revolution we supported the use of violence by the masses against their oppressors, particularly in street demonstrations. We sought to bring to the whole country the lesson taught by every such demonstration. We began to devote more and more attention to organising sustained and systematic mass resistance against the police and the army." (Lenin, "Speech at the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland", 1916, Coll. Works 23, p.123)

Lenin's advocacy of revolutionary violence naturally did not limit itself to the advocacy of fisticuffs and stone-throwing. He had a deeper conception of Marx's thesis that the "weapon of criticism" cannot replace the "criticism by weapons".

In accordance with the possibilities, he demanded, in theory and practice, the arming of the proletariat. On this question he wrote on principle:

"An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves." (Lenin, "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution", 1916, Coll. Works 23, p.80)

(*) See also Note 6: "Some Remarks on the Use of Forms of Armed Struggle B e f o r e Beginning an Armed Uprising and the Question of Individual Terror", p.72.

In our opinion, all these conceptions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism do not leave any scope at all for making any reductions in the education of the proletariat in the spirit of violent revolution and armed struggle for "tactical reasons"; or, for "tactical reasons" to speak to the masses about two possible paths, peaceful and non-peaceful, if in fact only the path of armed struggle is open.

Stalin made clear that it contradicts the Leninist method, the method of the unity of theory and practice, the entire attitude of the Marxists towards the education of the masses, if one does not tell the whole truth to the masses. Stalin explicitly opposed all the slogans

"that are intrinsically false, that are actually untenable, slogans in which the Party itself does not believe, but which it nevertheless puts into circulation in order to deceive the masses. Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and bourgeois democrats may act in that way, because divergence between words and deeds and deception of the masses are one of the principal weapons of these moribund parties. But that can never, under any circumstances, be the attitude of our Party, for it is a Marxist party, a Leninist party, an ascending party, and one that draws its strength from the fact that its words are not at variance with its deeds, that it does not deceive the masses, tells them nothing but the truth, and builds its policy not on demagoguery, but on a scientific analysis of class forces."

(Stalin, "Concerning the Questions of A Workers' and Peasants' Government", 1927, Works 9, pp.182-183)

To tell the proletariat, the working masses the truth, even if the bourgeoisie uses this for its campaigns of instigation, to educate the masses, in theory and in practice, for violent revolution and not to allow oneself to be diverted from this by any kind of threats and momentary interests - this is the Marxist-Leninist line, the line of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In this question the last passage in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" of 1848 remains an indispensable programmatic point:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !"
(Marx, Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1848, Coll. Works 6, Progress Publishers 1976, p.519)

3. The Violent Revolution Must Offensively be Propagated, Prepared And Carried Out

Lenin declared:

"Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda'".
(Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", 1905, Coll. Works 9, p.132)

The apologists of the "two possibilities", the "peaceful" and the "non-peaceful" development of the revolution, often quote these words by Lenin. Another statement by Lenin also belongs, so to say, to one of the favourite quotations of the revisionists:

"This exploitation cannot be destroyed without war, and war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes."
(Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", 1905, Coll. Works 8, p.565)

With the help of these quotations, which we must analyse more closely, the modern revisionists try to create a completely defensive scheme, which leaves the initiative totally to the ruling classes. They reason approximately as follows: We will conquer 1. political power peacefully, then possibly 2. the bourgeoisie will begin the civil war against the people and then 3. in case the bourgeoisie has really done this, the people will resort to violence, to non-peaceful means.

This revisionist scheme was formulated in the textbook "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism", which appeared in 1960 in Moscow, as follows:

"It cannot be ruled out that the ruling reactionary classes are not willing to bow to the will of the nation, where the coalition of the democratic parties has gained the majority in the elections, and that they will try to prevent the left parties from taking over power by using violence. The democratic parties will then similarly be forced to reply to the challenge of the reaction with violence. The peaceful course of the revolution will make way for the non-peaceful one".
(Ibid., p. 584, Translated from Ger.ed.)

Can these views of the revisionists be reconciled with Lenin's passages quoted at the beginning? We decisively reply no!

At first, a closer study shows that already Karl Marx in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" did not show civil war to be a solitary act, but to be a long-drawn-out process of class struggle with covert and open forms. Precisely in this sense Lenin explains that the armed uprising of the proletariat of course cannot take place "all of a sudden", but it must be preceded by extensive mass struggles of the working class. In the course of these struggles, before the outbreak of the revolution, the ruling class starts the civil war by internments, arrests, im-

prisonments and shootings, thus by the massive use of its state apparatus.

It already begins with the fact that Lenin stated that the ruling classes, when their rule is seriously threatened, "always and everywhere" resort to violence, "place the bayonets on the agenda", whereas the modern revisionists represent this to be a mere possibility, to be something which "cannot be ruled out". However, this is not the most important thing at all.

Explaining this idea, Lenin made clear with regard to the revisionist objection, one could surely not plan the uprising offensively, but had to wait till the ruling class had begun the "civil war" on a large scale:

"Get out of your study, look about you, and seek your answer in the streets. Has not the government itself started civil war by everywhere shooting down crowds of peaceful and unarmed citizens?"
(Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", 1905, Coll. Works 9, p.71)

The attitude characterizing the revisionists, is to shrink back from the reactionary argument that always the "attacker is in the wrong" and to accept it.

To this cardinal thesis of the revisionists, which had already been put forward before the revolution of 1905 (See Lenin's polemics against Struve's argument "in a civil war the attacker is always in the wrong", Coll. Works 9, p.68), Lenin replied not only by saying that in the broader sense of the term the ruling class had, in any case, already begun the civil war.

Above all, Lenin made clear:

"The revolutionary proletarian...argues differently. He says: 'The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was..it depends on WHAT CLASS is waging the war, and on what politics this war is a continuation of.'
(Lenin, "Renegade Kautsky", 1918, Coll. Works 28, p.287)

The necessity for the proletariat to approach the problems of revolution offensively has both reasons of principle, as well as tactical-military ones:

1. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is not mere self-defence, not a mere hitting-back. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is above all an attack, it is a struggle "to win a world". Orientating the proletariat defensively means, in reality, sinking to the level of a bourgeois advocate of limited "interests of the workers", and, in a revolutionary situation, going over to the side of counter-revolution.

Lenin urgently demanded:

"In the final analysis force alone settles the great problems of political liberty and the class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organise this force and to employ it actively, not only for defence but also for attack."
(Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", 1905, Col. Works 9, p.30)

The events in Indonesia and in Chile (*), and shortly in Bolivia, are not simply examples for the impossibility of the revisionist "peaceful path", but they also show that the offensive preparation for armed struggle, the absolutely essential orientation of the masses towards violent revolution, are necessary in every case and in every respect, and that any deviation from this will be paid for by tremendous blood sacrifices.

2. It is vital to understand this correctly specially for those countries where the proletariat has to take the concrete path of seizure of power as in the October Revolution, the path of an armed uprising, whereby even the correct fixing of the exact day and date of the uprising can be decisive for victory.

(In any case, in a military sense, the question of revolutionary defensive or offensive arises in a different way in all those countries, where the ruling comprador and feudal landlord cliques have for years been suppressing the oppressed population with mass killings and fascist terror, and where a long-drawn-out people's war is necessary.)

Regarding the immediate fixing of the time of the uprising, the Leninists naturally do not wait till the bourgeoisie has beheaded them, and only then "reply to the challenge of the reaction with violence" (as the Krushchovite revisionists demand).

Rather, the Leninist path is to anticipate the sudden assaults of the ruling classes, the concentration of their troops etc, to start and offensively lead the uprising to victory. Lenin often quoted Engels' famous sentences:

"the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising,"
(Engels, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany", 1852, Coll. Works 11, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p.86)

It is very obvious what the revisionist speculations of a "peaceful and non-peaceful path", the revisionist propaganda of first the orientation towards the "peaceful path" mean under the conditions, made clear by Engels here (whether or not they now hang on the phrase-to defend oneself with violence "if necessary"). Such a path of waiting, of the defensive, which leaves the initiative to the reaction, unavoidably leads to most frightful sacrifices and setbacks, to a catastrophic defeat of the proletarian cause.

(*) See for this Note 7: "On the C.P. of Indonesia's and the R.C.P. of Chile's Line in the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolutionary Theory of the 'Peaceful Path'". p. 75

4. Kautsky's and Krushchov's "Peaceful-Democratic" Path On the One Hand and Lenin's "Violent-Dictatorial" Path On the Other Hand Are Not Two Possibilities, But Irreconcilable Opposites

Before we set forth, in what sense and in what framework Lenin spoke about the possibility in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution of a "peaceful development of the revolution", about a "peaceful path" - namely, in the phase of the "dual power" - we must once again underline and document in detail what the demagogy of the modern revisionists seeks to hush up at all costs:

- Lenin and Stalin on the one hand, and Bernstein, Kautsky, Krushchov and Togliatti etc. on the other hand, use here and there similar sounding words, namely, "peaceful path", but,
- in reality, in relation to definition, content and range of the term "peaceful path", there is an irreconcilable anti-thesis between Lenin and Stalin on the one hand, and the revisionists on the other.

Kautsky's "Peaceful Path"

Let us first consider how Kautsky defines his "peaceful path" and how Lenin relentlessly castigates Kautsky's revisionism in this question.

Kautsky characterized his "peaceful path" in one passage, as follows:

"Peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way" (quoted by Lenin in "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", Coll. Works 28, p. 235).

In this explanation it can be seen very clearly that the rejection of Kautsky's "peaceful path", is not a subsidiary question, nor is it a question of form. It becomes clear that Kautsky wants something entirely different from the Communists.

Lenin drew attention to the fact:

"And note how he inadvertently betrayed his cloven hoof when he wrote: 'peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way!'" (Ibid., p. 239)

Lenin proved that Kautsky's basic idea consisted therein that the proletariat should "proceed democratically and not dictatorially" towards the bourgeoisie, both during the revolution as after it, that Kautsky's conception of "peaceful" meant: No use of violence towards the bourgeoisie. As Lenin showed, the truth came to light through the definition given by Kautsky "peacefully, i.e., in a democratic way":

"it is a question of the contrast between PEACEFUL and VIOLENT REVOLUTIONS.

That is the crux of the matter. Kautsky has to resort to all these subterfuges, sophistries and falsifications only to

EXCUSE himself from VIOLENT revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of it, his desertion to the side of the LIBERAL labour policy, i.e., to the side of the bourgeoisie. That is the crux of the matter. (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", Coll. Works 28, p. 239) Kautsky's "peaceful path" is a complete revision of the Marxist theory of the revolution. Lenin pointed out that the essence of the matter, the crux of the matter is Kautsky's "great discovery" that the antithesis between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks (including the entire Second International with Kautsky at its head) is the difference between two radically different methods: the "peaceful path" and the "dictatorial path". (Ibid., p. 232) Lenin retorted, it was true that - from a class point of view - the Bolsheviks would at all events carry out violent, dictatorial measures against the bourgeoisie. These violent, dictatorial methods, about which, however, Kautsky was silent, were deeply democratic and liberating from the point of view of the proletariat and the exploited masses. In "Renegade Kautsky" Lenin showed that Kautsky's phrase of the "peaceful path" contained a complete revisionist programme: rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat as violence over the bourgeoisie (while retaining its recognition in mere words), refusing to smash the state apparatus of the ruling class, rejecting revolution and revolutionary violence of the proletariat altogether.

Lenin summed up:

"what Kautsky demands is a revolution without revolution without fierce struggle, without violence." (Ibid., p. 318)

In other words, Kautsky's programme meant:

"the 'peaceful' winning of a majority under bourgeois - mark you - democracy" (Lenin, Coll. Works 28, p. 237) Elsewhere, Kautsky himself declared in all frankness what he aimed at: "Conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament" (quoted by Lenin "The State and Revolution", Coll. Works 25, p. 494) This was Kautsky's understanding of the "peaceful path".

In relation to Kautsky's fundamental revision of Marxism, Lenin stated:

"Kautsky takes from Marxism what is acceptable to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie (the reformism of the middle Ages) and the progressive historical role of capitalism in general and of

capitalist democracy in particular), and discards, passes over in silence, glosses over all that in Marxism which is UNACCEPTABLE to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespective of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably proves to be a lackey of the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", 1918, Coll. Works 28, p.242)

In these expositions, particularly important for our subject, Lenin crystallizes what is above all "unacceptable to the bourgeoisie" and represents the essence of the proletarian revolution, namely, "the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction".

It is clear that the bourgeoisie and its lackeys can agree to many things, but in no case at all to their own destruction.

Precisely this fact substantiates why the proletariat must establish its own dictatorship and why it cannot build socialism in the frame of bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie cannot agree with its own smashing, and it does not only not agree, but it also has built up its own immense state apparatus, a powerful machinery based on violence (police, gendarmes, military, justice, prisons, jails etc.) in order to suppress and shoot down the revolutionary proletariat and to choke the revolution in blood. Therefore, Stalin, while summing up the debate with the opportunists of the Second International, said very emphatically:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus, the bourgeois police." (Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, FLP Peking, 1977, pp.48-49)

Krushchov's "Peaceful Path"

The Krushchovite revisionists of course knew about Lenin's and Stalin's scathing criticism of the Second International and of Kautsky. They desperately tried to demarcate themselves from the "reformists". Apart from the fact that they still used terms like "revolution", "class struggle" and even "dictatorship of the proletariat" - depleted of their content - their argument above all consisted therein that the reformists had one path to offer, they, on the contrary, more, namely, two paths:

"The reformists consider...the peaceful path to be the only path to socialism. In contrast, the Marxist-Leninists (say the Krushchovite revisionists- Authors' Note) on the one hand state the possibility of a peaceful revolution but while doing so they also see the other side." ("Fundamental Questions of Marxism-Leninism", Moscow, 1960

p.581; translated from Ger.Ed., See also: "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", Moscow, 1958, p.572 -Ger .ed.)

Let us be clear: The revisionists concede the possibility of the "peaceful path" to the reformists (the social-democrats), i.e., by the term "peaceful path" they understand exactly the same as Kautsky.

This is no mere assertion, this can be proved. At first the Krushchovite revisionists emphasize, just as Kautsky did in his time, that the "peaceful method" is not a question of the form of the violent revolution, but actually it is the question of the "character" of the revolution: For example, the revisionists write:

"Of course, nobody asserts that the proletarian revolution in other countries must necessarily have the same character as in Russia". ("Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism", p.574, Translated from Ger.Ed.)

Elsewhere it is said:

"In that moment in which it orientates the masses towards the proletarian revolution, every working class Party is confronted with the question regarding the character of the revolution: Will the socialist transformation take place peacefully or non-peacefully?" (Ibid., p.575)

From the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, we willingly agree that the modern revisionists think of the character of the revolution whenever they talk about the alternative of the "peaceful or non-peaceful path". In a certain way, we are grateful that with this the revisionists help us to prove that their "peaceful path" completely contradicts the character of the October Revolution.

That the "peaceful path" of the Krushchovite revisionists has nothing, absolutely nothing in common with Leninism becomes also clear by the following passage:

"The peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the working class...is a transfer, whereby the existing power is overthrown without armed violence." ("Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy", Moscow, 1958, p.570, Translated from Ger.ed.)

In the case of such a definition of "peaceful transition", in reality only the word revolution remains. In the face of such a position, we necessarily think of Engels, who said:

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon, all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its

arms inspire in the reactionaries."

(Quoted in : "The State and Revolution", Coll. Works 25, p.442)

By this, Engels clarifies in all sharpness that, in this or that way, the power of arms is decisive, or as Mao Tse-tung formulated it, "Political power grows from the barrel of a gun".

- The revisionist formula of a "peaceful transition" is not the conception of a relatively peaceful development of the revolution at all, and definitely not of one or the other of its phases, but is in reality only a paraphrase of renouncing the revolution. It is a move into Kautsky's and the Second International's path, into the path of parliamentary cretinism.

Of course, the Krushchovite revisionists know about Lenin's and Stalin's scathing criticism regarding any kind of illusions about the parliamentary path. Once in a while they deferentially pay their respects to this "old" criticism by Lenin, dating from earlier times, in order to declare afterwards that for today, under supposedly "new conditions" precisely the "path of attaining the majority in parliament" is possible as a "form of peaceful transition to socialism" (See "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism", p.582, Ger.ed.)

In the revisionist standard work "Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy" of 1958 it is said:

"E a r l i e r the Marxists utilized the parliament as a platform...however, at the same time they turned against the 'parliamentary illusions' of the reformists that the task of socialist transformation of society could be solved by the parliamentary path. The Marxists were right in this...at that time."

However, directly after that it is said that

"P r e s e n t l y ...under certain circumstances, the parliament could...become an instrument for the socialist transformation of society." (p.571 Ger .ed. - translated from Ger .ed.)

Here it becomes clear that in reality the "peaceful path" of the modern revisionists, just like Kautsky's "peaceful path", contains an entire programme of reformism and parliamentarism, i.e., the renunciation of revolution, the relinquishment of smashing the old state apparatus, the refusal to destroy the bourgeoisie. As an instrument of the socialist revolution, they are putting the parliament in the place of the "power of arms".

In the struggle against the modern revisionists it is necessary to clarify in all distinctness and without any concession the fact that their "peaceful path", their scheme of the "peaceful and non-peaceful path" is not an isolated deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Rather it is a complete programme which is revisionist through and through. It is a programme of non-violent, "democratic" "revolution", which is based on the vote and of which nothing remains, but mere reform and a pious hope for the revolution. (*)

(*) Footnote, see the following page

In the next chapter we shall deal in detail with the fact that Lenin, too, in certain contexts had spoken of a "peaceful path" of the revolution, a "peaceful development" in a certain phase of the revolution. Also, we shall deal with under what pre-conditions and with what understanding he spoke of this. Before this, however, we have to make a fundamental statement, which will make clear that there is no agreement at all between these passages by Lenin and the ideas of Kautsky, Krushchov etc.

- Whenever Lenin considered civil war to be avoidable under certain pre-conditions in a certain period, he never permitted
- the least doubt about the fact that he a l w a y s proceeded from the armed proletariat, from the destruction of the old state apparatus of the exploiters, from violent revolution and from the violent suppression of the bourgeoisie.
- Indeed, he proceeded from the fact that the avoidance of civil war, eventually possible, would actually be based on the successes already attained in the previous civil war.

There is only a superficial resemblance between Lenin's formulation and the formulation of the revisionists. In reality, there is an irreconcilable opposition between the revisionist programme of a "peaceful path" and Lenin's remarks about a possible "peaceful path". In fact, this opposition is the opposition between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

(Footnote from last page)

A kind of pseudo-left variation of modern revisionism developed in a few revisionist parties which was different from that of Krushchov and from the official C.P.S.U. textbooks of the late 50's and early 60's, quoted farther above. In the 70's the leadership of the C.P.S.U., too, tried to conceal its revisionism better and, in the question of the "peaceful path", preferred to seek its salvation in some pseudo-left variations. Whereas Togliatti declared the "peaceful path" to be the only one, Krushchov spoke about two possible paths, the non-violent and the violent, and as a third variation, these revisionists finally propagated the following:

"A peaceful victory of the socialist revolution is not at all equivalent to denying the use of force in the struggle...in this sense, no deep-going social revolution is conceivable without the organisation of massive political action, without the use of coercive measures with respect to the exploiters, and without the establishment of a dictatorship of the revolutionary classes."

("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", 1970, p.99f)

Thereby, the revisionists no longer defined their "peaceful path" to be "non-violent", but merely to be a path "without civil war" (Ibid. p.98), which was nevertheless based on violence. Of course, this is a more refined variation than that of Krushchov, because it seems to come closer to Lenin's formulations. Contrary to Lenin, however, even in this version the revisionists proceed

1) not from the armed people's masses, but merely from the

(Footnote continued on next page)

III. WITH WHAT UNDERSTANDING DID LENIN AND STALIN SPEAK ABOUT THE EXCEPTIONAL POSSIBILITY OF A "PEACEFUL PATH"?

1. Peculiarities During the "Dual Power" in Russia in 1917

a) Lenin and Stalin about the possibility of a "peaceful" further development of the revolution in the phase of the "Dual Power" mid 1917

In their attempt to sell their revisionist conceptions of the "peaceful path" as being "Leninist", the modern revisionists specially like to quote scraps of sentences from the period of the "dual power" in Russia, when Lenin spoke about the necessity of attempting a "peaceful" further development of the revolution.

At that time, at the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Lenin said concerning the further development of the February Revolution of 1917 into the socialist revolution:

"In Russia, this revolution can, by way of exception, be a peaceful one."
(Lenin, "Speech On the Attitude Towards the Provisional Government", 1917, Coll. Works 25, p.23)

Stalin too proceeded from such a possibility during the phase of the "dual power" as he retrospectively said about the activity of the Central Committee in May, in the Report of the Central Committee at the 6th Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B), held on July 27, 1917:

"The Central Committee proceeded from the fact that our revolution was developing along peaceful lines, and that the composition of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, and hence of the government, could be altered by new elections to the Soviets."
(Stalin, "Speech Delivered At the Sixth Congress of The R.S. D.L.P.(Bolsheviks)", Juli 27, 1917, Works 3, p.166)

(Footnote from last page)

"extra-parliamentary struggle" of the masses, from strikes, demonstrations and such things (Ibid., p.99)

2) not from the analysis, whether the old state apparatus has already been smashed or not (if yes, then how other than with the power of weapons?). Instead, they merely drivel about a "revolutionary mass movement".

3) just as in the other variety, from the conception of making "the parliament serve the people" (Ibid. p.99).

Here also parliamentary cretinism clearly emerges. This third variety of revisionism claims that the "peaceful path" is a question of "real political tactics and strategy" (Ibid., p.98). This is completely in contrast to the Marxist-Leninists, who know that everywhere today reactionary state apparatuses exist and are being extended. For this reason, they reject every talk of the "peaceful path" as a real possibility.

b) The armed uprising in February 1917 was the pre-condition for the "Dual Power". Only its success makes the essential features of the "Dual Power" comprehensible

The revisionists, who refer to Lenin's (or even Stalin's) statements from the period of the "dual power", however, carefully avoid establishing the CONTEXT of these words, in order to evade the ESSENCE OF THE QUESTION, in order to leave out everything which could expose their revisionist demagoguery.

- The fact that in Russia a civil war had already
- taken place is the first and most fundamental
- recognition for correctly understanding and classifying Lenin's and Stalin's words quoted above. The possibility of a
- peaceful development did not concern the entire path of the
- Russian revolution, but only a particular phase in the entire
- process of this revolution. The revolution would have been
- inconceivable without the foregoing civil
- war of the proletariat. Simply forgetting this heroic bloody
- CIVIL WAR OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT and pretending that
- it did not have any influence on the continuation of the revolution up to October 1917 is the most base and gross deception!

Lenin expressly wrote; after the "first civil war", after the first stage of the revolution, on the basis of its results, the possibility of perhaps avoiding a second civil war came up. (See Lenin, Coll. Works 24, p.236).

The armed struggle for smashing tsarism was the most essential pre-condition for the possibility of a peaceful development in the second stage of the revolution.

It is totally impossible to understand the peculiarities of the "Dual Power" and to draw the required lessons from it WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THIS FACT, WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

The "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)" gives a graphic description of the course of the February Revolution:

"On the morning of February 26 (March 11) the political strike and demonstration began to assume the character of an uprising. The workers disarmed police and gendarmes and armed themselves. Nevertheless, the clashes with the police ended with the shooting down of a demonstration on Znamenskaya Square...

On February 27 (March 12) the troops in Petrograd refused to fire on the workers and began to line up with the people in revolt. The number of soldiers who had joined the revolt by the morning of February 27 was still no more than 10,000, but by the evening it already exceeded 60,000.

The workers and soldiers who had risen in revolt began to arrest tsarist ministers and generals and to free revolutionaries from jail. The released political prisoners joined the revolutionary struggle.

In the streets, shots were still being exchanged with police

and gendarmes posted with machine guns in the attics of houses." ("History of the C.P.S.U.(B)", 1939, FLPH, Moscow; Red Star Reprint, 1976, London, p.175/176)

It was a harsh, bloody struggle, full of sacrifices, in which both sides used all available means of violence - it was a revolution! Only its successes, along with some other peculiarities which emerged in Russia at that time, gave rise to the possibility, ascertained by Lenin, (and moreover characterized to be "extremely exceptional") of passing over to the socialist stage of the revolution without a renewed civil war, and in so far "peacefully".

The absolute pre-condition for this possibility was not just the fact of the February Revolution, but the decisive role of the proletariat in this revolution. Lenin unambiguously stated:

"The revolution was made by the proletariat. It displayed heroism; it shed its blood; it swept along with it the broadest masses of the toilers and the poor..." (Lenin, "Letters From Afar", March, 1917, Coll. Works 23, p.310)

Thus, the February Revolution was a violent, armed uprising of the proletariat, which led to the overthrow of tsarism and gave rise to extraordinarily favourable possibilities of developing further into the socialist revolution.

The most essential thing about this much quoted and seldom understood phase in the course of the Russian Revolution - characterized as the phase of the "Dual Power" by Lenin and Stalin, under the conditions of which the peaceful further development of the revolution became at all conceivable - consisted above all in the following two decisive facts.

The core, the essence of it was :

1. The proletariat was armed because of the preceding civil war. It had extensive possibilities of carrying out its own arming and that of the people under its leadership. This was an indispensable pre-requisite for successfully carrying forward the revolution.
2. Though the state apparatus of the ruling class was not yet totally smashed, it was not in a functioning condition. It was partly smashed and partly paralysed, while already basic forms of power organs of the proletariat had emerged in the form of the Soviets.

c) "UNSTABLE STATE POWER" - "ARMS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE" - the ESSENCE OF THE "DUAL POWER"

After the phase of the Dual Power, Lenin summed up the peculiarities of this phase as follows:

"Let us not forget that the issue of power is the fundamental issue of every revolution. At that time state power was unstable. It was shared by volun-

tary agreement, between the Provisional Government and the Soviets. The Soviets were delegations from the mass of free - i.e., not subject to external coercion - and armed workers and soldiers. What REALLY MATTERED was that arms were in the hands of the people and that there was no coercion of the people from without. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the progress of the revolution."

(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Coll. Works 25, pp. 185-186)

At the time of the dual power, Lenin elaborated with regard to the real existing armed might of the people and their organs.

"What is this dual power? Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the BOURGEOISIE, ANOTHER GOVERNMENT has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing - the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. What is the class composition of this other government? It consists of the proletariat and the peasants (in soldiers' uniforms). What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and NOT ON A LAW enacted by a centralised state power...THIS power is of THE SAME TYPE as the Paris Commune of 1871." (Lenin, "The Dual Power", 1917, Coll. Works 24, p.38)

The state of the Commune type replaced the army and the police, separated from the people by the direct and immediate armament of the people themselves. Similarly it replaced the privileged officialdom, standing above the people, by employees of the people who could be directly elected or dismissed, who were directly responsible to the people and who were paid a worker's wage. Like the Paris Commune, the Soviets were not based on a juridical foundation, but were a revolutionary reality created by the direct arming of the people's masses.

THE ARMING OF THE PROLETARIAT and of the people's masses, led by the proletariat, was an ESSENTIAL FEATURE of the phase of the dual power. It was vigorously carried forward. In every revolution the POWER OF ARMS is decisive, during civil war as well as in a phase of the revolution, when a "peaceful" further development seems conceivable.

Correspondingly, Stalin wrote, in conformity with Lenin, that a revolution

"cannot win without an armed force that is ready to serve it at all times." (Stalin, "Conditions For the Victory of The Russian Revolution", 1917, Works 3, p.14)

Stalin urgently emphasized that an armed force

"an army of armed workers who are naturally connected with the centres of the revolutionary movement" (Ibid)

was absolutely necessary and at the time of the dual power it

had been present in Russia, i.e., it had largely been formed and developed.

The armed working class, arms in the hands of the people - this was only one peculiarity of the phase of the "dual power", which alone was not adequate and sufficient to make a peaceful development of the revolution really possible.

The other aspect of this matter was the IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE RULING CLASS to use armed forces against the revolution.

Lenin paid extraordinary attention to this second aspect. He analyzed exactly the condition of those parts of the old state apparatus, which were still existing and had not yet been smashed. He carefully observed every change in this regard and he orientated himself in all respects towards the fact that the ISSUE OF THE STATE, the issue of armed power is the fundamental issue of every revolution.

In the FEBRUARY REVOLUTION, the workers in Russia had already begun to s m a s h the old state machine. This was ascertained by Lenin in his "Letters From Afar" (written in March 1917 during his Swiss emigration)):

"I said that the workers have smashed the old state machine. It will be more correct to say: have begun to smash it."
(Coll. Works 23, p.326)

What this implied was vividly described by Lenin with the example of Petrograd, one centre, if not the centre of the revolution - where the situation was characterized by the fact that big sections of the troops, disorganized and demoralized because of the continuing war situation, had gone over to the side of the revolutionaries in the course of the February Revolution. In Petrograd and in many other places the police had partly been wiped out, or had partly been disbanded by the revolutionary masses. The tsarist bureaucrats had been thrown out of office by the workers etc.

In Petrograd, power already lay, in effect, in the hands of the workers and soldiers. The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry had already largely become a reality, even if in an extraordinarily original way, as Lenin ascertained. In relation to Petrograd he emphasized:

"the new government is NOT using and cannot use violence against them, because THERE IS NO police, NO army standing apart from the people, NO officialdom standing all-powerful ABOVE the people."
(Lenin, "Letters on Tactics", 1917, Coll. Works 24, p.46)

WHAT LESSONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THIS ANALYSIS OF THE CONDITIONS, UNDER WHICH LENIN DEEMED POSSIBLE A "PEACEFUL PATH OF THE REVOLUTION" ?

Perhaps that even without the "power of arms" power can be conquered?

Perhaps that the old state apparatus of the ruling class does not have to be smashed ?

Obviously not at all! Exactly the opposite is shown by the study of this phase of the history of the Russian Revolution, the phase of the dual power. Armed struggle, reliance on the armed workers' guards, smashing the old state apparatus, at first and at least its main constituents, i.e., above all the army - all this must unconditionally be carried out before one can even talk about a "peaceful path", or more precisely, about a "peaceful further development" of the revolution:

THIS is the essence of the matter, which is so assiduously evaded by the apologists of the "two paths of the revolution".

d) Has Lenin been refuted by history, when he took a course towards the "peaceful path" in a certain phase of the revolution?

It is well-known that, finally, even in the second stage of the Russian Revolution, the peaceful development of the revolution was NOT realized, but that it came to a second civil war.

Can we say that this was a WRONG ASSESSMENT BY LENIN and STALIN?

Has PRACTICE shown that there can never be a "peaceful revolution"?

These questions are w r o n g l y raised right from the beginning. If we more precisely examine the period in which Lenin talked about "peaceful revolution", we shall see that not only Lenin's assessment was correct, but also that in this period and under these conditions, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had unconditionally to take a course towards a "peaceful" further development.

Based on the fact that the arms were in the hands of the proletariat, and that the old state apparatus, particularly the old army, was not in functioning order, the following reasons were decisive for this necessity:

* The proletariat was

"owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat" (Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", 1917, Coll. Works 24, p. 22)

not yet ready to overthrow the objectively counterrevolutionary government of the bourgeoisie (even if this was incapable of attacking at that moment).

Rather, the majority of the working class had itself v o-

l u n t a r i l y and trustingly conceded power to this government.

* This objectively counter-revolutionary imperialist government had not yet demonstrated its character by means of d e e d s.

Thus, the situation was characterized by

|| "the absence of violence towards the masses, and, finally, by their unreasoning trust in the government of capitalists, those worst enemies of peace and socialism." (Ibid., p.22)

* Finally, in this phase, it was n o t a question of the fact that the government did not w a n t to use violence against the people, but that it was not in a p o s i t i o n to do so. (To be sure, the bourgeoisie, of course feverishly worked towards putting together the remains of the old state apparatus, towards setting up troops for counterrevolution etc.)

On the one hand, the severely damaged reactionary state apparatus was s t i l l not in a position to proceed with violence against the people. On the other hand, it s t i l l enjoyed an almost blind trust of the masses. In addition, revolutionary power organs had already emerged in the form of Soviets. Nevertheless, these Soviets lacked experience and the Bolsheviks constituted only a minority in them. Under these conditions, the main thing was - which was also possible ! - to take a course towards a phase of "peaceful revolution", that is, to win the majority of the people, to carry out the conquest of the majority in the Soviets " p e a c e f u l l y ", in order to then strive at constituting a provisional REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, based on the power of the Soviets.

Issuing the s l o g a n of further civil war, of armed struggle, would under these circumstances have been totally wrong and would have led to a severe setback, since it did not correspond to the necessities and possibilities of the situation.

In the "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)" it is said about this phase of the Revolution in Russia:

|| "This meant that Lenin was not calling for a revolt against the Provisional Government, which at that moment enjoyed the confidence of the Soviets, that he was not demanding its overthrow, but that he wanted, by means of explanatory and recruiting work, to win a majority in the Soviets, to change the policy of the Soviets, and through the Soviets to alter the composition and policy of the government. This was a line envisaging a peaceful development of the revolution. ("History of the C.P.S.U.(B) - Short Course", 1939, Red Star Press Reprint, London 1976, p.186)

That in the given period this path was the o n l y correct one, does not mean that it could also definitely be realized. That is why, in spite of taking a course towards the "peaceful path", Lenin did not for a moment disregard the fact that again, in the next moment, the struggle with bullets and civil war could be put on the agenda. He and the Bolsheviks in no way concealed this,

but spoke about it openly.

As it is known, the situation could not be utilized for a peaceful development in the sense of successfully carrying forward the revolution, but only in the sense of gaining the support and sympathy of the m a s s e s , above all, the working class. In the long run, the counter-revolutionary government disposed of enough troops to start again disarming and suppressing the revolution. The SECOND CIVIL WAR, the October revolution, took its victorious course in the form of an armed uprising.

e) Evaluation of the experiences of the "Dual Power" in the light of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist theoreticians of the "Peaceful Path"

In our opinion, a successful evaluation of the experiences of the "Dual Power" is only possible in the fight against revisionist theories of the "peaceful path".

For Lenin the phase of the "peaceful path" is ASSOCIATED precisely with such CONDITIONS which totally spoil the revisionists' fun and thoroughly refute all their theories.

* It was o n l y possible on the BASIS OF THE C I V I L
* W A R IN FEBRUARY .

*
* Only the armed February uprising fulfilled the basic
* precondition that the working class, the people were
* a r m e d .

*
* By means of the February Revolution, the proletariat's up-
* rising and its armed struggle, the process of smashing the
* old state apparatus had already begun in a massive way.

*
* As a further very essential factor, the total situation brought
* forth by World War I should finally be added (which we are pre-
* senting only for the sake of completeness).

THE "PEACEFUL" FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION - ON THE BASIS OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT, ON THE BASIS OF SMASHING THE STATE APPARATUS OF THE RULING CLASS, WHICH HAD ALREADY BEGUN, -

t h i s was the conception that Lenin and Stalin had of the "peaceful path".

It is possible to talk and discuss about such a possibility - mark you-in relation to a certain phase in the entire process of a revolution. S u c h a possibility (particularly in those countries where the smashing of the old state-apparatus has already largely been "accomplished" in the first stage of the revolution, so that possibly the second stage can be carried out "peacefully") can n o t be ruled out in principle. Even this does not mean that the possession of arms and the armed might of the proletariat, as well as the use of violence in general, can be dispensed with. It only implies that under certain circumstances, a renewed civil war is avoidable.

But such a conception of the "peaceful path" has absolutely nothing to do with the situation in the countries of the imperialist world system and, in particular, cannot be used in the advanced capitalist countries, where the state apparatus has not been damaged or paralyzed by any previous armed altercation, where armed formations are more than ever inflated, while the proletariat and its workers are unarmed. In such countries and situations, the smashing of the old state apparatus can take place only by means of the armed struggle of the proletariat, by means of the armed uprising. It is a prelude and part of the proletarian revolution and a decisive step on the path to socialism.

Thus, it turns out that Lenin's and Stalin's statements about a "peaceful path" of the revolution in the phase of the "Dual Power" CONFIRM THE PRINCIPLES AND LAWS that the smashing of the old state apparatus must take place by armed struggle, that the old state apparatus must unconditionally be smashed.

Although Lenin and Stalin had talked about the possibility of a "peaceful path" in a situation for which there is no parallel today, this is no reason at all to make any CHANGE whatsoever in the propaganda for the ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEOPLE'S MASSES, in the PROPAGANDA FOR THE VIOLENT SMASHING OF THE OLD STATE APPARATUS WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

2. The Theoretical Possibility of a "Peaceful" Path of The Revolution As An Exceptional Case Conceivable In The "Distant Future" Does Not Alter The Necessity Of Preparing The Armed Struggle Of The Masses

The modern revisionists specially love to refer to Lenin's and Stalin's comments on the possibility, eventually conceivable in the "distant future", of a "peaceful path" of the revolution in some countries. They act as if this "distant future" has already arrived. They say: What has earlier been valid for isolated countries is now valid for many or most countries.

A closer examination even reveals that the modern revisionists not only completely separate the quotations in question from the context, but also distort and twist them.

Lenin wrote:

"However, it cannot be denied that in individual cases, by way of exception, for instance, in some small country after the social revolution has been accomplished in a neighbouring big country, peaceful surrender of power by the bourgeoisie is POSSIBLE, if it is convinced that resistance is hopeless and if it prefers to save its skin."
(Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism", 1916, Coll. Works 23, p.69)

From the entire manner of presentation, it already becomes clear that Lenin does not proceed from an UNARMED PROLETARIAT, which pleads and begs, but from the fact that the MILITARY PRE-

DOMINANCE of the proletariat on the whole is so great that the ruling class finds itself in a hopeless situation and wishes at least to "save its skin". Should all this occur somewhere, should the ruling class not have any possibility of waging civil war or in the case of military resistance, should it, apart from its property, inevitably also lose its skin and knows this very exactly, then it is of course possible that it surrenders power "peacefully". (In such a situation it would have had this power only on paper).

- "Peacefully", this obviously means nothing but WITHOUT CIVIL
- WAR! This, however, precisely does not mean "voluntarily", i.e., WITHOUT THE POWER OF ARMS, OR WITHOUT ANY
- VIOLENCE AT ALL. It also does not mean that the old
- state apparatus does not have to be smashed, and it especially does not mean that in such a situation the dictatorship of the proletariat would be superfluous.

THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE, because only the POWERFUL, ARMED proletariat can compel the bourgeoisie to endure a development which culminates in its liquidation as a class.

The consequence drawn by Lenin in relation to the above mentioned possibility is of special importance.

Does he now say that the proletariat should prepare for two paths, for the civil war and for the peaceful path? (*) Does he constantly speak of two possibilities?

Nothing like that. Immediately after Lenin has mentioned the "exceptional case" that the bourgeoisie in a small country "peacefully surrenders power", which, after all, is possible, he continues:

(*) In 1919 Lenin declared:

"There can be no peaceful evolution towards socialism".
(Lenin, "Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality", 1919, Coll. Works 29, p. 363)

And in the "History of the C.P.S.U. (B), Short Course", it is said:

"Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital ... by peaceful means".
(("History of the C.P.S.U. (B)", op. cit. p.9)

Is there a contradiction between these statements and those quoted above in the text? Not in the least. For, as it very clearly emerges from the context, here - in the polemic with the Mensheviks - "peaceful" is used in the sense of non-violent-democratic, and a "non-violent-democratic" victory over the bourgeoisie is in fact impossible under all circumstances. If, on the contrary, "peacefully" is used in the sense of without civil war, then it is evidently something quite different. Lenin and Stalin considered such a possibility to be conceivable as an exceptional case, under particularly favourable circumstances.

"It is much more likely, of course, that even in small states socialism will NOT be achieved without civil war, and for that reason the ONLY programme of international Social- Democracy must be recognition of civil war."
(Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism", 1916, Coll. Works 23, p. 69, emphases in capital letters by Lenin)

In this way or that, regardless of any theoretically conceivable exceptional case, the proletariat must under all circumstances prepare itself for civil war. This is the LENINIST ANSWER, which does not leave any scope at all for a path "without the power of arms", without the smashing of the old state apparatus etc.!

EVEN WHERE LENIN CONSIDERED A PATH WITHOUT CIVIL WAR TO BE A "THEORETICALLY POSSIBLE" EXCEPTIONAL CASE AND IN SO FAR TALKED ABOUT A "PEACEFUL" PATH, HE ALWAYS PROCEEDED FROM THE ARMED PROLETARIAT, FROM THE VIOLENT REVOLUTION, FROM THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH WAS BASED ON REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE !(*)

As far as Stalin's comments about a "peaceful path" as a possibility conceivable "in the distant future" are concerned, they coincide totally with those of Lenin.

(*) A clear example of what restrictions Lenin made in relation to certain exceptional situations, in which it would have been conceivable that the civil war as a typical form of the violent revolution could be avoided and the power of the armed proletariat coincided with the weakness of the ruling class in such a way that a "peaceful" revolution forced the bourgeoisie to relinquish power, is to be found in "A Publicist's Notes" from 1920. There, Lenin proceeded from the case that in "nine countries, including all the Great Powers" already the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established and the bourgeoisie had been crushingly defeated. Then, as Lenin said, "speaking theoretically, which in this case means speaking quite abstractly", it was quite "conceivable" that then in a tenth country, in "one of the smallest and most 'peaceful' countries", the bourgeoisie of that country, under the pressure of circumstances, announced its readiness to come to terms with its systematic expropriation and submitted to it "peacefully". Of course, one could not absolutely exclude such an exceptional case, as Lenin conceded. However, he once again emphasized the following, highly improbable pre-conditions:

"...presumes an absolutely secure victory of the proletariat, the absolute hopelessness of the position of the capitalists, the absolute necessity for them to display the most scrupulous obedience and their readiness to do so." (C.W. 30, p. 361)

We see that Lenin did not leave even the smallest lacuna for the revisionist conceptions of a "peaceful path". That is why these are forced to resort to the demagogic method of again and again asserting that Lenin too foresaw a "peaceful path", however without making clear, in what sense and under what totally extraordinary circumstances Lenin talked about such an "abstract" possibility.

For the sake of completeness, we also quote this passage which in essence contains exactly the same.

In "The Foundations of Leninism", Stalin wrote:

"Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the principal capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist encirclement, a 'peaceful' path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the 'unfavourable' international situation, will consider it expedient 'voluntarily' to make substantial concessions to the proletariat."
(Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, Works 6, p. 50)

Victory of the proletariat and establishment of the socialist social order in the "most important countries" - that would at least be in all imperialist Great Powers of the world !

It is very evident that this "remote future" has not yet arrived by far. Therefore, what Stalin prudently added, is valid even today :

"But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future. With regard to the immediate future, there is no ground whatsoever for this supposition". (Ibid)

And Stalin underlined, not by chance, precisely in the context of such an idea:

"the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition for such a revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world." (Ibid.)

The core of Marxist-Leninist theory, the necessity of the armed power of the proletariat, the unconditional necessity of smashing the old state apparatus, is not affected by any possibilities in the distant future. This core is unconditionally valid even in this "remote" future, even if then a "civil war" can possibly be avoided here and there.

Finally, for all "distant futures", the point must be adhered to that, in relation to the seizure of power, even the "improbable" possibility of avoiding civil war does not change anything with regard to the fact that the programme of the Communists - as far as the seizure of power by the proletariat is concerned - has to SOLELY orientate itself towards CIVIL WAR!

3. The Epoch of Imperialism and the Proletarian Revolution Renders Indispensable the Preparation by the Proletariat and the Oppressed Masses of the People For Armed Struggle, For the Smashing of the Old State Apparatus in All Countries of the World

In 1920 (after the experience of the "Dual Power" and after his reflections regarding the conceivability of "peaceful" revolu-

tions in the distant future), Lenin set himself the task of taking a stand on the question of the path of the revolution, which would be programmatic for the Communists of the whole world.

We underline our conviction that even today, and precisely today, it is absolutely essential for Marxist-Leninists to unreservedly support these expositions by Lenin and make them the base for their own activity. THE THREE UNDERSIGNING SIDES SEE IN THEM THE BASIS FOR THEIR ENTIRE PROPAGANDISTIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY.

In "The State and Revolution", Lenin wrote that in the epoch of imperialism INCREASINGLY STRONG STATE APPARATUSES HAD DEVELOPED in all countries. He wrote that the law of smashing the old state apparatus WAS INDISPENSIBLE and that this smashing had to take place by means of armed struggle.

"There is not the slightest doubt that these features are common to the whole of the modern evolution of all capitalist states in general. In the three years 1848-51 France displayed, in a swift, sharp, concentrated form, the very same processes of development which are peculiar to the whole capitalist world.

Imperialism - the era of bank capital, the era of gigantic capitalist monopolies, of the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism - has clearly shown an extraordinary strengthening of the 'state machine' and an unprecedented growth in its bureaucratic and military apparatus in connection with the intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries.

World history is now undoubtedly leading, on an incomparably larger scale than in 1852, to the 'concentration of all the forces' of the proletarian revolution on the 'destruction' of the state machine."

(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1920, Coll. Works 25, p.415)

On this basis, in 1920, Lenin declared before the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL:

"In the concrete situation created throughout the world, and above all in the most advanced, powerful, enlightened and free capitalist countries, by militarism, imperialism, the oppression of colonies and weak countries, the world-wide imperialist butchery and the 'Peace' of Versailles - in that situation the very idea of the capitalists peacefully submitting to the will of the majority of the exploited, the very idea of a peaceful, reformist transition to socialism, is not merely sheer philistine stupidity but also downright deception of the workers, embellishment of capitalist wage-slavery, and concealment of the truth. That truth consists in the bourgeoisie, even the most enlightened and democratic, no longer hesitating at any fraud or crime, even the massacre of millions of workers and peasants, so as to preserve private ownership of the means of production. Only the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the entire bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom -

parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc. - right down to the wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters and the institution of strict surveillance over them so as to foil their inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery - only such measures can ensure real submission of the whole class of exploiters."
(Lenin, "Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International", 1920, Coll. Works 31, pp.186-87)

- These emphatic, programmatic statements by Lenin make clear
- that today a l l Communist Parties must take a course towards
- o n e path, the path of armed struggle by the masses of the
- people under the leadership of the proletariat. We underline,
- today there exists n o r e a l possibility for a "peaceful
- path" in a n y country of the world.

Mao-Tse-tung aptly said:

"Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."
(Mao-Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", 1938, Vol II, p.225; also quoted in "The Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism", Peking Review, No.14, 1964, p.7)

To defend this cardinal Marxist-Leninist thesis against the attacks by the modern revisionists and opportunists of all shades was and remains the task of all Marxist-Leninists.

IV. CRITIQUE OF THE C.P. OF CHINA'S FALSE AND INADEQUATE POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF THE PATH OF THE REVOLUTION

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1. The Propagation of the Scheme of the "Peaceful And Non-Peaceful Development of the Revolution" Was A Central Concession To the Modern Revisionists

In the "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" (Point 11) the C.P. of China set forth its views on this question in opposition to the propaganda of the Krushchovite revisionists regarding "two possible paths of the revolution" - peaceful and non-peaceful. It declared:

1. "The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation." ("A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", 1963, FLP, Peking, p.22)

2. "The proletarian party must prepare itself for two eventualities - while preparing for a peaceful development of the revolution, it must also fully prepare for a non-peaceful development." (Ibid.)

Our criticism of this central position of the C.P. of China consists above all therein that here it entirely neglects the fact that the debate with the modern revisionists on the "peaceful path" is centred on questions of p r i n c i p l e and makes impermissible concessions to them.

From the C.P. of China's reasoning it emerges that, for it, the contradiction with the modern revisionists touches more the question of accentuation, rather than the fundamental issues of Marxism-Leninism.

Indeed, from the statements just quoted, it even emerges that the C.P. of China accepts a major manoeuvre of the modern revisionists, namely, that the question of "peaceful, non-peaceful" is allegedly a question of tactics.

2. No Distinction of Principle is Made Between the Krushchovite-Revisionists' Programmatic Statements On the "Peaceful Path" On the One Hand, and Lenin's Comments On the "Peaceful Path" On the Other

Precisely with regard to the question, "what do the modern revisionists understand by a peaceful path and what did Lenin understand by this", it should first of all have been cleared up that the revisionists had built up an entirely anti-Leninist Programme basing on their thesis of the "possibility of the peaceful path to socialism".

"Peaceful path" - this was for the revisionists the programme of the non-violent "establishment of socialism", a programme of disputing the necessity of a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, of rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, a programme of a peaceful, parliamentary passing of the old social order into "socialism", without eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class. It was the programme of an absolute break with proletarian revolution, with revolutionary theory and practice altogether.

Was it possible to quarrel with the revisionists about the fact that it was wrong to concentrate the "entire" work on the "peaceful path" under these circumstances?

Did one not automatically accept that the "peaceful path" - and in fact the way the revisionists understood it - was at least half the truth? This is one thing.

Further: In our opinion, the C.P. of China never ought to have accepted the scheme "peaceful-non-peaceful" of the modern revisionists. For the FOUNDATIONS of this scheme, created by the modern revisionists, were precisely revisionist. This scheme is not to be found in any programmatic document of Lenin, Stalin or the Comintern for the world communist movement in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, because it is thoroughly rotten.

The basis of this scheme was and is that allegedly real possibilities emerged for a "peaceful transition". And precisely this is completely false. (Even Krushchov did not trust himself to name openly, and by name, the countries in which this "peaceful transition" would be possible. He left this "concretization" to his star pupils in other countries). The C.P. of China neglected to state very clearly that "real possibilities" for such a peaceful path did not exist in ANY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD.

The C.P. of China did not first clear up in Point 11 of the "Proposal" what Lenin understood by a "peaceful path", did not clarify that Krushchov's formulations, as far as their CONTENT was concerned, had nothing to do with Lenin. By this the C.P. of China fell into the first trap of the modern revisionists, who unconditionally wanted to make believe that "even Lenin" had certainly spoken about the peaceful path, and therefore it ought to be allowed to them, too.

The C.P. of China fell into the second trap of the Krushchovite revisionists by accepting at all the scheme of both the peaceful as well as the non-peaceful path. For, the Krushchovite revisionists' main concern was to bring through the idea that today a REAL possibility of both paths would exist, which would have to be taken into account while fixing the tactics.

- IN OUR OPINION, THE SPEARHEAD OF THE C.P. OF CHINA'S REASONING
- IS NOT AT ALL DIRECTED AGAINST THE KRUSHCHOVITE REVISIONISTS
- (who not only spoke of the peaceful path, but conceived
- both paths to be "real", as could be inferred from Krush-
- chov's report at the 20th Congress), BUT AGAINST THE MORE EX-
- TREME RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS LIKE TOGLIATTI, who admitted only
- one, that is the "peaceful path", and declared it to be the
- STRATEGIC, or even the WORLD STRATEGIC PRINCIPLE.

Thus, the C.P. of China does not begin its point 11 by accident with the following words:

"Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. (*) But can peaceful transition be made into a new world-wide strategic principle for the international communist movement? Absolutely not."
("A Proposal Concerning the General Line for the International Communist Movement", 1963, p.21)

Here Togliatti's variant of revisionism is clearly rejected. The C.P. of China goes into only this extreme and fundamentally crude variety of revisionism - even if it does this clearly, unequivocally and unambiguously. It only stigmatizes the ABSOLUTIZATION of the "peaceful path". Thereby, it remains completely within the framework set by the Krushchovite revisionists at the 20th Congress as well as at the 1957 and 1960 Conferences, in which they initially wanted to coop up the World Communist Movement.

We repeat: Proceeding from two real possible paths, accepting

(*) As you may remember, we have already gone into this emphasis of "preferring" a peaceful transition.

the representation of the Krushchovite revisionists that their thesis of the "peaceful path" is connected with what Lenin said on this theme, means NOT ONLY TO LEAVE UNTOUCHED BUT ALSO TO TAKE OVER THE FUNDAMENTAL POSITIONS OF THE KRUSHCHOVITE REVISIONISTS:

3. The C.P. of China's Thesis of The Tactical Preparation, Both For a Peaceful As Well As For A Non-Peaceful Development of The Revolution, Is Completely False

In the second passage, quoted by us from point 11 of the Proposal of the C.P. of China Concerning the General line, it is said that every Communist Party must master both tactics: the non-peaceful development of the revolution as well as the peaceful development of the revolution, that every Communist Party must tactically prepare itself for both paths.

At first, this idea seems evident. After all, it recalls the well-known fundamental Leninist precept to be "well shod on all four feet", to master ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLE, to fight with all the means at one's disposal and more of such things. However, we must recognize that it is on no account a problem concerning the FORMS OF STRUGGLE, that is to say a question of tactics.

- The preparation for civil war, for the "non-peaceful development of the revolution", as it is called, is IN NO CASE one of two possible tactical forms, but a great and question of principle. The entire Party building (namely, not on the basis of the principle of legality), the entire education of the masses in the spirit of revolutionary war, precisely even in non-revolutionary periods, is affected by this fundamental question of revolution.

In addition, the C.P. of China must permit the question why it does not at all explain (or can explain) how one can prepare for the "peaceful path":

Even in the period of the "Dual Power", when Lenin considered a "peaceful" further development of the revolution to be possible, he continued to unremittently prepare the Party and the masses for the possibility of a renewed civil war.

Did he speak of the necessity of "preparing" the "non-occurrence" of civil war in "The State and Revolution", in "Renegade Kautsky", or in his programmatic speeches at the world Congresses of the Comintern or elsewhere? Can one find such an idea in Stalin's works?

The study of all these documents shows that there is no such demand whatsoever in the classic Marxist-Leninist works. For, it is absolutely senseless to specially prepare for a civil war which will not take place. And a quasi "equal" preparation for "both possibilities" is all the more senseless and entirely misleading. It stirs up extremely dangerous illusions, particularly among the masses, and amounts to disarming the proletariat, both in a political-ideological as well as a military material sense.

4. Instead of Propagating The Offensive Armed Struggle, The C.P. of China Propagated The "Possibility" of Armed Struggle Only As a Reply to The Violence Of The Ruling Classes That Is To Say In a Defensive Way

The modern revisionists have allowed the "non-peaceful path" in case the ruling class uses the power of arms on a large scale and massacres the people, thus preventing the "peaceful path".

Here, it is not necessary to recall once again in detail Indonesia and Chile in order to make evident the catastrophic consequences of such a sequence that one must first wait for a bloodshed caused by the ruling class.

Let us consider the C.P. of China's attitude:

"They must defeat counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force whenever imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression."
("A Proposal...", p.16)

"Whenever" - this is the core of the C.P. of China's reasoning.

Similarly, the "General Line Polemics" propagates a passage from the 8th National Congress of the C.P. of China:

"But when the people were compelled to take up arms, they were completely justified in doing so."
(In: "Peking Review", No 14/1964, p.8)

It emerges as if the people have this right only at that point of time, and not earlier.

We have already stated that, of course, seen over a longer period of time, the bourgeoisie in all countries has already resorted to arms thousands of times. In any case, everywhere, the bourgeoisie was the "first" one who resorted to violent measures.

However, this question has already been clarified long ago. It cannot be dealt with in the same breath with the question when the people are allowed to use the force of arms.

The C.P. of China's formulations leave SCOPE for the revisionist understanding that the revisionist attempt to arrive at socialism "peacefully" should be undertaken UNTIL the bourgeoisie, by means of fascist uprisings and massacres, has, in a bloody manner, drummed in the foolishness of such an attempt. Their formulations even suggest that the armed struggle of the people's masses "ought" to be a mere REPLY, a mere reaction, or even only an act of defense, to the respective actions of the ruling classes.

Such a conception of the armed struggle of the proletariat and of the revolutionary masses contradicts Marxism-Leninism.

The C.P. of China should have clearly propagated the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist classics, that in any case not the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat, led by its Party, must independently determine the time of the armed struggle and

should not first wait for the armed attack of the bourgeoisie.

Particularly in relation to the question of the armed uprising in the capitalist countries, the C.P. of China should have clarified that defensively waiting for the attack of the reaction, as well as the DEFENSIVE IN GENERAL, is the D E A T H of any armed uprising etcetc. However, all these teachings of Marxism-Leninism were not even m e n t i o n e d or propagated.

What remains is the formula "whenever...". And precisely this formula, in its elasticity and ambiguity favouring the revisionist creation of illusions, led to bloody defeats for the proletariat and the people's masses.

5. If There Is No Peaceful Path, Why Did The C.P. of China Mention It From The Point of View of Tactics?

The C.P. of China explained:

"it is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition"
("The Origin and Development of The Differences Between The Leadership of The C.P.S.U and Ourselves", Peking 1963, p.59)

We categorically declare that we regard such considerations "from the point of view of tactics" to be false and dangerous in all respects.

In relation to the bourgeoisie, the mention of such a wish would certainly n o t in the least change its attitude towards us.

The Communists, of course, seen in the abstract, do not desire war and civil war, but take up arms in order to eliminate arms. (This is how it should be formulated. It should not simply be mentioned that the "peaceful path" is "desirable"). In relation to the masses, this question should not be approached from "the point of view of tactics". Rather, it is a question of consciously elucidating the world outlook, the programme and strategy of the communists to the masses of the people. It is a question which must be embedded in the system of correct education in such basic questions like that of revolutionary war, which is opposed to counter-revolutionary imperialist war etc.

Of course, one must clarify that the argument of the reactionary forces that the Communists are "bloodthirsty" and want to "wage a war for the sake of war" is completely absurd, because the entire existence of imperialism forces upon the world proletariat, in this or that way, a revolutionary war spread over different phases. But, thereby it is decisive to make a sharp distinction between "wishes" on the one hand, and real events on the other, to argue in a principled manner and not on the level of considering "tactical" advantages.

(At this point we call to mind how Mao Tse-tung replied to the "reproach": "You are advocates of war". He did not answer from the point of view of "tactical advantage" but in a fundamental and offensive manner: Yes, we are advocates of revolutionary war and we openly declare that the world can be transformed only by means of arms!)

In the "Proposal", the C.P. of China presents things in such a way that it appears as if mentioning the possibility of a peaceful transition is a tactical manoeuvre which can be used advantageously. Here the C.P. of China's reasoning comes close to a conscious deception of the masses, although one knows exactly that the "mentioned wish" c a n n o t become a R E A L I T Y .

Why did the 'proposal' not tell frankly that the 'peaceful path' is n o t real? Why did it not recall Lenin's well-known words, where he said:

Even if in the distant future possibilities for the "peaceful" development of the revolution should emerge (i.e., without civil war, but still based on the power of arms) in one country under certain circumstances, after protracted wars of the world proletariat, nevertheless, recognizing the path of civil war is the only permissible standpoint of the programme of the world communist movement.

The C.P. of China did n o t do this, and with its formulation of "from the point of view of tactics", it exposed itself to the justified reproach of not having said clearly and unequivocally whether it considered the "peaceful path" to be really possible or not. (*)

6. The Liberating Role of The Armed Struggle By The Masses of The People is N o t Defended In The C.P. of China's 'Proposal'

Emphasizing or mentioning that in the abstract the Communists naturally wish to already live in Communism, i.e., in a world without armed struggle, is o n l y o n e side of the problem.

Certainly, it is permissible to mention such a desire in the framework of a vigorous and convincing propaganda. The propaganda should point out the absolute necessity of the armed struggle of the world proletariat and armed struggle in every single country, clarifying the magnificent liberating role of the revolutionary war of the people's masses, its educative, emancipatory significance for them.

This aspect of the problem is so essentially significant that it ought not to be neglected under any circumstances. This is all the more true in view of the pacifist drivel about peace by the modern revisionists, who, without making any distinction, present e v e r y war, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, to be a "terrible evil" and set their "peaceful path" against "war" and "violence" in general.

It is one of the C.P. of China's gravest mistakes n o t to have stressed this aspect of the matter at all in the "Proposal" and

(*) The modern revisionists also promptly butt in. They reproach the C.P. of China with the passage quoted above - of course, to emphasize that for them the "peaceful path" is no tactical finesse, but a real path towards which they "honestly" orientate the proletariat.

(See "A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", Moscow 1970, Frankfurt 1973, p.98)

in the "Polemics", and not to have defeated modern revisionists in this respect, too.

Summarizing our criticism of the C.P. of China, of its "Proposal On the General Line" of 1963 regarding the path of revolution, it can be seen that it is essentially based on our views set forth in the detailed second section of this analysis.

Accepting the scheme of the "two paths" is the main error. The other errors mentioned, necessarily result from this. THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK FOR THE COMMUNISTS OF THE WORLD IS TO MAKE A THOROUGH BREAK WITH THE SCHEME OF THE "TWO PATHS".

The proletariat in every country, where there is an exploitative system, must be orientated:

- towards violently overthrowing the ruling class by the power of arms and towards establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as an unconditional pre-condition for building socialism;
- towards the only real path of revolution in today's world, the path of revolutionary war (civil war, people's war) as an indispensable means to SMASH THE STATE APPARATUS OF THE RULING CLASS and thus to open up the path towards a higher social order.

We should become completely clear about the fact that the only "exceptions", which Lenin spoke of in the epoch of imperialism (or which one could have spoken in some countries after World War II) were situations based on the results of ALREADY PRECEDED ARMED STRUGGLES OF ONE SECTION OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT, in the course of which the INDISPENSIBLE TASK OF SMASHING THE OLD STATE APPARATUS had already been achieved, or had been achieved to a large extent.

The armed struggle for smashing the old state apparatus and for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat is therefore the ONLY path towards which the proletariat must be orientated in these countries, where the state apparatus of the exploiting classes still exists.

Note 1 : Krushchov's Theory of the "Peaceful - Non-Violent" Path Contains Fundamental Attacks Against Dialectical and Historical Materialism and Against the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
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In 1956, at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., apart from the condemnation of Stalin, Krushchov's probably "most sensational innovation" was his propaganda for the possibility of a "peaceful - non-violent path" to socialism. The revisionists asserted that this was merely a "question of tactics." However, at the same time, they mobilized their writers in all areas of Marxist theory in order to give their theses a Marxist-Leninist cover while removing the Marxist-Leninist core from all parts of the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to recognize the entire extent of the modern revisionists' onslaught, the Marxist-Leninists must clarify for themselves in every respect the significance of the principle of violent revolution.

The "peaceful - non-violent" path - this was a fundamental attack on the basic principles of dialectical and historical materialism and the main conclusions of Marxist-Leninist political economy. It was a fundamental attack on the basic concept of the unconditional necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat of violently suppressing and destroying all the exploiting classes, of consequently carrying out class struggle up to the victory of Communism.

Stalin said that the Marxist-Leninists, paying strict heed to the laws of dialectical materialism, and in correspondence with them, had to learn to grasp the development as the "struggle of opposites". He wrote:

"that the struggle between these opposites....constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a 'struggle' of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions."

(Stalin, "On Historical and Dialectical Materialism", in: "History of the C.P.S.U.(B) - Short Course", op.cit., p.109)

In glaring contradiction to this, the Krushchovite revisionists' propaganda of the "peaceful path" consists in hushing up, denying or prettifying the

"social antagonisms that spring from the natural laws of capitalist production."
(Marx, "Capital", Vol.1, p.91, Penguin ed., London 1979)

in order to substantiate their "harmonic path" to socialism, their "peaceful - non-violent path".

In opposition to this, Stalin said:

"By expanding...production and concentrating millions of workers in huge mills and factories, capitalism lends the process of production a social character and thus undermines its own foundation, inasmuch as the social character of the process of production demands the social ownership of the means of production; yet the means of production remain private capitalist property, which is incompatible with the social character of the process of production..."

This means that capitalism is pregnant with revolution, whose mission it is to replace the existing capitalist ownership of the means of production by Socialist ownership."

(Stalin, "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)..." op.cit., p.126)

Precisely this antagonism shows that the guiding principle of historical materialism is valid for capitalist society:

"Force is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with a new one".

(Marx, "Capital", Vol 1, op.cit. p.916)

Stalin points out the indissoluble connection between the concepts of dialectical materialism and the necessity of revolution. He stresses that the

"transition from capitalism to Socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution."

(Stalin, "History of the C.P.S.U.(B)..." op.cit., p.111)

The fundamental recognition of historical materialism that, since the end of primitive society, history is a history of class struggle, is based precisely on the recognition of the law that necessary qualitative changes come about because of the breaking through of contradictions and the struggle of opposites:

"if development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon..."

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromiser's policy of 'the growing of capitalism into Socialism."

(op.cit., p.111)

It is clear that the Krushchovite revisionists deny this connection in their entire ideology and programme. The "peaceful - non-violent path", the possibility of which had emerged because of allegedly "new conditions" à la Krushchov, implies the attempt to deny the principles of dialectical materialism, which say that the contradictions of capitalist society can only be resolved by a qualitative leap, by the irreconcilable struggle of opposed classes,

thus only by means of violent revolution.

As is well-known, violent revolution, begun with the seizure of power by the proletariat, with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionists, who propagate their "peaceful path" as an alternative to the violent seizure of power by the proletariat, must necessarily be against the use of violence by the proletariat, not only during this process but also afterwards.

Lenin declared the feature of violence to be the indispensable (although not the only) condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"The indispensable characteristic, the necessary condition of dictatorship is the FORCIBLE suppression of the exploiters as a CLASS..."

(Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", 1918, Coll.Works 28, p.256)

For Marxist-Leninists the conquest of political power and its maintenance are not something that can be mechanically separated from one another but two steps on the same path profoundly linked with one another. Wishing to conquer political power with violence also implies the wish to retain it without violence.

The revisionist propaganda of the "peaceful - non-violent path" also consists in rejecting violence after the victory of the proletariat, in rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Going into this connection, Lenin wrote:

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

(Ibid., p.236)

This definition by Lenin clearly shows that all attempts of the most varied shades by the modern revisionists at solving social antagonisms by "non-antagonistic" methods, at restricting the class struggle of the proletariat instead of bringing it to its full development, - precisely the negation of the use of violence to smash the old social order, to shape the transition from capitalism to communism so to say in a harmonic way, - fundamentally contradicts Marxism-Leninism and its basic idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his fundamental work "The State and Revolution", Lenin explained, as if he had foreseen the various demagogic maneuvers of the Krushchovite revisionists about the "manifold forms" of transition and their phrases about "taking the concrete historical conditions and national peculiarities into consideration":

"The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Coll. Works 25, p.418)

The Krushchovite revisionists refer to "varied forms", to historical examples, to the concrete situation after the Second World War in East Europe, to the new international situation etc.etc, but not in order to really analyse and determine the various forms of violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat (as demanded, in fact, by Marxism-Leninism), but in order to disregard and to deny the necessity of the violent seizure of power by the proletariat and its continuation, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Note 2 : The Attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania Towards Violent Revolution

The thesis that one should "prepare oneself for both paths", "for two possibilities", for the "peaceful" and the "non-peaceful path" was also a component of the PLA's line and that of its First Secretary Enver Hoxha, who thought they could thereby oppose the open betrayal of the Krushchovite revisionists in the question of the violent revolution.

In his speech of November 1960, held at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, which in fact dealt blows to the revisionists in some basic questions, E. Hoxha stated on the question of the path of revolution:

"So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence...

Our Party thinks that, in regard to this matter, we should be prepared for both eventualities, and we should be well prepared, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this, the other possibility has more chance of success." (*)

(Enver Hoxha, "Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on Behalf of the CC of the PLA", November 16, 1960, pp.101-102)

Thus, Enver Hoxha spoke of two paths. One path for the seizure of power was characterized by the use of violence. From this, it directly follows that the second path for the seizure of power was without violence. Thus, it is in effect conceded to the revisionists that a peaceful path without violence does exist, a path that could lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

(*) For Footnote please see the next page

without a violent armed revolution and without the violent smashing of the old state apparatus.

Enver Hoxha remained within the framework of Krushchov's absolutely primitive reasoning because he did not understand the distinction between "peaceful" and "non-peaceful" as being one of "with or without civil war", but made it more roughly into the opposition - "violent or non-violent", which is something entirely different.

Thereby, among other things, he excluded for himself every possibility of being able to understand and explain that Lenin and Stalin in no way spoke about the fact that using violence had become unnecessary. Rather, they spoke about a "peaceful" phase of the development of the revolution in the sense of an absence of a renewed civil war, which was possible under certain circumstances. After Enver Hoxha treated alike and confused both these different things by the formula "without bloodshed and without violence", he in fact lent support to Krushchov's falsification of corresponding statements of Lenin and Stalin.

Moreover, in this speech, Enver Hoxha used the same reasoning which was rightly fought to be a revisionist creation of illusions by the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Indonesia in its self-criticism:

It is the argument that: if one prepares for the non-peaceful, violent path, then the possibility of a non-violent path will also gain "chances of success".

Mark you: Here it is not the question of the fact that the proletariat can naturally restrict to a certain extent its sacrifices by means of a better preparation for the armed conflict. Rather, it is fundamentally the question of the conception that in view of the preparations of the proletariat for the armed struggle the ruling class could be so intimidated that it waives the use of its power apparatus and voluntarily steps down. Such an absurd and illusionary conception not only contradicts Marxist-Leninist science, but also every practical historical experience.

The PLA's polemics against Togliatti's openly revisionist line at the 10th Congress of the C.P. of Italy shows that it proceeds from the fact that there are actually some countries, in which a "peaceful", namely, non-violent development towards socialism is possible.

(Footnote from last page)

The opportunists - people of the likes of the Communist League of Austria (KÖ) - seize upon precisely this passage of E. Hoxha. In doing so, they do not err! They do not let slip the chance of decking out their revisionist nonsense with Enver Hoxha's quotations: Thus, in the organ "Kommunist" No.1 of November 1976, the C.L. of Austria advocated "that both an armed as well as a peaceful path is possible" ("Statement On the Criticism of the Programm", p.50, German edition), whereby this so-called peaceful path was a path without violence. They asserted that the Marxist-Leninists did not recognize "violence to be an unconditional principle" (p.51). This could already be read in Enver Hoxha's speech of 1960.

"Even in those countries where it is possible to develop the revolution along peaceful lines, the Communist Party must analyze this possibility. However, it must not declare it to be an absolute, because this possibility could be transformed into its opposite by a change in circumstances which do not depend on us. But if one simultaneously prepares for the non-peaceful possibility, then the chances of the peaceful path increase."

("On the Theses of the 10th Congress of the C.P. of Italy", Zeri i Popullit, Nov. 1962, in: "Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph Over Revisionism", p. 119, translated from the German Ed.) (*)

Here, too, the PLA considers it possible to oppose the revisionists by emphasizing that one should not only prepare for the "peaceful path", but "at the same time also" for the non-peaceful one. The modern revisionists - apart from a few specially extreme representatives - hardly had any objections against such a thesis, which admitted the "peaceful path" not only to be a real possibility, but also practically to be an equal, if not the primary thing. They themselves often take this stand in order to influence the revolutionaries in a refined way and in order to spread their illusions more demagogically.

(*) These theses, which apparently contradicted Krushchovite revisionism, but in reality left untouched and accepted their anti-Leninist, illusionary core, were not only upheld by the PLA, but also by many of the young parties and oppositional groups, which had constituted themselves in the early 60s in the struggle against Krushchovite revisionism. The Communists of Austria, too, who later founded the MLPA upheld in their polemics against Austrian revisionists of the likes of F rnberg "two possibilities" of the path of the development of the revolution ("Rote Fahne", No.1, October 1963). In the self-critical working up of their fundamental document against modern revisionism - which was published in the foreword of the 1979 reprint of the ROTE FAHNE, No.1, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the publication of "Rote Fahne" - it is said about this:

"The problem, on which the 'Rote Fahne' failed, was among other things that also Lenin and Stalin had not denied the possibility of a relatively peaceful development of the revolution in any case and for all time. The 'Rote Fahne' was not aware of this problem, and therefore could not elaborate that the kind of 'peaceful path', the Krushchovite revisionists were talking about, namely the way of non-violence, of parliamentarism, ballots and so on, was diametrically opposed to what Lenin and Stalin had talked about as a theoretically thinkable special case..."

This fault led to the even more weighty fault that the first issue of 'Rote Fahne' set solely the demand for 'preparing for both possibilities' against the thesis of the Austrian Krushchovists that one has to prepare and can prepare only for one way, for the 'peaceful path'."

("15 Years of 'Rote Fahne', On the Reedition of The First Issue of Rote Fahne, Declaration of the Editorial Staff", RF 170, 1979, English Issue - September 82, p.4)

As is well-known, the catastrophes in Indonesia and Chile showed how the conception of the two possible paths, of countries in which the "peaceful path" of the revolution is "possible", worked out in practice.

The last-named quotation, too, characteristically declares that the aim of preparing for the "non-peaceful path" is precisely to increase the "chances of the peaceful path". This is nothing but appeasing the revisionists: Please do not upset yourselves, we too are for your 'peaceful path'. Indeed, we are preparing for the "non-peaceful" path precisely in order to make the "peaceful" one more probable!

Finally, it was the Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Ramiz Alia, today the chief functionary responsible for the international relations of the PLA, who took the cake on the part of the PLA. In his speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of J.V. Stalin, he declared that the idea of the "peaceful path to socialism" did not originate at all from Krushchov, but from Stalin. Ramiz Alia said:

"J.V. Stalin also made a great contribution to working out the paths of national liberation of the peoples and to the transition of various countries to socialism. As an outstanding Marxist-Leninist he also did not negate the possibility of peaceful transition of single countries to socialism. However, like Lenin, he considered this to be a possibility seldom encountered in history. N. Khrushchov himself, who said all kinds of things against Stalin, was compelled to concede at the 6th Congress of the SED that it was precisely Stalin, who, in a talk had spoken about the use of the peaceful path. And if this is so and there is no reason to doubt it, where does the merit of the revisionists and the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U lie in this question? There is no merit for them at all in this."

(Ramiz Alia, "Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph", 1963, Tirana, p. 29, Translated from Ger.ed.)

Thereby, not only the entire revisionist stupidity of Krushchov and his 20th Congress is accepted. Beyond that, Stalin is also advertised to be its inventor. Krushchov is not criticized because he has thrown overboard and has betrayed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in general and those of Stalin in particular, but, on the contrary, because he supposedly says the same thing as Stalin. Thus, according to this interpretation, Krushchov does not deserve any "merit", but rather "he decks himself with borrowed plumes".

After the catastrophic events in Indonesia, the PLA changed its attitude towards the question of violent revolution in so far as it combatted the illusions of the revisionists about the "peaceful path" for the seizure of power, and began to defend armed revolution to be the only path:

"From the tragic events in Indonesia, the Communists draw the lesson that it is not enough to merely reject the opportunist illusions about the 'peaceful path' and to characterize the revolutionary path of armed struggle to be the only path for

achieving power. The proletarian Party, the Marxist-Leninists and every revolutionary must take effective measures to prepare for the revolution, beginning with the education of the Communists and the masses in a militant, revolutionary spirit up to the concrete preparation for opposing the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionary forces with the armed revolutionary struggle of the people's masses." ("The Fascist Coup d'Etat in Indonesia and the Lessons Drawn By the Revolutionaries From It", Zeri i Popullit, May 1968, p.10, Translated from the German ed.)

After the similarly catastrophic events in Chile, the PLA unequivocally repudiated the revisionist theory of the "parliamentary path" being a possible "peaceful transition", and defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism about the violent revolution and the smashing of the old state apparatus:

"By swearing by the 'parliamentary path', the modern revisionists merely follow the old blind alley of Kautsky and consorts. The further they follow this path, the earlier they will get exposed and the bigger will be the defeats they will suffer. The entire history of the International Communist and Workers' Movement proves that violent revolution, the smashing of the state machine of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the general law of the proletarian revolution."

("Chile - A Lesson for Revolutionaries of the World", Zeri i Popullit, Oct. 1973, reprinted in "Rote Fahne" of the MLPÖ, No.147, p.6)

Unfortunately, the PLA never wasted a word about the fact that, in its polemics against the Krushchovite revisionists, it had, for some time itself spread illusions about a possible non-violent "peaceful path". Though the correction of this serious mistake was in itself very welcome, it was never linked with any self-criticism. Rather, the PLA did this in such a way, as if it had always had the correct standpoint.

The dishonesty of such an attitude is expressed very clearly for example, in the PLA-brochure "The Historical Victory of Marxism-Leninism Over Revisionism", published in 1971. This writing, among other things, also goes into Enver Hoxha's speech of 1960 held in Moscow. However, it simply claims that in this speech the "violent revolution" had been propagated "as the general path of transition to socialism" (p.32). There is not a word about the preparation for two paths, among them for a "peaceful- non-violent" one, which Enver Hoxha spoke about in Moscow.

However, on the other hand, the PLA again confirms Enver Hoxha's revisionist thesis from the same speech of 1960 in its "History of the Party of Labour Albania", similarly published in 1971. Here the revisionist passage about the preparation for two paths and the possibility of the peaceful path are also quoted. (See "History of the Party of Labour Albania", p. 463)

Without a thorough, self-critical investigation a serious mistake cannot be corrected in a consequent manner. Thus, it is no accident that the PLA, and especially its head Enver Hoxha, even to-

day confuse and unpardonably underestimate the danger of revisionism. Among other things, this is shown by the views upheld by Enver Hoxha in his book "Imperialism and the Revolution".

"...(the revolution) cannot triumph on the peaceful road. Lenin did speak of this possibility, in specific instances, but he always put the main stress on revolutionary violence, because the bourgeoisie never surrenders its power voluntarily".

(E.Hoxha, "Imperialism and the Revolution", 1978, p. 234)

According to this presentation, it seems as if the entire distinction between Lenin and Krushchov is simply that what Lenin estimated to be a specific possibility, Krushchov finds to be a general possibility, that what Lenin regarded to be a rare case, Krushchov regards to be a frequent one. However, this presentation bypasses the essence of the problem, namely, the unconditional necessity of using revolutionary violence. Under the specific conditions of the absence or the inability of the old state apparatus to function to a large extent on the one hand, and the arming of the revolutionary masses on the other, the absolute necessity of using revolutionary violence need not necessarily take the form of civil war. Thus, not only the "main emphasis" for Lenin lay in the use of revolutionary violence, but he, under all circumstances, upheld the necessity of the violent revolution. For Lenin the question at issue was in no case "with violence or without violence". Rather, he was merely concerned with the question of the forms of violence used, that is to say, with or without civil war. Enver Hoxha completely loses sight of this aspect, and, compared to Krushchov, Lenin merely appears to be a revisionist with less illusions.

Note 3 : The Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 on the Question of the Violent Revolution of the Proletariat and the Position of the C.P. of China at These Conferences
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Although the documents of the Conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960 in Moscow declare that:

"Leninism teaches and historical experience confirms that the ruling classes do not cede power voluntarily" (*)

a fundamentally wrong line is laid down in the question of the violent proletarian revolution. Not a single word is wasted about the general law of violent revolution, about the necessity of violently smashing the bourgeois state apparatus, about civil

(*) "Documents of the Moscow Conference 1957", p.77, and "Documents of the Moscow Conference 1960", p. 122; both in "Declarations of the Moscow Conferences 1957 and 1960", Rot Front, Dortmund; all the following quotations are taken from this German edition and translated by us.

war, unavoidable under today's conditions, for smashing the power of the bourgeoisie.

Instead, the following revisionist theses are propagated, which are not only in no way inferior to those of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., but which in many passages copy these almost word by word:

1. The conception is upheld that ostensibly two paths of the transition to socialism are possible, a "peaceful" and a "non-peaceful" one (p. 77, or p. 122), whereby the emphasis is clearly laid on the "peaceful path", which limits itself to "peaceful (non-violent?) means":

"The working-class and its avantgarde, the Marxist-Leninist Party strive to carry through the socialist revolution by peaceful means." (Ibid., p. 76, or p. 122)

2. It is represented, as if, under "today's conditions", the proletariat really has the possibility of establishing its power in a number of capitalist countries without smashing the bourgeois state apparatus by means of civil war:

"Under today's conditions the working class led by its avantgarde has the possibility of conquering state power without civil war in a number of capitalist countries." (Ibid.)

Incidentally, what is essential here, is not so much that armed struggle - that is civil war - is propagated as being avoidable. But what is important is that a peaceful "conquest" of state power is propagated, which suggests simply taking possession of the old state power. At least, not a single word about the necessity of smashing it is uttered here.

3. Asserting that the working class has the possibility

"to change the parliament from a tool which serves the class interests of the bourgeoisie to an instrument which serves the working people" (Ibid., p. 77, or p. 123)

the "parliamentary path" to socialism is propagated.

4. The violent revolution as a general law is denigrated to a "necessary evil", to which one resorts only in the case of dire necessity, when the bourgeoisie has already earlier resorted to massive violence:

"If the exploiting classes use violence, one should have in view another possibility, the one of the non-peaceful transition to socialism." (Ibid.)

5. The correct demand to keep the sacrifices of the proletariat as less as possible is used as an argument for the "peaceful path" and is also extended to the bourgeoisie without taking into account the class aspect at all.

"The realization of this possibility (of the 'peaceful path', Authors' note) would correspond to the interests of the working

king class and the whole people, to the national interests of the country". (Ibid, p. 76, or p. 122) (*)

The C.P. of China agreed to all these positions at the Conferences of 1957 and 1960, although at both these conferences it distributed its own position, differing in some points, to the participating delegations. Evidently, the C.P. of China was criticized later from different sides because it had signed the above-mentioned false position. On the basis of this criticism, the C.P. of China declared in the comment "The Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism" that this criticism was right and demanded an amendment of the corresponding passage in the 1960 declaration:

"If comrades now make the criticism that we were wrong in giving this consideration to the leaders of the C.P.S.U., we are quite ready to accept this criticism. As the formulation of the question of peaceful transition in the Declaration and the Statement was based on the drafts of the C.P.S.U. and in some places retained the formulations by its 20th Congress, there are serious weaknesses and errors in the overall presentation, even though a certain amount of patching up was done". (Peking Review, No. 14/1964, p. 9)

The following errors are expressly mentioned by the C.P. of China: the possibility that

"state power can be won...without civil war;"

the possibility that

"a stable majority can be secured in parliament and that parliament can thus be transformed into an instrument serving the working people";

and the failure to stress

"violent revolution as a universal law".

As the C.P. of China declared, because these errors gave the possibility of

"peddling Krushchov's revisionism",

to the revisionists, it put forward the demand:

"to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through Joint Consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties so as to conform to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism"
(For all this see: Peking Review, No. 14, 1964, p. 9)

(*) This thesis in no way differs from statements on this by the Krushchovite revisionists, who propagated that the peaceful path would serve

"the national interests of the country".

("The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.", in "Peking Review", No. 25, 1963, p. 28)

In this way, the revisionists documented their concern about sparing the bourgeoisie.

In order to set forth its views on this question, the C.P. of China once again cited the "main points" from the document distributed by it in 1957 and 1960 (Ibid., p.8) which it still did not consider to be false.

However, having analysed this document, we have to say that the C.P. of China's self-criticism in the question of the two paths, the "peaceful" and the "non-peaceful" was not thorough-going. For, in some parts of this document, it itself expressed the "two possibilities". This contradicts Marxist-Leninist theory on the violent revolution and is clearly false. In the document "Outline of Views On the Question of Peaceful Transition" of November 10, it is said in particular:

"On the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, it would be more flexible to refer to the two possibilities, peaceful transition and non-peaceful transition, than to just one, and this would place us in a position where we can have the initiative politically at any time."

1. Referring to the possibility of peaceful transition indicates that for us the use of violence is primarily a matter of self-defence. It enables the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to sidestep attacks on them on this issue, and it is politically advantageous - advantageous for winning the masses and also for depriving the bourgeoisie of its pretexts for such attacks and isolating it.

2. If practical possibilities for peaceful transition were to arise in individual countries in the future when the international or domestic situation changes drastically, we could then make timely use of the opportunity to win the support of the masses and solve the problem of state power by peaceful means."

("The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. And Ourselves" FLP, Peking 1963, p.58)

In the text we have dealt with the falsity and the danger of such positions already in detail.

"... kinds of problems..." ("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p.91)

Note 4 : Mao Tse-tung's Attitude Towards the Law of Violent Revolution.

Mao Tse-tung's clear Marxist-Leninist positions about revolutionary war, revolutionary struggle and its significance played a very big role for the Marxist-Leninists of many countries in the struggle against the betrayal of the Krushchovite revisionists.

These teachings of Mao Tse-tung from Volume I-IV, thus originating from the period of the Chinese people's armed struggle, became even more popular by means of the collection of quotations in the "Red Book", brought out at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in China.

At this point, we underline that we completely agree with Mao Tse-tung's views which we shall quote in the following. We underline that today these basic views of Mao Tse-tung must vigorously be defended against the modern revisionists and their diverse followers, because they contain fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles. Similarly, these Marxist-Leninist positions of Mao Tse-tung must be stressed while repudiating those, who, after his death, run him down completely.

Let us consider Mao Tse-tung's most important statements and the frenzied attacks against them by the revisionist "theoreticians".

In their revisionist piece of work "A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", published in 1970 in Moscow, Mao Tse-tung's views are quoted in detail. The revisionist attempt at "refutation" essentially consists in shrieks of indignation and the simple assertion that Mao Tse-tung's views are false or contradict Marxism-Leninism. Thereby, not even a single serious attempt is made to provide proof for this.

The modern revisionists angrily quote Mao Tse-tung's splendid words:

"Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'".
(Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", 1938, SW II, p.224) (*)

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."
(Ibid., p.219)

Besides themselves at this position, which sharply crystallizes the essence of the question, the modern revisionists comment:

"One is struck by the inflexibility and peremptory character of these formulations. If they 'hold good universally', one may well ignore the concrete conditions, the time and place. This simplifies the theory of revolutionary struggle to the limit. At long last one has got universal means of solving all kinds of problems..."
(("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p.91)

And this is the entire "refutation"! (Those who do not believe it, must read up themselves the following and the just cited primitive statements of the very learned and well-paid revisionist academicians).

Let us consider their meagre "arguments". It is very obvious that Mao Tse-tung's statement is "categorical" and exudes "self-confidence", but this has nothing at all to do with the fact whether it is right or wrong.

(*) The "Polemics" (1963,64), too, quotes these words of Mao Tse-tung in the struggle against Krushchov revisionism (See, "The Proletarian Revolution and Krushchov's Revisionism", Peking Review, No. 14/1964, p.7)

Further: It is not true and also not at all Marxist to conclude from the word "universally", as from the words "for all other countries" that Mao Tse-tung was again taking into account the "concrete conditions". Whoever studies Mao Tse-tung's presentation further will see that he demands exactly the consideration of the "concrete conditions" - to be sure, on the basis of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In the following, Mao Tse-tung shows the distinction between a p p l y i n g this general principle to China (where liberated areas could be established in the countryside) on the one hand, and to the highly industrialized capitalist countries on the other. For these imperialist countries, he declares in regard to the form of revolutionary war:

"The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing".
(Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", 1938, SW II, p.220)

Mao Tse-tung then warns against premature uprisings in imperialist countries, explains again the difference in China's concrete conditions etc.

The revisionists' argument is absolutely untenable. Rather, it shows that the revisionists completely negate universally valid principles under the p r e t e x t of the "concrete" conditions, which are supposedly always different.

Their last "argument" that the "theory of revolutionary struggle" is simplified "to the limit" and is made into a "universal means" is simply a falsification, since Mao Tse-tung talked of the "highest" form of the revolution and not of the only one.

Besides, already over three decades ago, Mao Tse-tung replied very appropriately to the revisionists of that time, regarding their tittle-tattle about his "absolutization" of the revolutionary war:

"Some people ridicule us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war'. Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."
(Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", 1938, SW II, p. 225) (*)

The modern revisionists also quote this passage from Mao Tse-tung's works and attempt a "refutation":

"No, this is not a Marxist approach at all... The only almighty

(*)The Polemics" (1963-64) also quotes these words of Mao Tse-tung in the struggle against Krushchov's revisionism (8th Comment, PR No.14, 1964, p.7)

means is the active organisation of the revolutionary masses, the proletariat above all".
("A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p.95)

Here it can be seen very clearly, how the "revolutionary spirit evaporates" behind the phrase: Are the revolutionary masses really almighty in independent organizations if they do not have a n y weapons ?

Actually, this question suffices to make clear that the modern revisionists have cut out the cardinal question, i.e., the question of power, the question of political power, which in fact does "grow out of the barrel of a gun", replacing it by the phrase "independent organizations".

In fact, Mao Tse-tung's views in this question are Marxist, and those of his "critics" assail fundamental Marxist-Leninist precepts. Immediately prior to this, Mao Tse-tung had elucidated:

"According to the Marxist theory of the State, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."
(Mao Tse-tung, *ibid.*, SW II, p.225)

Precisely for this reason it is a c o r r e c t summary, which concentrates on the essential, to say that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and to characterize revolutionary war as "almighty".

It is not surprising that the modern revisionists do not like precisely this quotation of Mao Tse-tung at all, because, as is well-known, they wish to stress the role of the parliament to be central. That is why they simply declare in brief after they have cited the above mentioned passage:

"Mao turned these notions into a b s o l u t e s and identified them with Marxism".
("A Critique...", *op. cit.* p.146)

This is the entire "refutation". The revisionist professors have only overlooked the fact that in these sentences Mao Tse-tung only reproduces that which already L e n i n in his time very clearly stated against the revisionists in "The State and Revolution":

"Like all great revolutionary thinkers, Engels tries to draw the attention of the class-conscious workers to what prevailing philistinism regards as least worthy of attention, as the most habitual thing, hallowed by prejudices that are not only deep-rooted but, one might say, petrified. A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power. But how can it be otherwise?"
(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Coll. Works 25, p.394)

The thesis of Mao Tse-tung that the army, the armed power, is the "main component of state power" fully corresponds to reality and to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and it is no accident that the modern revisionists, as adherents of parliamentary cre-

tinism, wish to conceal precisely this important truth from the class-conscious workers.

Two further statements by Mao Tse-tung, which are fully correct, excite the anger of the revisionist "humanists".

Mao Tse-tung says:

"But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war..."
(Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", 1936, SW I, p.182)

The comment of the modern revisionists- hard to believe, but true- runs simply:

"The inhumanity of this thesis is manifest."
("A Critique...", op.cit.; translated from the Germ.ed., p.118)(*)

Actually, it is hard to surpass such a philistine, counter-revolutionary ignorance.

This also becomes clear in the attack against another passage by Mao Tse-tung. In "On Protracted War", Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"...revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power, which can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation."
(Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", 1938, SW II, p.131)

The comment of the revisionists is:

"The Maoists refuse to consider this elementary truth: the M E A N S OF TRANSFORMATION cannot be neutral with respect to the A I M OF TRANSFORMATION...
On many occasions the founders of Marxism warned the proletariat that the use of violent means was limited and forced and emphasised the dangers arising from the use of extreme means of struggle."
("A Critique...", op.cit., p.115,116)

It is evident that Mao Tse-tung never said anything about the "neutrality" of the means. Rather, he established a positive relationship between the means and the purpose. The revisionist professors, on the contrary, establish a negative relationship entirely in the manner of pacifist clerics who bemoan that all violence is evil, that it stains, corrupts and ruins men etc.

The revisionists boldly tell fibs about "dozens of comments" of the classics, but they literally cannot cite a single quotation of the teachers of the proletariat which in the least resembles their pacifist, whining nonsense. In reality, namely, it

(*)This line is missing in the English translation and has therefore been translated from the German edition of this book.

is completely the other way round: The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed dozens of times precisely the *emancipatory* role of armed struggle. Engels ridiculed Dühring's "difficulty" with the possibility of armed struggle. As far as the relation between means and purpose is concerned, it precisely corresponds to materialist dialectics that means like armed struggle, like establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat etc, are used which apparently contradict Communist aims. In reality, however, they are absolutely necessary on the way to the ideals of Communism (See for this Part II/2 of the present number, which shows the attitude of the classics in this question).

All the demagogic slanderous attacks of the modern revisionists, precisely against Mao Tse-tung's undoubtedly Marxist-Leninist views, went hand in hand with attacks against the C.P. of China's revolutionary practice in the 60's of supporting armed struggles in other countries. The modern revisionists wished to function as "extinguishers of the revolution". They wrote in relation to the *then* C.P. of China:

"This question arises: what is the purpose of the Chinese leaders' strong advocacy of 'people's war'? There is only one answer: their only purpose is to provoke armed conflicts in various parts of the globe... Take the war-mongering policy... their intensified support of the extremist elements in Indonesia, Burma, Congo, Thailand, Malaysia."
("A Critique of..." op.cit., p.82)

What the revisionists are attacking here is the support given at that time by the C.P. of China to the C.P. of Indonesia, the C.P. of Burma, the C.P. of Thailand and the C.P. of Malaya etc., which was an expression of proletarian internationalism. Indeed, the revisionists go one step further and even declare that in these countries armed liberation struggle is the last thing one needs:

"At present, political and economic methods of fighting imperialism are being brought to the fore in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America...
That is why it is quite wrong today to regard armed struggle as an absolute and to insist on it as the central task facing the peoples of these continents."
(Ibid., p.82)

By means of these views (entirely systematized in Krushchov's spirit by the revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping in his UNO-Speech of 1974), the modern revisionists reveal themselves to be anti-revolutionary ideologues of world imperialism. Here we can also find the actual reason for the primitive attacks against Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning armed struggle, contained in his works from the period 1927-1949.

We must underline that all the quotations of Mao Tse-tung, quoted further above originate from the period before 1949. Thus, the question arises about Mao Tse-tung's attitude to violent revolution in the years after that, especially after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., at which the "peaceful-parliamentary path" to socialism was announced.

Unfortunately, there are no authentic, authorized writings by Mao Tse-tung which directly discuss the "peaceful path" of the 20th Congress. In order to provide material on this question, we are left with no other alternative but to refer to the so-called "V o l u m e V", published by the Teng-Hua-revisionists.

We must emphasize thereby that we cannot proceed from the fact that the speeches and writings, not published earlier, are necessarily authentic and unfalsified. Also gross falsifications cannot be ruled out. (*) However, since this volume undoubtedly exerts an ideological influence, we are taking a stand on the positions contained in it, without being able to clearly ascertain whether and to what extent these are really Mao Tse-tung's positions.

Directly referring to the theses of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., it is said in the unauthorized writing "Be Activists In Promoting the Revolution" of 1957:

"...We also disagree with Khrushchov and his associates on the question of peaceful transition. We maintain that the proletarian party of any country should be prepared for two possibilities, one for peace and the other for war. In the first case, the Communist Party demands peaceful transition from the ruling class, following Lenin in the slogan he advanced during the period between the February and October Revolutions. Similarly we made a proposal to Chiang Kai-shek for the negotiation of peace. This is a defensive slogan against the bourgeoisie, against the enemy, showing that we want peace, not war, and it will help us win over the masses. It is a slogan that will give us the initiative, it is a tactical slogan. However, the bourgeoisie will never hand over state power of their own accord, but will resort to violence. Then there is the second possibility. If they want to fight and they fire the first shot, we cannot but fight back. To seize state power by armed force - this is a strategic slogan. If you insist on peaceful transition, there won't be any difference between you and the socialist parties. The Japanese Socialist Party is just like that, it is prepared for only one possibility, that is, it will never use violence. The same is true of all the socialist parties of the world. Generally speaking, the political parties of the proletariat had better be prepared for two possibilities: one, a gentleman uses his tongue, not his fists, but two, if a bastard uses his fists, I'll use mine. Putting the matter this way takes care of both possi-

(*) Such falsifications in no way require extensive alterations. Already the alteration or leaving out of a single word, indeed a stroke of brush of the Chinese symbols, can totally falsify the meaning. Beyond this, the translation, precisely from the Chinese, offers manifold possibilities of falsifications, especially where nuances are important.

bilities and leaves no loophole."
(Mao Tse-tung, "Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution", 1957, Vol.V., p.495)

Even if one takes into account that here a strong dose of rhetorical irony may play a role, this standpoint contains gross mistakes and is highly contradictory:

a) On the one hand, this quotation expresses real opposition to the Krushchovite revisionists by saying, the bourgeoisie "will never hand over state power of their own accord, but will resort to violence", and in connection with this by saying: "To seize state power by armed force - this is a strategic slogan." But these correct statements are not consequently and offensively sharpened against the Krushchovite revisionists. Thus, it would have been necessary to stress the necessity of the violent smashing of the old state apparatus against the Krushchovite "peaceful-parliamentary path". Instead, the correct statements are directly depreciated in the further argumentation.

b) The generalization of particular situations in the course of both the Russian and the Chinese revolutions is impermissible. The peculiar circumstances of the Russian proletariat, after it had just carried out the February revolution and was armed, but also the peculiar situation which emerged in China after a protracted, revolutionary war - which had led to the building of such a powerful, armed force like the People's Liberation Army - are schematically carried over to all countries and situations. It is suggested to the proletariat to adopt similar tactics in all countries, independent of the concrete conditions as Lenin and Mao Tse-tung in a particular, historically conditioned situation did. In addition, the essence of the situation after the February revolution is grossly distorted by saying that Lenin "demanded" peaceful transition from the ruling classes.

Thereby, the core of the matter is hushed up that Lenin - on the basis of the results of the February revolution, especially of the arming of revolutionary people's masses while the old state apparatus was already partially destroyed and thus paralyzed - for some time considered a "peaceful", i.e., a further development of the revolution without civil war, to be possible.

c) Moreover, in the passage about "tactics", it emerges as if tactics are a kind of "trick" to win the masses of the people: One knows that the bourgeoisie will "resort to violence". Yet one demands a "peaceful transition", a peaceful surrender of the bourgeoisie in order to put them in the wrong if they do not voluntarily give up state power, which they will certainly not do. In no case Lenin was concerned with winning the masses of the people by using the "tactical trick" of making a "demand" which could not be realized. Rather, his starting-point was the real possibility, arising at times, of being able to compel the bourgeoisie - which temporarily had been able to come to the fore, but could not base itself on a reliable apparatus of power - to "give up" state power peacefully, i.e., without a civil war.

d) Further on, the closing passage rescinds the differing evaluation of both possibilities - one as a tactics, the other as a strategy - and speaks "in general" of two possibilities. One has to prepare oneself both for the path of "arguments" as well as that of "fists". In the context, this gives rise to not just confusion, but it also means propagating, just like the Krushchovite revisionists, the non-violent "path of arguments" besides the "path of the fists". This is the path of peacefully "convincing" the exploiters and their organs of power.

e) This passage in the text also contains strong elements of a defensive attitude, namely, beginning the armed uprising only when the bourgeoisie has already taken up arms according to the motto "You shoot first, dear Sir!" This is a deadly conception which leaves the initiative, the choice of the time and the element of surprise completely to the bourgeoisie!

f) The masses cannot be educated for revolutionary war with the defensive affirmation of not wanting war and with the thesis "a gentleman prefers arguments to fists". Thereby it is presented to be a "necessary evil", i.e., it is presented negatively and not as a powerful liberating and purifying force, as done not only by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also by Mao Tse-tung who earlier himself propagated it in the above-mentioned authentic writings!

This statement attributed to Mao Tse-tung (the authenticity of which, as we said, we cannot prove) is not a principled reply to the Krushchovite revisionists' attack. It is also not a consequent defense of Mao Tse-tung's correct views, propagated in his earlier writings, as already cited by us. This reply is an expression of retreat and capitulation in view of Krushchovite revisionism, whereby direct bridges leading to Krushchov's theses are erected. The practical-political propaganda, corresponding to the views developed in this quotation, are hardly less catastrophic in their consequences than open and direct propaganda for the "peaceful-parliamentary path" itself. This is true independent of the motivation of setting something in opposition to Krushchovite revisionism, which definitely has to be recognized. Although their motivation of opposing Krushchovite revision must definitely be seen, the above is true.

Note 5 : The Development of Marx's and Engels' Conceptions About the State and Revolution

In his fundamental work "The State and Revolution" (the first chapter of which shows Marx's and Engels' "panegyrics" with regard to violent revolution, while polemicizing against all preachers of the "negative role of violence"), Lenin provides magnificent examples how one must study the classics of Marxism: not only by singling out and setting forth the fundamental principal conclusions of their teachings, but also by gaining clarity about the historical developments, on the basis of which they worked out, concretized and made precise their conceptions.

Commencing with the experiences of the years of revolution from 1848 to 1851 (Chapter 2), continuing with Marx's analysis of the experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871 (Chapter 3) and with a collection of Engels' supplementary statements from 1872 to 1891 (Chapter 4), Lenin develops in detail - quoting and commenting on Marx and Engels passage for passage - how Marx and Engels developed, concretized and applied the theory of the hegemony of the proletariat and its accomplishment by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat (Lenin, Collected Works 25, pp. 385-497).

- how Marx and Engels, on the basis of the experiences from 1848 to 1851 concluded from the growth of bureaucracy and above all of the standing army, from the perfection and consolidation above all of the bureaucratic - military apparatus that the revolution must "concentrate all its forces of destruction" against this state power. (Ibid., p.414)

- how Marx and Engels evaluated the experience of the Paris Commune as the first application of the principle of destroying the old state apparatus and passed over to the analysis of the question, what qualities the new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat should have, and what perspectives existed for it. (We have excluded this complex of problems from the present number, but we shall evaluate it in detail in the issue dealing with the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat). (Ibid., pp.422ff.)

- Particularly important is the relentless lashing out at parliamentarism, whose election farces Marx characterized to be an opportunity to decide "which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress the people in parliament" (Ibid., p.427).

- Evaluating Engels' supplementary explanations, Lenin emphasized that Engels' question, namely, whether the oppressed class, the proletariat, has arms, to be the essential criterion for analysing the different phases of the revolution. (Ibid., p.454)

- After dealing with problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat, specifically with the economic foundations for the withering away of the state, on the basis of all the relevant passages of Marx and Engels (chapter 5), Lenin finally analysed (Chapter 6) the vulgarization of Marxism by the opportunists. (Ibid., p. 480ff.). He also examined Kautsky's brochures before his open betrayal of Marxism and expressly warned against all vague formulations like "conquest of the state power", which did not stress the destruction of the state machine. He showed how the principles of violent revolution and the smashing of the entire state apparatus were watered down, and how step by step this degenerated into the reformist idea of "capitalism growing into socialism". All this led to boundless reformism, namely, to the so-called "conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament". (Ibid., p.494)

Relentlessly struggling against opportunism, even in its most concealed forms, Lenin above all developed Marx's and Engels' teachings about the unconditional necessity of smashing the old state apparatus in his work "The State and Revolution".

From the beginning, as revolutionaries, Marx and Engels had a clear assessment of the necessity of violent revolutions. They had attentively studied the history of previous revolutions and were fully clear about the fact that the exploiting ruling class, already historically outlived and condemned to its downfall, would never voluntarily give up its power and its paradise. From the beginning, Marx's and Engels' works contained the idea that the oppressed masses could not remove the ruling exploiting classes by appeals to reason and by pious wishes. Already in one of his very first writings Marx unmistakably emphasized that:

|| "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons."
(Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, Introduction", 1844, Coll. Works, Vol 3, Progress Publishers, 1975, p.182)

Marx and Engels always remained true to this basic revolutionary recognition. They studied the great bourgeois revolutions against feudalism up to then and after that the peculiarities of the revolutions at the end of the 40s in Germany and France and finally in 1871 the heroic Paris Commune. They recognized as a peculiarity of the proletarian revolution (in contrast to the earlier bourgeois revolutions) that the existing state apparatus could not be simply taken over and used for their own interests like other institutions in society (factories, hospitals, railways etc.). Instead, the ruling state apparatus of the exploiting class had to be smashed from top to bottom and from bottom to top and had to be replaced by a fundamentally different and new type of state.

This decisive recognition that the old state apparatus must unconditionally be smashed, broken and destroyed is one of the most important arguments for the unconditional necessity of violent revolution, for the necessity to systematically prepare the masses, ideologically and organizationally for armed struggle.

That is why Marx and Engels considered it necessary to make more precise their powerful call in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" (1848) for the "violent overthrow of all existing social orders", in the sense that this presupposed not merely taking over the existing state apparatus, but s m a s h i n g it.

In 1872, they added in the Preface to the "Communist Manifesto",

|| "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes".
("Manifesto of the Communist Party", Selected Works, Vol 1, Moscow 1973, p.99)

A year earlier, Marx had already stated that it would no longer be possible, as in the case of previous revolutions, to

|| "transfer the bureaucratic - military machine from one hand to another". Marx emphasized that now the task is "to s m a s h" this state machine."
(Marx, "Letter to L. Kugelmann", April 12, 1871, Selected Letters, FLP Peking 1977, p. 36)

This peculiarity and specific task of the revolutions, in which not merely one exploitative order was replaced by another, was restricted by Marx and Engels in the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism by two exceptions, namely England and America. There the state machinery was not yet "ready", i.e., at that time no powerful bureaucratic-military machine had as yet been set up against the people, like on the European continent.

For this reason (and for no other) Marx declared, the smashing of the old state apparatus

|| "is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the c o n t i n e n t."
(Ibid., this means excluding England and America)

The unconditional law of smashing the old exploiting state in the proletarian revolution must always, without exception, be applied when such a developed state apparatus exists. The revisionists' talk, from Kautsky to Krushchov, about the possibility to do without such a smashing and even declare proletarian violence to be superfluous by referring to England and America at the end of the 19th century is an argument which backfires, when examined more closely. For the truth, easy to understand, is that where the state bureaucratic-military machinery was not yet developed, there was also no necessity to smash it. This incorporated for Marx and Engels the idea, that everywhere, where such a machinery existed, it had also unconditionally to be smashed.

- In the epoch of imperialism, of monopoly capitalism, in which
- the whole world is divided amongst the imperialist Great Powers, there exists in all countries of the world a highly developed, powerful bureaucratic - military machinery of the exploiting classes, which must be smashed.

The core for understanding all those cases which the modern revisionists bring forward as examples for t h e i r "peaceful" path (the "Dual Power"; Eastern Europe after the Second World War), consists in the fact that before the proletariat of the concerned country established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the old state apparatus of the exploiting class had already been smashed by the armed proletariat, or already found itself in a total state of disorganization.

This took place in the phase of the "Dual Power" by means of the civil war in the February Revolution of 1917 (also favoured by the situation in the First imperialist World War). This also took place after the Second World War in Eastern Europe by means of the common anti-fascist national liberation wars of the peoples of these countries and by means of Stalin's Red Army, the powerful blows of which smashed the fascist state power in a series of countries.

Thus, on closer study, even the examples, which the revisionists refer to, show that Lenin was right, who in principle stated that the liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed classes

|| "is i m p o s s i b l e not only without a violent revolu-

tion, but also WITHOUT THE DESTRUCTION of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class."
(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, Coll. Works 25, p. 393)

Note 6 : Some Remarks on Using Various Forms of Armed Struggle Before Starting an Armed Uprising and On the Question of Individual Terrorism
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While propagating the liberating role of revolutionary violence it is necessary, not only to stand up against Right opportunism which denies the necessity of armed violence in general, but also against "Left"-opportunist falsifications, as to be found in the case of groups who understand themselves to be "city guerrillas".

While demarcating oneself from individual terrorism, the attitude of the Marxist-Leninists towards the question of using the form of armed struggle before starting an uprising in the capitalist countries is of fundamental significance.

In the struggle primarily against Right-opportunist, but also "Left"- opportunist views, the first pre-condition for working out a clear Marxist-Leninist attitude to such forms of struggle is propagating the basic Marxist-Leninist theses on this subject.

It is indispensable and, not lastly, also an expression of solidarity with all those comrades tortured, imprisoned and murdered by imperialism, to make the most extensive possible Marxist-Leninist analysis and criticism of the various groups, which propagated individual terrorism. In this context, and with this task in mind, the Marxist-Leninists must study texts by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and apply them to contemporary conditions.

The brochure brought out by the "Marxist-Leninist Study Series": "Lenin-Stalin on Some Questions of the Armed Struggle of the Masses and on Individual Terrorism" (German edition) contains some texts which are important for the demarcation from individual terrorism.

** In "What is There in Common Between Economism and Terrorism", Lenin shows - in the framework of his great work "What Is to be Done?" - that not only the worshippers of the spontaneous economic struggle, but also the supporters of murderous assaults on Tsarist personalities "underestimated" the revolutionary activity of the masses" and have not understood the actual task, namely, "to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working class movement into an integral whole." (Brochure, p. 23, and 26; also Lenin, "What is to be Done?", 1902, Coll. Works, pp. 420, 418)

Lenin names the worshipping of spontaneity to be the common root of "economism" and "terrorism". The adherents of individual terrorism do not worship the spontaneity of the workers' movement

but the "spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals", who have lost or have never had belief in the connection between the workers' movement and the revolutionary cause. Therefore they do not find any other way out for their anger but terrorism. (Ibid., p. 418).

Lenin also refutes the wrong argument, put in the forefront, that with the help of terrorism the workers' movement can be "excited" and be given a "strong impetus". For those, as Lenin says:

"who are not, and cannot be, roused to excitement even by Russian tyranny will stand by 'twiddling their thumbs' and watch a handful of terrorists engaged in single combat with the government."
(Lenin, "What is to Be Done?", Coll. Works 5, p. 420)

** Stalin, too, in both his articles about economic terrorism, convincingly criticizes the arguments of the adherents of individual terrorism, who assert that they use it in order to "intimidate the bourgeoisie".

"Of what use to us is the fleet ing fear of the bourgeoisie and the concessions this fear may wring from it, if we have not behind us a powerful, mass workers' organization, which will always be ready to fight for the workers' demands and be capable of retaining the concessions we have won? Indeed facts tell us convincingly that economic terrorism kills the desire for such an organization, robs the workers of the urge to unite and come out independently - since they have terrorist heroes who are able to act for them."
(Stalin, "Economic Terrorism and the Labour Movement", 1908, Coll. Works 2, pp. 114, 115)

Proceeding from such a criticism of the tactics of economic terrorism, Stalin shows, however, that the causes for such manifestations are the activities of the bourgeoisie, which incense and embitter the workers. He exposes the hypocrisy of the capitalists who speak of the horrors of "blood and tears", when it concerns members of their class, but do not waste a single word about the terror of the capitalists towards the working class. (Stalin, "The Oil Owners on Economic Terrorism", 1908, Coll. Works 2, pp. 125-126)

** Lenin and Stalin did not regard the question of terrorism against individual capitalists and against reactionary forces to be a "moral" question, but to be a question of tactics. In this respect, on the occasion of Friedrich Adler's attack on the Austrian Minister President Stürgkh, Lenin declared in his letter about political murder :

"...that individual terrorist acts are INEXPEDIENT methods of political struggle...we are NOT AT ALL OPPOSED to political killing...but as revolutionary tactics individual attacks are inexpedient and harmful."
(Lenin, "To Franz Koritschoner", 1932, Coll. Works 35, p. 238)

With regard to the question of moral evaluation, Lenin demands that the "lackey-like", "servile behaviour" of the opportunists be "branded in the sharpest possible way" and "Adler's act (be) morally justified". (Ibid.)

The question thus presents itself not as : for or against terrorism, but against individual, terrorist killings, separated from the masses. However, Lenin never left any doubts about the fact that he firmly advocated the terrorism of the masses against their oppressors, that he advocated red proletarian terrorism:

"whereas people who were capable of condemning 'on principle' the terror of the Great French Revolution, or, in general, the terror employed by a victorious revolutionary party which is besieged by the bourgeoisie of the whole world, were ridiculed and laughed to scorn by Plekhanov in 1900-03, when he was a Marxist and a revolutionary."
(Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder", 1920, Coll. Works 31, p.33)

In a letter to Zinoviev in 1918 (when he was still a revolutionary), Lenin protested firmly against obstructing the initiative of the masses towards mass terrorism:

"Only today we have heard at the C.C. that in Petrograd the WORKERS wanted to reply to the murder of Volodarsky by mass terror and that you (not you personally, but the Petrograd Central Committee members, or Petrograd Committee members) restrained them.
I protest most emphatically !
We are discrediting ourselves : we threaten mass terror, even in resolutions of the soviet of Deputies, yet when it comes to action we OBSTRUCT the revolutionary initiative of the masses, a QUITE correct one.
This is im-poss-ible !"
(Lenin, "To G.Y. Zinoviev", 26.6.1918, Coll. Works 35, p.336)

Generalizing, Lenin states:

"in countries beset by an unprecedented crisis, the collapse of old ties, and the intensification of the class struggle after the imperialist war of 1914-18 - and that means all the countries of the world - terrorism cannot be dispensed with, notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrase-mongers. Either the whiteguard, bourgeois terrorism of the American, British (Ireland), Italian (the fascists), German, Hungarian and other types, or Red, proletarian terrorism. There is no middle course, no 'third' course, nor can there be any."
(Lenin, "In Tax In Kind", 1921, Coll. Works 32, p.356)

Summing up, we can say that in the case of adherents of individual terrorism the central error consists in organizing political murders and terrorist actions w i t h o u t any connection with the revolutionary movement of the exploited masses, without educating the masses.

However, the Communists by far do not condemn the use of terrorism in its totality. They enquire about the connection between

the use of terrorism and the revolutionary mass movement. They educate the masses in the use of revolutionary m a s s t e r - r o r against their oppressors and exploiters.

Red proletarian mass terror against counter-revolution - this is what the Communists must propagate against the adherents of individual terror.

Note 7 : The C.P. of Indonesia's and the R.C.P. of Chile's Line In the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolutionary Theory of the "Peaceful Path"
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1. Two Lessons Drawn By the C.P. of Indonesia From the History of the 1945 Revolution, and From the Counter-Revolutionary Events in 1965 in Indonesia For Solving the Problem of the Path of the Revolution.

In 1965 the C.P. of Indonesia suffered a catastrophic defeat. The counter-revolution massacred hundreds of thousands of Communists and patriots. Upon this, the C.P. of Indonesia subjected its line, which contained the "preparation for t w o paths", namely, for the peaceful and non-peaceful path of the revolution, to a self-critical analysis.

- 1) The fundamental problem of every revolution is the question of State Power

One area of self-criticism of the C.P. of Indonesia concerned the August-Revolution of 1945, which had failed and the tasks of which still awaited a solution. The Indonesian comrades stated:

"The precondition for the complete realization of the task of the 1945 August Revolution instead of merely seizing the state power from foreign imperialism and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia, should have been the smashing of the entire colonial state machinery and the establishment of a completely new state, namely the people's democratic dictatorship, constituting the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. / . . . Since it was not led by the proletariat, the August Revolution of 1945 did not lay this precondition as it should have done. The colonial state machinery was not completely smashed. The Republic of Indonesia which was set up, is not the people's democratic dictatorship, but a bourgeois republic."

("Take the Road of Revolution to Realize the Tasks Which Should Have Been Accomplished By the 1945 August Revolution", statement of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, August 17, 1966, in: "Build the PKI Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia", p.77)

The C.P. of Indonesia stated further :

"The participation of Communists in the government and even when the cabinet was led by a Communist, DID NOT give the Republic of Indonesia the nature of a people's state, because THE APPARATUSES OF COLONIAL BUREAUCRACY WERE NOT ENTIRELY SMASHED and substituted by completely new apparatuses created by and in the service of the revolution." (Ibid.).

A central lesson is that the Indonesian Revolution in 1945 was not able to establish a people's democratic power, since the old state apparatus had not been completely and entirely destroyed.

2) Self-criticism on the question of the "peaceful path"

In their self-criticism, the C.P. of Indonesia uncovered a further fundamental error of their line: the attitude towards violent revolution and towards the "peaceful path":

"The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from not firmly refuting the 'peaceful road' and not firmly holding to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the PKI gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered these forms of struggle to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution."

("Build the PKI Along The Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead The People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia", Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC PKI, September 1966, op. cit., p.112,113)

"In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist 'peaceful road', the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, namely, the possibility of a 'peaceful road' and the possibility of a non-peaceful road, and that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater (*) would be the possibility of a 'peaceful road'. In fact, such statements show precisely the existence of dualism concerning the road followed by the Party leadership. By doing so, the hope for a 'peaceful road' which in reality did not exist was always implanted in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people.

(*) At this point, we have to make a correction. In the "Joint Statement: Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping's Three-World-Scheme" we had erroneously claimed that the C.P. of China's polemics contains the idea that the peaceful path becomes more probable by means of the thorough preparation for the non - peaceful path. However, a re-examination showed that this idea is not to be found in the C.P. of China's documents of the "Polemics" of 1963/64. Rather, this idea is contained in the PLA's articles from 1962. There it is said: "However, if one simultaneously also prepares for the non-peaceful possibility, then the chances of the peaceful path will increase." ("Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph Over Revisionism", p.119; translated from Ger. edition)

"In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof was the gravest tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the 'September 30th Movement'. Within a short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralysing the organization of the PKI and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road." (Ibid., p. 116,117)

As the C.P. of Indonesia stated, the revisionist conception of the "peaceful path" found its expression also in the Party Programme:

"It was said in the programme that the peaceful road or parliamentary road 'is a possibility, a possibility that we must persistently strive to transform into a reality'." ("The Programme of the Communist Party of Indonesia For People's Democracy in Indonesia", November 1967, op.cit., p.237)

The C.P. of Indonesia arrives at the conclusion:

"The PKI is of the view that the only road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people is that of armed revolution." (Ibid., p.278)

With this, the C.P. of Indonesia was the first Party to publicly come forward against the then prevailing revisionist theory of the "two paths" and criticized, if not as yet by name, the positions of the "Polemics", of the "Proposal" concerning the general line on this question.

2. The R.C.P. of Chile's Defence of the Theory of the Necessity to Smash the Military Forces of the Ruling Classes and of the Impossibility of a "Peaceful Transition" in Chile

The counter-revolutionary events in Chile are a vivid example for the kind of catastrophe it leads to when the working masses are misled by the illusion of the "peaceful path". This weakens their revolutionary spirit. They face the threatening dangers without any preparation and lose their capabilities and possibilities of opposing the counter-revolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie with decisive revolutionary actions.

The illusion of the "peaceful path" was a means of the modern revisionists, in Chile, too, to hold back the masses from the revolutionary liberation struggle. The modern revisionists of the "C.P. of Chile", who substantially participated in the "Unidad Popular", stirred up illusions about the character of the existing power apparatus of the ruling classes and disarmed the workers not only ideologically, but also in reality.

The revisionist "C.P. of Chile" writes:

"In Chile, the revolutionary process is being carried out while maintaining the armed forces. These function as a professional institution and do not intervene in political conflicts and subordinate themselves to legitimate civil power. There exists a firm bondage of cooperation and mutual respect between the armed forces and the working class... In the same measure as we get control of the state-apparatus, we shall begin with its transformation."
(G. Branchero, "From Bourgeois to Socialist Statehood", in: Problems of Peace and Socialism 8/73, p.1031, translated from German edition)

The modern revisionists propagated that the state power and with it its main component, the military forces, stood a b o v e the classes and did not have the task of suppressing the working class. They propagated that this military power could gradually be "transformed".

The R.C.P. of Chile fought against his standpoints hostile to the revolution. Drawing a lesson from the fascist attempt at a putsch, which took place three months before the final fascist seizure of power by Pinochet, the R.C.P. of Chile stepped forward against the illusion of the "peaceful path" of the modern revisionists and advocated the violent smashing of the military forces of the ruling classes:

"Real people's power will exist only when it is snatched from the hands of the reactionaries; thereby, the armed forces, who defend them, must be s m a s h e d. The assertion that the power of the people would become a reality by proclaiming it as such is either an adventurous policy which will bring the masses to suffer a grave defeat at the hands of the well-equipped and trained repressive armed forces. Or it is only a bluff, which aims at gaining concessions and representing the existing government to be an expression of the people's power..."

Following a revolutionary line requires repudiating illusions that the people's power can unfold itself in the womb of bourgeois power without an effective army, like an embryo or a plant. It means repudiating the illusion that the bourgeoisie would retreat from their positions of power and would gradually be peacefully forced back w i t h o u t having to be smashed. The idea of gradually developing the power of the people is only a variety of reformism...

One can and must seriously prepare and a r m the organs of struggle for the take-over of power and keep them in the awareness that they do n o t as yet possess power, that they can only win it in struggle."
(Juli-August Issue 1973 of the "cause marxiste-leniniste". Translated from the German version of the French translation published in November 1973 in West Berlin.)

Although the R.C.P. of Chile, because of the balance of forces, could not prevent a victory of the fascist putsch, this did not change anything in the fact that it had the correct attitude towards educating the masses against revisionist illusions.

A brochure published recently with the title "Evaluation of Mao Tse-tung" gives information about the position of the R.C.P. of Chile today (See MLSP of the MLPÖ 3/80)(*). In connection with the assessment of Mao Tse-tung's position towards the "national bourgeoisie" in 1957, the brochure deals with the possibility of a "peaceful path" in one lengthy passage.

Here, we cannot go into the complex of questions dealt with in the brochure, whether an alliance with the national bourgeoisie is p o l i t i c a l l y possible or not while building up socialism (we emphatically reject this. See foreword MLSP 3/80), but only with to more closely consider the R.C.P. of Chile's theses about the peaceful path. It writes:

"When, for example, Lenin refutes Kautsky, who put forward the 'peaceful road to socialism', citing the fact that Marx and Engels referred to such a possibility in the 1860s in England and the United States, Lenin doesn't refute that possibility (which would in fact mean resolving an antagonistic contradiction by non-antagonistic means) in absolute terms, but rather points out the concrete conditions which led them to consider that possibility at that time, conditions which had ceased to exist completely by the time Kautsky invoked it. On the other hand, the same materialist and dialectical spirit led Lenin, despite the antagonistic nature of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Russia under the concrete conditions that existed in September 1917 of the proletariat's great power and preparations for insurrection, to think about the particular and momentary possibility of resolving the antagonistic contradiction of the seizure of power in a peaceful way, without an insurrection, as he states in his article 'The Tasks of the Revolution'.
(Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, "Evaluation of the Work of Mao Tse-tung", July 1979, in: "Revolution", Vol.5, No.1, p.16)

In the text itself we have dealt exhaustively with the examples named. It is i n n o w a y such, as supposed by the R.C.P. of Chile, that antagonistic contradictions can be r e s o l v e d by non-antagonistic methods. We stress: r e s o l v e d. A temporary postponement, a temporary moderation may be possible, but antagonistic, i.e., irreconcilable contradictions can o n l y be r e s o l v e d with antagonistic methods, i.e., with methods n o t based on peaceful conviction.

The problem with England and America at the end of the 19th century was surely - in short - that no military-bureaucratic state apparatus capable of functioning really existed and t h e r e f o r e in this period the problem of the m i l i t a r y smashing of such an apparatus did not exist. This situation, existing for some time, however, did not in the least alter the fact that there were a n t a g o n i s t i c contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and could therefore only be resolved by v i o l e n t, dictatorial methods, by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat (even if without a foregoing

(*) The C.P. of Indonesia, at least its chairman, has expressed himself for Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, as can be seen from a congratulatory telegram. Otherwise, no new central documents are known to us.

civil war).

Therefore, it is totally wrong and an unforgivable concession to the modern revisionists to say that an "antagonistic contradiction" could have been r e s o l v e d by "non-antagonistic methods".

The same is true in the second case, the so-called "Dual Power", referred to by the R.C.P. of Chile. Here too, it is evident (and much more so) that the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat could, of course, n o t b e r e s o l v e d by peaceful, non-violent methods, but only by violent-dictatorial ones. For some time, the possibility existed of stepping into the stage of socialist revolution without a renewed civil war, because the old state apparatus had already been extensively smashed in the preceding civil war in the February Revolution of 1917 (which is not mentioned at all by the R.C.P. of Chile). By far this did not make enemies into friends. Thus, it did not change a n y t h i n g in the necessity of using violent, dictatorial methods by the a r m e d proletariat towards the bourgeoisie.

It is well-known that entering into the s o c i a l i s t stage of the revolution means that now the task is to eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class. At first is required its complete re-moval from political power, and then its entire economic expropriation. Both these mean r e s o l v i n g the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is very clear that - under conditions where the bourgeoisie, both within the country as well as internationally, has by far not yet lost all possibilities, perspectives and influence - this is perhaps exceptionally possible without a civil war, but never without violence.

Naturally, there are situations in which the r e s o l u t i o n of the contradiction, which is by nature antagonistic, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is not yet on the agenda and there are p a r t i a l q u e s t i o n s in which certain interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie do not diametrically contradict one another. But both refer to a period in which it is not yet a question of carrying out the socialist revolution, thus not yet the question of r e s o l v i n g the contradictions between both classes.

The R.C.P. of Chile totally mixes up things and causes a terrible confusion, which does not become the better for being covered in the pseudo-scientific formula of the "resolution of antagonistic contradictions by means of non-antagonistic methods" (by which only democratic, i.e., methods based on peaceful persuasion, can be meant).

Incidentally, the example shows where an uncritical defence and wholesale acceptance of e v e r y t h i n g put forward by Mao Tse-tung leads to. If one does not clear up that being able to build socialism together with the bourgeoisie or with sections of the bourgeoisie is simply a wrong and disastrous conception, but even tries to some extent to scientifically substantiate such a view, then one inevitably lands up propagating the revisionist

"peaceful-non-violent" path.

In our opinion, the tragedies in Chile and elsewhere, the great international experience with the revolutionary truth that political power inevitably grows from the barrel of a gun (even if a civil war can be prevented, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established by the victorious armed proletariat), as well as their own revolutionary experience should have brought the R.C.P. of Chile's comrades to oppose with much greater care and spirit of struggle the modern revisionists' theoretical manoeuvres in the question of the "peaceful path".

We hope very much that the R.C.P. of Chile will re-examine and correct its views on this subject before revisionist illusions establish themselves in its ranks and irreparable damage is done both to the Party as well as to the heroically battling working class and the entire working people of Chile.

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General Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung

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PART I

Investigations towards the Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung

- * On the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. I, 1926-1937
- * Mao Tse-tung's Writings from 1950-1976 and the so-called "Volume V"

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