

During the Russian Revolution it was the Soviets against the Kerensky Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie.

And in the Chinese Revolution it was the Chinese Red Army against the Kuomintang.

Dual power is an invariable concomitant in every great revolutionary struggle and its emergence must be treated from the point of view of the class forces involved—from the point of view of those forces contending for power—not from the point of view of mere conspiracy and intrigue.

The setting up of a rival power or an incipient rival power means the emergence of dual power. It is rarely an artificial phenomenon but emerges organically from the course of the revolution.

WHO HAD LEGAL AUTHORITY?

The setting up of a rival central committee could not just be passed off as an illegal attempt to usurp the authority of the state and the party. The Cultural Revolution called into question the legality of those in authority. The central committee contained a majority of rightists.

Lin Piao did not set up a rival central committee against Mao. On the contrary, they were in the same bloc. It was, in effect, a challenge to the rightists.

If the Lin Piao rival central committee is taken together with the Shanghai Commune, one can see the beginnings of genuine dual authority against those "capitalist roaders that are in power," mostly in the central committee. His challenge posed the question of which road to choose—to work within the old system and try to reform it, or to set up a new governmental authority, a new form of state on the model of the Shanghai Commune, which in turn was based on the Paris Commune.

In other words, what was really at issue was how far to carry the revolution—to crush the old political system which engendered a bureaucracy and a new bourgeoisie, or to base themselves on an emerging new form of state, like the Shanghai Commune, supported by the PLA. That was the issue.

But this whole question has been avoided behind a thick fog of false criminal allegations against Lin which hide the revolutionary class significance of what might have been a very auspicious, revolutionary development.

Chou's accusations against Lin were, of course, grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie, which seeks to portray the entire course of the

Chinese Revolution as nothing but a naked power struggle devoid of any progressive social content for the masses.

Lin Piao had been designated as the successor to Mao in no less a document than the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. After a political struggle against the rightists, he was appointed Defense Minister at the suggestion of Mao to replace Peng Te-huai. Peng Te-huai was an ally of Liu Shao-chi, the principal proponent of the rightist forces.

Although deposed as Defense Minister, Peng Te-huai was not without support in the military, considering his many long years in the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Neither was Liu Shao-chi nor Teng Hsiao-ping.

LIN ABOLISHED RANK

It was under Lin Piao's leadership of the PLA that rank in the army had been abolished, including his own title of marshal. The significance of this revolutionary reform can scarcely be overestimated. Could this have met with kind approval from all the officers?

In the Soviet Union, as is well-known, rank was restored by Stalin in 1936. In Lenin's time it did not exist any more than it does in China's Red Army. Its abolition by Lin was a remarkable development worthy of a great deal of attention.

It was under Lin's leadership that the Cultural Revolution had been begun earlier in the army than in the civilian population. He was a close ally of Mao's and a supporter of the struggle against the revisionists and rightists. No official source in China or outside gave any hint whatever that Lin Piao was in any way moving away from the conceptions promulgated during the Cultural Revolution.

Rather than trying to find some basis for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by Lin, historians ought to direct their attention to the possibility of a **reactionary** coup by the Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Te-huai forces in the military and among the bureaucracy, which, according to quotes from Lin, he was expecting.

At any rate, if a coup by Lin and his revolutionary supporters was indeed in the offing (which remains to be proven), it was directed against the rightists, not against Mao, and not against the Cultural Revolution, but for its deepening.

LIN AND FOREIGN POLICY

Most importantly from a political point of view vis-a-vis foreign policy, it is now widely known and confirmed by Han Suyin that Lin