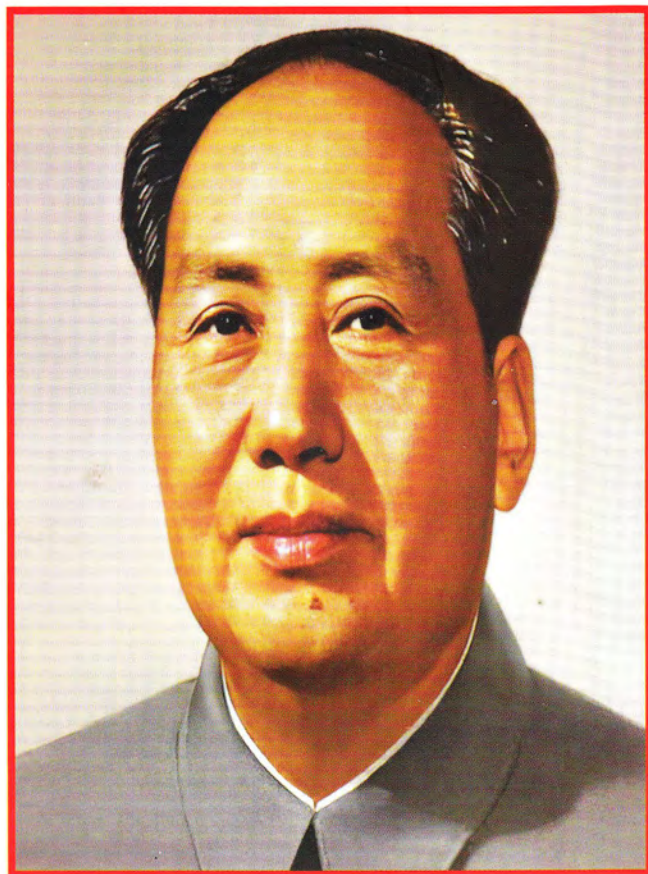


**IN DEFENSE**  
**of**  
**MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT**



**HARBHAJAN SINGH SOHI**

Practice has sufficiently proved what Comrade HBS concluded and presented many decades back. His writings published here are not a mere record of correct Marxist-Leninist positions in the highly testing period of ideological confusion. These provide a valuable ideological-political frame for recognizing and combating opportunist currents that may raise their heads in different twists and turns of world situation and communist revolutionary movement.

*Harbhajan Sohi*  
*Yadgari Parkashan*

**IN DEFENSE**  
**of**  
**MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT**

*HARBHAJAN SINGH SOHI*

*On the Occasion of 14<sup>th</sup> Death Anniversary of  
Comrade Harbhajan Singh Sohi*

## Foreword

Harbhajan Sohi Yadgari Parkashan has brought this selection of writings in defense of Mao Tse-Tung Thought from the pen of Comrade Harbhajan Singh Sohi (HBS).

In the period of worldwide ideological confusion following the loss of socialist China to capitalist roaders Com. HBS with his ideological clarity and grasp of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought emerged as a front rank fighter to thoroughly recognize, analyze and expose the new opportunist currents, represented by three-worldists of China and two-worldists of Albania. Firmly carrying forward the legacy of Great Debate and Cultural Revolution, he at the same time refuted the crypto-revisionism which raised its head to revise Mao Tse-Tung Thought in the name of drawing lessons from the setbacks to international communist movement.

In late seventies large sections of communist revolutionaries in our country got swayed or confused by opportunist currents. A section was able to ultimately come out of the grip of this revisionist onslaught. However, another section got settled in the revisionist camp.

Practice has sufficiently proved what Comrade HBS concluded and presented many decades back. His writings published here are not a mere record of correct Marxist-Leninist positions in the highly testing period of ideological confusion. These provide a valuable ideological-political frame for recognizing and combating opportunist currents that may raise their heads in different twists and turns of world situation and communist revolutionary movement.

*Harbhajan Sohi Yadgari Parkashan*

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**HOLD ALOFT  
THE INVINCIBLE BANNER OF  
MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT**

*(Statement of the CC(P) of the UCCRI (M.L.) in  
Commemoration of the eighty sixth birth anniversary of  
Comrade Mao Tse-Tung on December 26, 1979.)*

## I

Eighty six years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung was born to live forever in his immortal revolutionary work. Since September 9, 1976, his person is no more with us but he continues to engage the minds of friends and foes as a living force. Mao Tse-Tung Thought, as an integral part of Marxism-Leninism, has come to stay as a mighty ideological force of our times.

Since the great debate, it is modern revisionism, mainly centered around the revisionist leading clique of CPSU, which has been running a virulent propaganda campaign against Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought. All these years, the line of attack of modern revisionists confirmed, from a negative angle, what Marxist-Leninists all over the world realized from their positive experience of struggle against modern revisionism, that is, Mao Tse-Tung Thought is the sharp edge of Marxism-Leninism cutting against the present day revisionist fallacies. The great struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism as well as Titoite revisionism and Euro-revisionism, conducted by genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, with CPC led by Mao Tse-Tung in the vanguard, coupled with the great struggle unleashed by proletarian revolutionaries led by Mao inside China against the hidden revisionist, restorationist forces and for pushing the socialist revolution forward through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, educated and steeled vast contingents of international communist movement in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-Tung Thought reverberated throughout the five continents establishing the revolutionary authority of Mao

Tse-Tung as a great teacher of international proletariat after Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin. By the close of the sixth decade, the ideological objective of exposing modern revisionism and drawing a clear line of demarcation from it has, basically, been achieved by international communist movement. Thus, the bite of Khrushchevite revisionism has been rendered ineffectual to a great extent (while the struggle to bring about its total rout still continues).

Today, powerful forces have sprung up from within the international communist movement to derail or deviate it from its established general line and principles. In this great trial of strength between Marxism-Leninism and international opportunism, the battle around the estimation of Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought is crucial. Feverish attempts are being made, in categorical as well as veiled fashion, by various opportunist quarters to denigrate the name and teachings of Mao Tse-Tung. Confronted with this temporarily formidable opposite, the revolutionary aspect of international communist movement is being impelled to develop and supersede it through struggle. Gradually increasing number of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups who boldly come forward, against heavy odds, in defense of the glorious revolutionary practice of Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought, is the manifestation of this phenomenon and a testimony to the inexhaustible vitality of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Our organization, the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist-Leninist), warmly greets all these fraternal parties and groups and exults in being able to march along with them under the revolutionary banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung at this critical juncture.

## II

Mao Tse-Tung Thought is an integral body of teachings of Mao Tse-Tung which is a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism.

Mao Tse-Tung grasped and applied the science of dialectical materialism in a masterly fashion and, in the process, greatly enriched it. Carrying forward Lenin's observation that the law of contradiction is the kernel of dialectics, Mao Tse-Tung definitively formulated that the law of the unity of opposites is the basic law of dialectics. Thus, he specified the inter-relationship of various laws of dialectics.

Consistently upholding the principle of universality of contradiction, he applied it to socialist society and the communist party as well. Not only did he further develop the concept of two types of contradictions, i.e., antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions to be resolved by two different methods but more importantly, he explored the identity of these two opposites i.e., under certain conditions, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions undergo transformation into their opposites. Thus, he provided the theoretical frame for conceiving the political phenomena of formation and dissolution of united front between different class forces, and of alternating periods of milder and acute forms of struggle in the development of socialist society as well as communist party, under varying conditions. Applying it to socialist society, he propounded the theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat his most outstanding theoretical contribution to scientific socialism. Applying it to the communist party, he put forth the organizational concept of struggle between two lines in the communist party, inter-linking the inner-party struggle and the class-struggle in society. Thus, he clearly pin-pointed the class-content of the

motive force of development of socialist society and that of the development of the communist party.

In his analysis of the law of contradiction in things, Mao Tse-Tung laid special emphasis on the study of particularity of contradiction and underlined its great importance for guiding the course of revolutionary practice. Exploring the problem of the particularity of contradiction, he ascertained a new dimension of contradiction representing in its particularity the unevenness of forces that are in contradiction, i.e., the uneven character of development of various contradictions in a process (the principal and non-principal contradictions) and that of the two aspects of a contradiction (the principal and non-principal aspects), and more importantly, the mutual transformation into each other of the principal and non-principal ones. Thus, he greatly enriched the concept of the particularity of contradiction and provided a comprehensive methodology for determining the strategic and tactical policies of a proletarian party. ["The study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and non-principal contradictions, and of the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies both in political and military affairs." (*On Contradiction*)]

Applying this comprehension of the particularity of contradiction to such pairs of opposites as were generally considered to be undergoing a change in the respective positions of their aspects, namely, the productive forces and the relations of production, theory and practice, the economic base and superstructure, Mao Tse-Tung observed that the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal role but in certain conditions the relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the



principal role. Thus, he restored the true spirit of dialectical materialist outlook in the international communist movement suffering from a mechanical materialist streak in its viewpoint, particularly on questions related to the construction of a socialist society. This provided the ideological basis of the recognition of prime necessity of revolution in the superstructure after basically completing the socialist transformation of the economic base. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was the result.

Grasping the uneven and dynamic character of various contradictions in the process of development of a thing and that of the two aspects of a contradiction, Mao Tse-Tung observed: although the fundamental essence of a process remains basically unchanged till the culmination of the process, marked changes in the inter-relation of various contradictions in process (and that of two aspects of a contradiction) take place at times during the development of a process; the respective periods encompassed by these marked changes have their distinctive characters or particularities representing, respectively, qualitatively (partially) different states of contradictions in their inter-relationship. Thus, he crystallized the concept of definite stages in a process of development of a thing.

Mao Tse-Tung's comprehension of the phenomenon of definite stages in a process of development of a thing entailed the development of another law of dialectics, that is, the law of quantitative changes leading to qualitative changes. In this connection, he ascertained that, in the process of development of a phenomenon, along with uninterrupted quantitative changes many partial qualitative changes too take place before the final qualitative leap occurs. ["In any lengthy process of change, before entering the final qualitative change, the subject passes through uninterrupted quantitative changes and a good many partial qualitative changes. But the final qualitative change cannot come

about unless there are partial qualitative changes and considerable quantitative change." (Critique of Soviet Economics – Mao. p. 56)

Mao Tse-Tung's conceptual grasp over the law of contradiction in things, especially, the uneven and dynamic character of contradiction: the possibility under certain conditions, of mutual transformation of principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction, of partial qualitative changes in a process on the way to total qualitative change permeates all of his important military concepts, which constitute the most developed form of proletarian military thought till date – the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. For instance, at a strategic plane the concept of a revolutionary' base-area under people's state power amidst the countrywide counter-revolutionary state power (under certain conditions, the mutual transformation of non-principal aspect – revolutionary power – and principal aspect – counter-revolutionary power – in a relative and partial way), the concept of strategic defensive – stalemate – strategic offensive (three main stages of development of the process of transformation of people's military power from non-principal position, through transient relative balance or equilibrium, to principal position in its struggle against initially superior military power of the enemy): and at a tactical plane, the concept of miniature counter-encirclements by the people's armed forces within the overall encirclement by the enemy forces, and the concept of "ten against one" in tactical operations (the possibility, under certain conditions, of *relative and partial* transformation of the non-principal force into principal force).

Mao Tse-Tung integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In grasping and solving the complex fundamental problems of national democratic revolution of semi-colonial and semi-feudal China and of its transition to socialist revolution, Mao Tse-Tung

illuminated the general course and features of the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Carrying forward the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the colonial revolution, he dissected the native bourgeoisie, studied the characteristics of its segments, drew a clear line of demarcation between the big bourgeoisie (comprador bureaucrat capital) and the national bourgeoisie, treating the former as a target and the latter as a potential (though vacillating and unreliable) ally of the revolution in its first stage preceding the socialist stage; concretely solved the peasant question by providing proletarian leadership to the agrarian revolutionary movement and relying on the peasantry as a main force in the national democratic revolution; ensured the consummation of the national democratic revolution and the transition to the socialist revolution by charting out a course of maintaining the independence of the proletariat as a political force, forging the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat (which irrevocably effected the supersession of the bourgeoisie by the Proletariat as the leader of the national democratic revolution), establishing the hegemony of the proletariat over all the political forces engaged in the revolution, including the national bourgeoisie, thus making it a new democratic revolution, in its political character.

Mao Tse-Tung critically absorbed the first experience of the proletariat of building socialism in USSR and the loss of proletarian state power there and drew illuminating conclusions for steering the development of socialist revolution in China. Complementing, with this experience, the experience of concrete practice of socialist revolution in China, he arrived at a most profound generalization: “.... in the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and there is the danger of capitalist restoration....” Hence, he brought forth the foremost

position occupied by class contradictions in propelling social development throughout the historical period covered by socialist society, and laid down the cardinal precept that for properly appreciating and tackling all problems of the development of socialist society (for that matter any class society) proletarian revolutionaries must proceed by *taking class struggle as the key link*. He stressed the great significance of thoroughgoing changes in the relations of production and the superstructure for greatly boosting the development of productive forces during periods of revolutionary transition of society. He pointed out that socialist society (in which the relations of production and the productive forces, the superstructure and the economic base, stand both in harmony as well as in contradiction, moreover, the old harmony constantly giving way to new contradiction due to the rapid development of productive forces), being a long historical period of revolutionary transition, calls for unrelenting revolutionary effort to adapt the relations of production to the constantly emerging requirements of the development of productive forces, and transform the superstructure to bring it in tune with the socialist economic base so as to consolidate and develop the latter. He further observed that as every socialist transformation in the relations of production and the superstructure corrodes the socialist basis, influence and power of the old exploiting classes and new bourgeois elements, it encounters their frantic resistance. And, this class-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie gets intense expression on the political front. Hence the paramount importance of political revolution for successfully effecting revolutionary transformations in the cultural as well as economic sphere. Further, summing up the experience of deepening socialist revolution in China, he pointed out that after the smashing of overt bourgeois political resistance, the chief political representatives of the bourgeoisie are to be found hiding

within the Communist Party – the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road – against whom the sharp edge of class struggle must be directed. For successfully conducting this complex class struggle to defend and consolidate the proletarian revolutionary line, affect all-round socialist revolution in ideological, political and economic spheres, defend and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and march forward, step by step, towards the realization of communist society, Mao Tse-Tung exhorted the proletarian revolutionaries to rely on revolutionary masses of the people and revolutionary mass movements bringing into full play their creative initiative and genius. The glorious decade of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China, led by proletarian revolutionaries headed by Mao Tse-Tung, witnessed the practice and maturing of this theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, marking a great leap forward in the revolutionary experience and achievements (“socialist new things”) of international proletariat.

These are, in brief, the salient components of Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

We do not subscribe to the notion of infallibility of great revolutionary persons, no Marxist does. Mao Tse-Tung, like other great teachers of international proletariat Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, cannot be free of errors and inadequacies. But such errors and inadequacies, if noticed, are to be analyzed in a total and historical perspective, on the basis of Marxism- Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and to enrich it. Whosoever ventures to challenge the validity of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, as an inalienable part of Marxism-Leninism, for illuminating the path of world proletarian revolution in our times, must come to grips with this ideological edifice as a whole, especially his contributions to Marxist philosophy which constitute the basic frame of this edifice.

### III

The leadership of Albanian Party of Labour launched an attack on Mao Tse-Tung Thought in a most irresponsible manner without theoretical refutation of a single fundamental tenet of Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Not only did they take a turn of hundred eighty degrees on their own previous estimation of Mao Tse-Tung and his teachings (at the latest, Enver Hoxa’s Report to the Seventh National Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, held in Nov. 1977, refers to Mao Tse-Tung as a great Marxist-Leninist) without any convincing explanation or self-criticism, but they also resort to gross misrepresentation of Mao Tse-Tung’s views to suit the convenience of their attack. Not contented with their own distortion of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, they portray as Mao Tse-Tung Thought the opportunist standpoint of Teng-Hua revisionist clique of CPC, who are the most cunning foes of Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Apparently they cross swords with Teng-Hua revisionist clique but in actual fact they are proving of great help to it by conferring upon it the sought-after legitimacy as successors to the ideology and cause of Mao Tse-Tung, causing confusion and diversion in the struggle of genuine Marxist-Leninists against this clique, and complimenting the latter’s sophisticated attempts to discredit Mao Tse-Tung Thought with their wanton attacks on it.

The shallow and unfair polemical stand of the leadership of APL, at present, against Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought is disappointing and quite out of character with its reputation of a principled and mature Marxist-Leninist Party which boldly withstood tremendous pressure of modern revisionism, under testing conditions in the sixties. Less said the better about the so many rag-tag organizations decked in Marxist-Leninist colors, gathering under the ‘protective umbrella’ of Albanian ‘center’ and covering their political bankruptcy and

renegacy to Marxism-Leninism with vociferous denunciations of Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Their presumptuous conduct reminds one of a line of Mao's poem, "Flies lightly conspire to topple the banyan tree!"

The objectives of the Albanian leaders in presenting a distorted version of Mao Tse-Tung's views and practice apart, their own metaphysical and mechanistic approach to the study of concrete contradictions of present day world is linked to their inability to grasp the dialectical materialist content of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, especially Mao's exposition and handling of the particularity of contradiction.

They reiterate the basic contradiction between the proletariat (in ascendance) and the bourgeoisie (in decadence) in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution but fail to examine the various specific manifestations of this basic contradiction, at various stages of its process of development, in the uneven accentuation of the four fundamental contradictions of the present day world and changes in their inter-relationship.

They reiterate the historically ripe situation for socialist revolutions in developed capitalist countries of Europe, North America, Japan etc. in the era of emergent proletarian revolution, note the increasing social discontent and turmoil under the impact of intensifying economic crisis of world imperialist system but fail to examine these factors of the situation in connection with the state of development of conscious revolutionary factors (revolutionary mass movement led by a mature Marxist-Leninist party), in other words, the specific political situation.

They reiterate the common essential character of all imperialist forces and also emphasize struggle, particularly against the two imperialist super-powers, without laying bare the

distinctive features of the latter.

They reiterate the decisive significance of hegemony of the proletariat for successful consummation of national democratic revolutions but fail to recognize the peculiar form of its realization in an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution wherein the national bourgeoisie displays its incapability of leading the revolution through to the end but retains, in some measures, its revolutionary potentialities [that is, the proletariat supersedes the bourgeoisie as the leader of the revolution by unfurling the standard of national liberation and democracy from proletarian internationalist and revolutionary standpoint (to put it in Mao Tse-Tung's idiom, pursuing nationalism as applied internationalism), establishing its credibility as the most staunch and consistent champion of national and democratic aspirations of the broad masses of the people by dint of its program and practice of revolutionary struggle, striving to win over and carry along all those social forces whose revolutionary potentialities are not totally exhausted].

They emphasize the revisionist nature and defection-to-capitalism role of Soviet rulers (the chief characteristic of the Khrushchevian phase) and underplay their social-fascist nature and counter-revolutionary imperialist role (the chief characteristic of the present phase). They underplay the revisionist nature and defection-to-capitalism role of Chinese rulers (the chief characteristic of the present phase) and emphasize their militarist nature and great-power hegemonic role (the chief characteristic of a would-be phase they vainly aspire to). Thus, in both the cases, they miss the specific of the state of development of a phenomenon and divert the Marxist-Leninist attack from the relevant focus. So on and so forth.

This metaphysical approach to questions related to the formulating of strategy and tactics for the revolutionary movement *at a particular stage* of its process of development cannot but drive them to “left” and right opportunist political positions. Despite the revolutionary phraseology of their documents and statements, and along with their “left” opportunist positions regarding the orientation of the national democratic revolutionary movement in the East, the present situation and tasks of proletarian revolutionary movement in the West, their practice also betrays serious right opportunist tendencies. For instance, their political stand on the developments in South-East Asia. Criticism of revisionism from “left” opportunist standpoint is by now a familiar experience for communist revolutionary movement of India. In the case of Albanian polemics, it seems, their bombast against the Teng-Hua revisionist clique of CPC and real attack on Mao Tse-Tung Thought are meant to serve as a smokescreen for their own retreat to a right opportunist course of action.

The leadership of APL has facilitated the exposure of its own opportunism by its all-out, contrived and spurious attack on Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Hereafter, its capacity for causing confusion and disruption in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, especially the Asian contingents, is considerably reduced. Still, so long as the experience of the great reversal in China, that occurred with the defeat of proletarian revolutionary line and forces after the death of Mao Tse-Tung, is not properly summed up and placed in the overall perspective of the zigzag course of transition from capitalism to communism, the negative approach to MaoTse-Tung’s revolutionary achievements in theory and practice shall sustain on the traumatic effects of the event.

Change of color of socialist China, the great bastion of world

proletarian revolution, is such a tremendous loss as many revolutionaries find difficult to acknowledge and digest. In India, the leadership of many communist revolutionary organizations and circles, afflicted with opportunism in varying degrees and of different hues but formally upholding Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought, are banking on this state of mind of their ranks for virtually treating the developments in China as a non-event, deliberately evading or scuttling the issue. “The picture is far from clear”, “internal affair of CPC,” “Indian revolution should be our prime concern”, “Two line struggle is going on between Teng’s revisionist forces and Hua’s revolutionary forces” and “support to CPC headed by Hua Kuo-Feng with serious reservations” etc. is the kind of their arguments to tranquilize the anxiety of their ranks. Serious effort, on the part of genuine Marxist-Leninists, is needed to accomplish a thorough exposure of the counter-revolutionary line and practice of present day CPC leadership to enable the vast masses of genuine revolutionaries to see and treat it as the most detestable and cunning foe of Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Concentration of ideological attack on Teng-Hua revisionist clique of China is necessary because, one, it attempts to utilize and undermine the great prestige of Mao Tse-Tung by formally accepting and caricaturing Mao Tse-Tung Thought, two, at present broad sections of the communist revolutionary movement of India are prone to a right-opportunist swing which finds a great booster in the class-collaborationist international line dished out by this clique.

The present day Chinese rulers, the revisionist usurpers of proletarian state power and party leadership in China, are ideologically too bankrupt to challenge the theoretical validity of Mao Tse-Tung Thought and feel still politically too insecure to openly renounce it. Instead, they choose, for the time-being, to

strangle Mao Tse-Tung Thought by malevolent embrace. They rob it of dialectical materialist and revolutionary content and peddle its shell stuffed with eclecticism and pragmatism. In a way, they are doing to Mao Tse-Tung what the Russian revisionists did to Lenin. The latter disposed of Lenin by reducing him to a glorified mummy and unleashing a proxy-attack on Stalin who faithfully defended elaborated and applied Leninism. Similarly, the Chinese revisionists seek to dispose of Mao Tse-Tung by reducing him to a venerable icon and unleashing a proxy attack on The Four, who faithfully defended and applied Mao Tse-Tung Thought. But there is an important difference between the two situations. Whereas the Russian revisionists had a distance of about three decades and consequences of Second World War from the time of Lenin to amend or ignore as irrelevant his teachings under the pretext of changed conditions (although this pretext could not be used in dispensing with Stalin's revolutionary Work), the Chinese revisionists are denied this escape-route from the revolutionary legacy of Mao Tse-Tung, as late as the year of his death and their counter-revolutionary coup-d'état, used to comment on vital questions of internal and external line of China's socialist revolution. That is why, the distinguished feature of their revisionism is the reversal of established contemporary revolutionary line, principles and policies at national as well as international level. And, to begin with the reversal of correct verdicts of great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China.

Teng-Hua revisionism in its present form is the continuation and development of Chinese revisionism which has been engaged in fierce contention with Mao Tse-Tung Thought for controlling the steering of social development of China since the emergence of New China in 1949. Ever since, the central thrust of the Chinese revisionists has been to stall the forward movement of social

revolution of China on a course charted out by the proletariat, with the slogan of consolidating the obtaining stage of development of the revolution, should this stratagem fail, to sabotage the revolutionary movement in the name of rectifying the "excesses" of revolution, should this stratagem fail too, hypocritically to hail the victories of revolution and stall the next revolutionary step further with the plea that the revolution already achieved its objectives and other tasks come to the fore, all the while scheming to corrode and reverse the previous gains of revolution.

The counter-revolutionary basic content of Chinese revisionism remaining intact its manifestation in various forms is conditioned by the varying pressure exerted (or constraints imposed) upon it by its opposite revolutionary aspect at various stages of development of their mutual struggle.

The proletarian revolutionary aspect exerted pressure through ideologically-politically exposing and defeating the particular platform by means of which revisionism sought to gain ground at a given stage, and consolidating and extending the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all fields. Uptil the passing away of Mao Tse-Tung and the counter revolutionary October Coup, the struggle developed under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat. Despite the various relative shifts in the balance of forces between the proletarian revolutionary aspect and the bourgeois revisionist aspect of this intensely unfolding class contradiction, both within the Party and the state, the former retained its principal position and initiative in the struggle. The latter was trounced from one battle-position after another and was constrained to adopt new form, other than the already exposed and defeated ones, in order to be able to contend with the former in its advanced position. Now, after the October Coup, a qualitative

change has taken place; the proletarian revolutionary aspect has been thrown back to a non-principal position, and the struggle is unfolding under conditions of revisionist bourgeois dictatorship. Obviously, the nature of revolutionary pressure exerted (or constraints imposed) upon the counter-revolutionary revisionist forces has also radically changed. Hence, under new conditions, the Teng-Hua revisionist clique can venture to march back to the once defeated revisionist positions (and then to more forthright renunciation of Mao Tse-Tung Thought) and reverse the correct verdicts of socialist revolution of China.

The reversal of correct verdicts and the proletarian revolutionary line is brought about, by this clique, in phases through a series of shifting postures corresponding with the changing state of consolidation of its counter-revolutionary grip over CPC and PRC since the October Coup. The typical pattern of these shifting postures has been that of taking, as the point of departure, an established formulation which pin-points the principal contradiction or the principal aspect of a contradiction but rendering it non-operative for the period at hand by laboring the non-principal aspect; in the next phase, placing the principal and non-principal contradictions or aspects of a contradiction at par, in an eclectic manner but letting the weight of the whole argument to fall in favor of the non-principal aspect and elevating it to the principal position without plainly saying so; and ultimately, substituting metaphysics for their earlier eclecticism, inflating the non-principal aspect to the point of virtual negation of the principal aspect.

Take, for instance, the treatment of the Cultural Revolution and the relationship of grasping revolution and promoting production, at the hands the Teng-Hua revisionist clique. During the first year of its revisionist usurpation upto the conclusion of

the Eleventh National Congress of CPC, the counter-revolutionary consolidation being yet very fragile, the clique had to maneuver in the familiar fashion of the earlier periods, that is, formally accepting the verdict of the Ninth and Tenth Congresses that the Cultural Revolution was a glorious leap forward of China's socialist revolution but harping on the abuses of the Cultural Revolution, allegedly the result of the Four's harmful influence [formally accepting the principal positive aspect of the Cultural Revolution while emphasizing the non-principal negative aspect]. Formally upholding the Cultural Revolution, in other words, the significance of grasping revolution, then, giving it a revisionist twist to draw the conclusion that the tasks of revolutionary transformation, having already been accomplished, should give way to the urgent tasks of greatly promoting production [formally accepting the principal aspect—grasping revolution—while stressing the decisive relevance of the non-principal aspect — promoting production]. Apart from being a pretext for formally terminating the Cultural Revolution, this revisionist logic insinuated that the Cultural Revolution did not embrace the task of promoting production. During the next year upto the conclusion of the third plenum of the eleventh central committee, with more counter-revolutionary consolidation, the clique stated explicitly what was implicit in its previous posture that during the years of Cultural Revolution, due to the ultra-leftist policies and interference of the Four, the development of production was adversely affected in some fields and to overcome this lag and boost production, the focus of the whole work has to be shifted to the four modernizations. The appraisal of the Cultural Revolution was made an open question and the need to critically examine it and sum-up its experience was stressed. Thus, the correct verdict of the two Party Congresses on the Cultural Revolution stood

suspended [placing the principal positive aspect of the Cultural Revolution at par with its non-principal negative aspect]. During the next year, having passed the critical phase of its counter-revolutionary consolidation, the Teng-Hua revisionist clique felt bold enough to declare the glorious decade of the Cultural Revolution to be a period of veritable calamity for the economy and people of China. The clique moaned that the chaos of the Cultural Revolution had thrown the economic development of China many years back and what had been consolidated during this decade was not the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie but fascist dictatorship [inflating the non-principal negative aspect of the Cultural Revolution to the point of virtual negation of the principal positive aspect]. Revolution and production were made to appear to be antithetical phenomena, one developing at the cost of the other. So, in the name of seeking unhindered development of production, revolutionary mass movements were prohibited, revolution was banished [inflating the non-principal aspect of promoting production to the point of virtual negation of the principal aspect of grasping revolution]. In this way, the Teng-Hua revisionist clique effected the reversal of the established guiding principle of socialist construction, "Grasp revolution and promote production", and the correct verdict on the Cultural Revolution. As a corollary, the correct verdict on the chief exponents and the chief opponents of the Cultural Revolution was also reversed. With this reversal, now, the Four (by implication Mao Tse-Tung also) turn out to be bourgeois counter-revolutionaries and Teng, Peng Teh-Hui and Liu Shao-Chi become great proletarian revolutionaries!

Broadly following this pattern of shifting postures, the Teng-Hua revisionist clique has reversed almost all the verdicts of socialist revolution of China, and the essential components of Mao

Tse-Tung's proletarian revolutionary line concerning the internal and external conduct of China's socialist revolution as well as his teachings on vital problems of world proletarian revolution in the present era. It has replaced Mao Tse-Tung's theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat and its derivative principles with the theory of productive forces and its derivative principles, i.e. the theory of capitalist restoration. It has replaced Mao Tse-Tung's line of building an advanced socialist economy by mainly relying on China's own potential, its resources and the conscious dynamism of revolutionary masses of the Chinese people, and availing of the assistance of international proletariat, with the line of pushing four modernizations by relying on the finance capital, sophisticated technology and production partnership of foreign monopoly capital i.e. the comprador bureaucratic capitalist line of national betrayal. It has replaced Mao Tse-Tung's revolutionary line in foreign affairs of socialist China (of opposing imperialism and reaction, especially, the two imperialist super powers and their respective lackeys, unswervingly supporting and assisting socialist revolutionary and national democratic revolutionary movements of the people of the whole world as an obligatory proletarian internationalist duty, and pursuing socialist diplomacy for seeking peaceful co-existence between states based on different social systems and maneuvering within the scope of inter-imperialist contradictions to prevent war and aggression and promote revolution), with the line of solely opposing Soviet social-imperialism and its accomplices from narrow bourgeois nationalist considerations of China's state security (menaced by the former) and for currying favor with imperialist states led by U. S. imperialism, ditching or disorientating the revolutionary movements of the people of the world and supporting only and all



forces pitted against Soviet Social imperialism, justifying and prodding the war-preparations of U.S. imperialism and its allies, thus sabotaging genuine anti-war movement of the world people led by international proletariat, and aligning itself with one of the two aggressive imperialist groupings in the name of utilizing the inter-imperialist contradictions, that is, the line of capitulating to imperialism and aspiring to become a regional hegemonist power with the patronage of U.S. imperialism. Donning the infamous mantle of Soviet revisionists as apologists of neo-colonialism the Teng-Hua revisionist clique has replaced Mao-Tse-Tung's analysis of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial character of overwhelming majority of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the pressing tasks of democratic revolution and national liberation at the hands of revolutionary movements in these countries, with the spurious concept of third world countries mastering their own destiny and valiantly resisting imperialist machinations for domination over them. Grossly underplaying the sway of neo-colonialism over these countries, it projects the defense of independence and promotion of national economies in these countries, as the primary task of the revolutionary movements instead of national and democratic revolution. It flouts Mao Tse-Tung's celebrated thesis on the differentiation of the bourgeoisie of colonial and semi-colonial countries into two wings, that is, anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie and pro-imperialist big bourgeoisie in describing the countries ruled by big bourgeoisie and feudal classes as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. It flouts an important tenet of Mao Tse-Tung Thought according to which the character of the phenomenon is mainly determined by its principal aspect (and that in a country the ruling class constitutes its principal aspect which mainly determines the character of the country) in describing the character of these countries as basically anti-

imperialist because of the numerical insignificance of reactionaries and agents of imperialism inhabiting these countries.

Last but not the least, it has reversed the correct verdict of international communist movement on Titoite revisionism as the counter-revolutionary agency of imperialism, and bestowed upon it the honor of being not only a genuine anti-imperialist force but, more a genuine Marxist-Leninist force successfully building socialism in Yugoslavia. (It has reversed the earlier verdict on euro-revisionism of 'communist Party' of Italy and is anxious to rehabilitate other revisionist parties as Marxist-Leninist parties provided they exhibit some kind of estrangement with the CPSU). The rehabilitation of arch-revisionism of 'Communist League' of Yugoslavia as Marxism-Leninism by it amounts to a declaration on its part that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and revisionism is synonymous pair of words in the new jargon of this clique.

The imperative of the volatile world situation is forcing the pace of the Teng-Hua revisionist clique in restoring capitalism in China, mending fences with imperialism and reaction, and spinning out whole sale revisionist stuff to rationalize its renegade conduct. Consequently, every passing day heightens its predicament of either to make a clean break with Mao Tse-Tung Thought or to get hopelessly entangled in glaring inconsistencies of its theoretical as well as practical positions and stand more exposed. A well-concerted ideological attack by Marxist-Leninist forces directed against the clique shall make its predicament more unbearable.

#### IV

The historical fact that every contemporary variety of opportunism was driven to an inevitable clash with Mao Tse-Tung Thought and ultimately crashed against the solidity of its

theoretical edifice and the efficacy of its political guidance, and that it is not amenable to formal acceptance and revisionist adaptation as the Chinese revisionists are now finding to their chagrin, is a veritable indicator that ***Mao Tse-Tung Thought is the indispensable ideological weapon with the international proletariat to defeat the onslaught of opportunism against the revolutionary orientation of world proletarian revolutionary movement.***

On his eighty sixth birthday, we triumphantly wave the red flag to salute our most cherished comrade and teacher Mao Tse-Tung and express our gratitude to the Chinese proletariat for providing us with Mao Tse-Tung Thought which is a great source of inspiration and illumination for our revolution's onward march to victory.

**IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM—  
LENINISM—MAO TSE-TUNG  
THOUGHT AND GENERAL LINE OF  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**

*(The Document Upheld by the Special Conference of  
UCCRI (M-L), Feb. 25-27, 1982)*

## **PREFACE**

The main text of the document, "In Defence of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought and General Line of International Communist Movement", was prepared in Circa 1978. At that time, the People's Daily editorial of August 1977 that had expounded the Three World Theory and its application to the current international situation, generated an international ideological controversy. In this regard, there emerged a sharp divergence of views, in the CC of the UCCRI (ML) too.

It was prepared by Comrade HBS, representing the minority view in the C.C., as a draft for discussion in the C.C. with the objective of thoroughly examining and resolving the differences and arriving at a unified position on the ideological-political issues involved. Subsequently, as the divergent ideological-political lines remained intact in the C.C., it was issued as the minority draft document for inner-organizational discussions preparatory to the proposed conference of the Organization. However, the inner-organizational discussions did not get initiated and a split occurred in the UCCRI (ML) in September, 1979.

A special conference of the UCCRI (ML) led by Com. HBS was held in January, 1982. The document under reference (along with another one titled "On the Internal Developments in China") was submitted to the Special Conference for deliberation and approval. The Central Committee (Provisional) while submitting this document to the conference proposed certain official amendments. It was felt that the formal pattern and argumentation-structure of the text, influenced as these were by

the specific circumstances of its birth, called for its reshaping so as to serve the purpose of a positive statement of our International line. Such a full-fledged reshaping of the text being not feasible, some formal pruning and addition of some points (regarding the fact and international implications of China's change of color) were sought to be effected through the official amendments. The Special Conference, in its second sitting of Feb. 1982, unanimously upheld the amended version of the main text as well as the supplement as international line document of the UCCRI (ML) led by Com. HBS. The March, 1985 Regular Conference of the said Organization, reiterated the decision of the 1982 Special Conference.

The August, 1988 Unity Convention of five Communist Revolutionary Groups that brought into being the unified Organization, the CCRI, upheld this document as its official international line document. Of course, the document is not up-to-date regarding the analysis of international political developments (a deficiency that is sought to be compensated, to a certain extent, by the Dec. 1988 Political Resolution of the CCRI). Still the basic ideological political stand-point and orientation provided by the document are relevant even today and constitute a reliable weapon in the ideological struggle against opportunist trends of the right or the "left" variety. On this consideration, the CCRI deemed the document fit to be its official international line document. In due course of the time, the CCRI intends to prepare a more comprehensive and compact document for the purpose. Till then, the readers are requested to receive this document with due consideration of its historical significance as well as limitations.

*February, 1989*  
*Central Committee,*  
*C. C. R. I.*

## **SECTION- II**

I. The ideological controversy and polemics presently going on among the international communist movement involve not only the questions of policy to be adopted in the present period of its development (i.e., tactical orientation of the movement) but also the statement and affirmation of the general line of the international communist movement. It is so because, in the debate, apparently over the questions of tactical orientation of the movement, certain principles of Marxist-Leninist theory are being interpreted and applied in a controversial manner, which have a bearing on the general line of the international communist movement.

II. The general line of the international communist movement can correctly be defined only in the theoretical framework of the Marxist-Leninist characterization of the present epoch, and on the basis of class analysis of all the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world and all the struggles emanating there from, which are interrelated and constitute the essential content of this epoch. It is not addressed to, and based on, the class analysis of the non-fundamental contradictions, in the contemporary world (those come under the purview of the class analysis for defining day to day tactics and short-term policies of different contingents of the international communist movement).

It "must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it". (From "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement." June 14, 1963 Letter of the CPC).

III. The tactical orientation of the international communist movement is based on the periodic analysis of the process of development of the fundamental contradictions of the world and the significant changes occurring therein, while the fundamental contradictions maintain their continuity and validity. Thus the tactical orientation remains subservient to the general line of the international communist movement. In conformity with the general line of the international communist movement, it indicates the most appropriate and immediate direction of advance of the movement in a given period. In the long process of development of the world proletarian revolution in the present epoch, different periods of its development are marked by the change in tactical orientation, while the general line of international communist movement remains, basically unchanged.

IV. A comprehensive statement of the general line of the international communist movement, at a given period, not only should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries, but also the current direction i.e., the tactical orientation of their common world revolutionary struggle. In other words, it should point out not only the general course of class alignment and direction of epochal struggle between world proletarian revolution and world imperialist counter-revolution, but also the chief reactionary force or forces by whom the imperialist counter revolutionary global strategy is mainly, being carried out, in the given period, and against whom the concentrated fire of the world revolution is currently to be directed.

V. The above, seemingly obvious, formulations are intimated by an important Marxist-Leninist principle, viz. the principle of conceiving and forging organic connection between the immediate and ultimate, specific and general, partial and basic, tactical and strategic tasks, struggles and orientation of the revolutionary

movement. Both the “revolutionary” phrase-monger and the reformist violate this principle by negating or impairing this organic connection, with the same objective, and result of non-realization of the basic, strategic goals of the revolutionary movement. The former with his barren assertions of the basic, strategic objectives and orientation while obliterating or ignoring the immediate, tactical tasks and orientation, through only which the concrete realization of these can proceed; and the latter with his sole pre-occupation with the immediate, partial objectives, investing these with excessive importance and independent legitimacy and not subordinating these to the requirements of the basic strategic objectives, despite the ritualistic reiterations, which are relegated and consigned to an indefinite future for materialization. For Marxist-Leninists to remain faithful to this principle, it is imperative to combat the erroneous and eclectic view, which is directly opposed to the dialectical character and conception of this inter-connection between the immediate, partial objectives and struggle and the long range, basic ones of the revolutionary movement; the view which comprehends and attempts to establish this connection only in a mechanical sequence i.e., the later operating only after the fruition of the former. This view refuses to recognize that in the revolutionary scheme of things (operations, phenomena) the immediate, the partial, the tactical, the particular, the defensive is impregnated with the ultimate, the basic, the strategic, the general, the offensive, that the latter grows and matures, in embryonic form, in the former; that in the development of the former, the latter is manifested and realized in a peculiar and limited form, though is not exhausted by this form. Thus, this view, actually, negates the continuity in the development of the revolutionary struggle (effected through gradual movement and leaps). And this is the view-point of reformism of Social Democracy. This is precisely how

reformism sacrifices the basic interests of the proletariat and revolutionary people on the altar of momentary interests by snapping or distorting the organic connection between the two.

Here are some illustrations from the writings of great Marxists which contain the statement and application of this principle:

“The communist fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class but in the movement of present, **they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.**” (Emphasis added)

*(Communist Manifesto)*

“One should know how to combine the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution, **subordinating** the first to the second. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence.” (Emphasis added)

*(Letter to Inessa Armand, Lenin, Dec. 25. 1916).*

“While actively leading immediate struggles, communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and **undertake the historical tasks of the proletarian revolution.** If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat that is out and out social democracy.” (Emphasis added)

*(Proposal concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, CPC letter, June 14, 1963)*

VI. Another important theoretical principle, emanating from Leninist theory of world proletarian revolution in the imperialist

epoch, is this that the most vital and general link connecting various component parts of the world proletarian revolution, various phases and stages of its development, various fronts and levels at which revolutionary fight is conducted is the hegemony of proletariat. Hence one of the important criteria to assess the correctness or otherwise of any strategic or tactical orientation, policy or tactic of communist movement is whether or not, and to what extent, it leads to the promotion or strengthening of the hegemony of proletariat in the revolutionary struggle and over the various class forces involved in it.

VII. In the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the revolutionary traits of the bourgeoisie have turned into their opposites, transforming it from a progressive force upholding democracy and nationalism into a reactionary and counter-revolutionary force, a “decrepit bourgeoisie which is capable only of raping, not of freeing nations” (though the national bourgeoisie of colonial and semi-colonial countries being oppressed by imperialism, “retains a certain revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree—even in the era of imperialism in its opposition to the foreign imperialists,” as distinct from the anti-democratic counter-revolutionary monopoly bourgeoisie tied to imperialism in compradorial relationship). This “imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie strives for domination over weaker and small nations, and when confronted by more powerful imperialist adversaries, threatening domination over it, or actually dominating it, it works up rabid national chauvinism and war frenzy in a desperate gamble to seek robber parity with them. In either case, its role is detrimental to the interests of the people of its own country and betrays its hostile character in relation to the genuine national cause of other peoples.

In this regard, any view which, overtly or by implication,

attempts at investing this imperialist bourgeoisie with progressive or revolutionary attributes and role, while affirming the Leninist characterization of the present epoch, is liable to the charge of revising some of the fundamental thesis of Lenin on the character of imperialism and its conductor, the senile bourgeoisie. It will be Trotskyism turned inside-out. Trotskyism attempted a revision of the Leninist thesis on national and colonial questions from a ‘Left’ opportunist position, by attributing the counter-revolutionary character and role of the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries, to the oppressed bourgeoisie of the colonial or semi-colonial countries, effacing thereby the sharp distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations—the most important fundamental idea of the thesis, whereas, it would be an attempt at revising the Leninist thesis from a right opportunist position, if the same distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations is effaced the other way round, by attributing the revolutionary anti-imperialist potentialities of the bourgeoisie of colonial or semi-colonial countries to the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries.

Trotskyism effaced the distinction between the capitalistically advanced imperialist oppressing nations and capitalistically backward, oppressed nations of colonial, semi-colonial countries by mechanically applying the revolutionary experience and tactical principles of European communist movement to the colonial East and rejecting the tactic of forming a national united front inclusive of national bourgeoisie against imperialism and for national liberation in these oppressed countries. Whereas it would be an attempt at effacing the same distinction from a right opportunist position, if this tactic of forming a national united front (inclusive of imperialist bourgeoisie) for national liberation is applied to the capitalistically advanced, imperialist oppressing countries.

VIII. The concept of the principal enemy, in a given period,

and that of forming a broad united front against it, is not applicable in an identical fashion to the revolutionary movement in one country and that in the international arena. This assertion is made on the basis of the fact that, so far as the aspect (factor) of state power is concerned, a country is a single entity, whereas the world is not.

Hence in a country the principal task, at a given moment, is one and the same for all the contingents of the revolutionary movement throughout the country. Consequently, all other tasks are directly and immediately related to the principal task through being rendered non-principal for the given period, whereas in the world, the different contingents of the communist and revolutionary movement have different principal tasks, at a given moment. Consequently, due to the interplay of various fundamental contradictions whichever principal common task confronts the international communist and revolutionary movement, at a given moment, it does not, usually render directly and immediately the principal tasks of different contingents of international communist and revolutionary movement, non-principal. Its co-ordination with the respective principal tasks of different revolutionary contingents assumes different forms and extent, depending upon the nature of those tasks and its own nature. Obviously, this matter has a bearing on the nature and inter-connection of the united-fronts operating at national levels and of that at the international level.

Any view which does not take this distinction into consideration and mechanically seeks to apply the concepts of principal enemy, principal task and broad united front against the principal enemy, at international level the way these are applied at the country level, is bound to lead to a course entirely different from that of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

IX. The correct understanding and application of the Leninist

tactical principle of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies involves clarity on two questions: what is the objective of utilizing the enemy contradictions? And how should these be utilized to serve this objective?

The objective of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies is to serve the revolution, not only to achieve some immediate purpose but to promote the general interests (cause) of the revolutionary movement viz. raising the revolutionary spirit, consciousness, level of organization, fighting capacity and strength of the revolutionary forces. It is the revolutionary objective which demarcates the revolutionary from the reformist approach towards utilizing the contradictions among the enemies.

It is the development of various contradictions (contradictions between the revolutionary forces and the enemy and the contradictions within the enemy camp itself) that creates the basis of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies. The forms and scope of exploiting these contradictions depend on the basis actually existing, in a given situation (which is determined by taking into cognizance the position of these contradictions at that time).

By adopting appropriate policy slogans we provide or create the necessary condition (or conditions) of exploitation of contradictions among the enemies, on the existing basis, in a given situation. If the necessary condition is not created the opportunity of exploiting the contradiction among the enemies, latent in the existing basis, will remain unrealized (or not fully realized).

Alliance with a section of the enemy is one of the forms, and not the only form, of utilizing contradictions among the enemy camp. It is not obligatory on our part to enter into temporary alliance with a section of the enemy, even when the basis of utilizing the contradictions among the enemy in this form, exists,

because, the feasibility of adopting a form of utilizing the contradictions among the enemy at a given time is one thing, and advisability (or desirability) of doing so is another. Utilization of the contradictions among the enemy camp in the form of an alliance with a section of it is of conditional nature. Whether it is proper to resort to this form (alliance with a section of the enemy) at a given time or not depends upon whether we have (in relation to the strength of the section of enemy) the minimum strength (ideological maturity, solidity of our organization, expanse of the organized masses under our leadership, general influence and prestige of our organization etc.) required for the purpose or not. Only if this required condition is available, we will be able to practice the principle of 'maintaining independence and initiative within the united front', establish our leadership over the united movement and make this alliance serve the revolution. Otherwise, either the immediate aim of the movement will be defeated through the betrayal of the treacherous ally, or the gains of the achieved aim will be 'usurped by it to the detriment of the revolutionary movement. Of course, the errors of judgment cannot be ruled out but entering into an alliance with such a treacherous enemy without due consideration of the above stated condition, is tantamount to ignoring or not tackling the central question of such alliances—who would utilize whom and speculating in conducting the revolutionary movement.

"...the comprador Chinese big bourgeoisie has always been a target of the revolution. However, different groups within this big bourgeoisie are backed by different imperialist powers, so that when contradictions among these powers become sharp and when the edge of the revolution is mainly directed against a particular power, the big bourgeois groups dependent upon the other powers may join the struggle against that particular imperialist power to a certain extent and for a certain time. At such times, in order to

weaken the enemy and add to its own reserves, the Chinese proletariat may form a united front with these groups and should maintain it as far as possible provided it is advantageous to the revolution."

*("Introducing the Communist" Mao Oct. 4, 1953)*

It is tricky affair to comment, in a general way, upon the question as to which form (or combination of forms) of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies is to be employed in what circumstances (as is the case with all questions of tactics). Nevertheless, basing upon the past experience of the communist movement, certain broad propositions, regarding our conduct in this matter can be made as follows.

At a time, when the enemy camp is plagued with dissensions, infighting and resultant crisis and confusion but the nature or extent of their dog fights is such as not to warrant any purposeful distinction between various cliques or sections, we should utilize their contradictions by boldly advancing the revolutionary movement to gain at their cost and cause more confusion in their midst (in contrast with the situation when the enemy camp is in relative unity and stability). Such was the case at the time of the first split in the then ruling Congress party, in our country. At the international level it was the period in Europe, during Second World War, between August 1939, when Soviet-German Treaty of Non-Aggression was signed, and June 1941, when German Fascist armies attacked Soviet Russia.

At a time, when, along with a situation of serious discord, conflict and crisis in the enemy camp, some more or less important distinction between its different sections can be made but the contradiction between ourselves and any of these sections has still not developed to a principal position to the exclusion of other sections, we should utilize the contradictions by making a differentiated attack, in nature or extent or both, and turn to our



advantage certain positive features, even though temporary, in the position of some sections. One type of such case was just before and during the Emergency period in our country. Another type of case was the distinction in the positions of European belligerent powers and the United States of America (during roughly the same period of Second World War, as mentioned above) which was as yet not switching its economy to war programme, its rule to fascist suppression of the American people and was not directly participating in, the war.

When, apart from there being a situation of serious conflict and crisis in the enemy camp, the contradiction between ourselves and a section of the enemies has come to the fore as principal contradiction but the contradiction between this section of the enemy and other sections has still not reached a critical point and the basis of forming an alliance between ourselves and the sections other than the principal enemy has not matured, at such a time, we should maneuver with other sections of the enemy in various ways so as to avoid, a state of active confrontation and hostility with these sections and concentrate our attack on the principal enemy. This type of situation was being faced by the Chinese revolution in years 1935-36 during the period of anti-Japanese 'national united front policy, excluding the ruling classes' of China. "Moreover, unity is by no means prevalent even in the camp of the landlord and comprador classes. Since the contention for China among many imperialist powers has generated contending groups of traitors in their service, with contradictions and conflicts among them, the party should employ a variety of methods to ensure that for the time being some of those counter-revolutionary forces do not actively oppose the anti-Japanese front. The same tactics should be applied in dealing with the imperialist powers other than Japan".

*(C. P. C. Polit Bureau's Resolution on the Present Political*

*Situation and the Tasks of the Party, Dec. 25, 1935.)*

When contradiction between ourselves and a section of the enemies has assumed principal position and the contradiction between this section and other section or sections of the enemies has also crossed a critical point (a point beyond which the chances of mutual accommodation of their interests become minimal and one's interests cannot be advanced without imperiling those of the others) thus providing us a basis for entering into a temporary alliance with the section of the enemy other than the principal one, such a time we would strive hard to form a united front against the common enemy with this section provided that it is advantageous to the revolution.

In the above case, if the underlined condition is lacking, in such a situation we should not enter into a united front with a section of the enemy but instead would utilize the contradiction among the enemies by coordinating, in various ways, our independent activity with the activity of this section to obtain joint opposition to the principal enemy. This last type of case may be the situation facing the Indian revolution if it is to fight against principal foreign enemy with the present state of affairs of the communist revolutionary movement.

One more point should be kept in mind while considering the various forms of utilizing the contradictions within the enemy camp, namely, the difference, in various respects, in the condition and conduct of the proletariat in power and that of the proletariat struggling for the seizure of power. Though in both cases, the conduct of the proletariat is subject to the requirements of the overall interest of promoting the world proletarian revolution, it need not always be identical in form at a given moment.

In a nutshell, in our approach to the tactical question of utilizing the contradictions among the enemies, we should proceed

from a clear conception of the objective of this exercise, determine our policy and practice in strict conformity with the actually existing basis for it while taking up and solving the central problem 'who shall utilize whom' (in other words, who shall lead whom in achieving whose objective).

X. In discussing the problems of war, peace and revolution, the first and foremost question again, is: Do the Leninist approach, concepts and thesis concerning war and related matters remain still valid and the indispensable theoretical basis for analysis, for defining a correct revolutionary policy and tasks of the proletariat? Or, have they (or some of these) been left behind, rendered obsolete, by the development of history since the time of Lenin? Our answer should be, categorically, affirmative that Lenin's teachings on war and revolution remain valid and relevant.

The basic Leninist approach to the understanding of war is that:

"Every war is the continuation of politics by other means".<sup>1</sup>

"Everything depends on the system of political relations before the war and during the war".<sup>2</sup>

"The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed; it depends on what class is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation."<sup>3</sup>

The basic Leninist concepts regarding the war and the questions of national defence are:

Nationality and Fatherland are not general concepts but historical concepts i.e., having "historically transient limits". "The working class must first 'establish itself within the frame work of the nation'—the Communist Manifesto declares, emphasizing the limits and conditions of our recognition of nationality and fatherland as essential forms of the bourgeois system and

consequently of the bourgeois fatherland. The opportunists distort that truth by carrying over to the era of the end of capitalism what applies to the era of its rise. And of this era, of the tasks of the proletariat in the struggle to destroy not feudalism but capitalism the Communist Manifesto gives a clear and precise formula: "the working men have no country".<sup>4</sup>

In the condition of a world war, each case in the war 'should be considered not in isolation from but in connection with the general character of that war with an assessment of the determining elements in the war as a whole, whether the decisive influence is being exerted by 'the national element' or the "element of imperialist rivalry".

"A national war might be transformed into an imperialist war and vice versa", under given conditions.<sup>5</sup>

The main Leninist thesis concerning war and related tasks of the proletariat are:

"The main types of these systems" (of political relations between states) "(a) the relation of the oppressed nation to the oppressing, (b) the relation between two oppressing nations on account of the loot, its division etc, (c) the relation of a national state which does not oppress others to one which oppresses, to a particularly reactionary state".<sup>6</sup>

The wars waged by imperialist bourgeoisie are predatory, reactionary unjust wars.

In these advanced countries (Britain, France, Germany etc.) the national problem was solved long ago; national unity outlived its purpose long ago; objectively, there are no "general national tasks" to be accomplished. Hence, only in these countries is it possible now to 'blow up' national unity and establish class unity". "The under-developed countries are a different matter. They embrace the whole of Eastern Europe and the colonies and semi-

colonies ..... In those areas, as a rule, there still exist oppressed and capitalistically underdeveloped nations. Objectively, these nations still have general national tasks to accomplish, namely, democratic tasks, the tasks of throwing off foreign oppression".<sup>7</sup>

The anti-imperialist wars waged by oppressed nations and people are revolutionary, just wars.

A war waged by a national state which does not oppress others, against an oppressor, particularly reactionary state (who aims at turning back the development of the former, pushing her back from national unity to dismemberment) can, under certain conditions, assume progressive, just character. It will be "a peculiar variety of national war".

"If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is if it is 'being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution as the only escape from the horrors of a world war. I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country (for that is the argument of wretched stupid, petty bourgeois nationalists who does not realize that he is only a plaything in the hands of imperialist bourgeoisie) but from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution"<sup>8</sup>

"From the stand point of progress, from the standpoint of the progressive class, the imperialist bourgeois war, the war of highly developed capitalism, can, objectively, be opposed only with a war against the bourgeoisie i.e., primarily civil war for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, for unless, such war is waged, serious progress is impossible"<sup>9</sup>

".....intensive effort to convert the war of the nations into civil

war is the only socialist activity in the era of imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations."<sup>10</sup>

The fundamental slogan of converting the imperialist war into civil war is not conditioned by the existing balance of class forces, and bright and dim chances of immediate seizure of power by the proletariat (which factor is to be considered for deciding concrete forms of struggle and steps to be taken at a given time) but by the character of the war....inattentive and unscrupulous people only too frequently confuse two different problems, viz,—that of the direction to be followed, i.e, the choice of one of two different roads, and that of the ease of attaining our goal, or the nearness of its attainment along a given road."

In the capitalist countries, the preparations for war, and its actual operation, are accompanied on the one hand, by the growth of reaction, intensified exploitation and suppression of the toiling masses, and on the other hand, by accentuation of the political crisis, and, rapid maturing of the objective revolutionary situation that "inevitably gives rise to revolutionary sentiments, steels and enlightens all the best and most class conscious proletarians." Also there are millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeoisie whom the horrors of war will not only intimidate and depress but also enlighten, teach, awaken, organize, steel and prepare for the war against the bourgeoisie of their 'own' country and 'foreign' countries."<sup>11</sup>

Both war and revolution are off-shoots of the same root-cause—the irreconcilable contradictions of the imperialist system and their extreme accentuation resulting in profound crisis of the system. War is the response of the decadent bourgeoisie towards solving this crisis in its own interests. Both contend to overtake each other.

The experience of the Second World War vindicated the

soundness and vitality of the Leninist stand point, though it was applied to cope with situations different in many respects, from those which Lenin faced during and before the First World War. Just before and during the Second World War, the international communist movement, represented by the Comintern, had to work out the common practical orientation on the basis of this Leninist standpoint, keeping in view two new factors. First, the existence of a thriving socialist country, Soviet Union (under the conditions of imperialist encirclement and threat of a war of aggression being imposed on it by a smaller or bigger combination of imperialist powers) which was having an impact on the whole course of events, and whose defence was of paramount significance for the whole revolutionary and progressive movement. Second, the emergence of fascism, the monster child of the decadent bourgeoisie–imperialism, manifestations of its extreme reaction, the international situation underwent three main periods of development in relation to the Second World War and three corresponding tactical orientations of the international communist and revolutionary movement were worked out.

**First Period: 1935 to 1939** –The period of world people's peace front or international united front against Fascism and War:

In this period the danger of war had developed into the threat of war, particularly a war of aggression against Soviet Union by the Fascist block of Countries vanguarded by Fascist Germany and militarist Japan. These Axis powers were also directing their intervention or aggression against the developing revolutions, in China (Japanese imperialism) and Spain (German and Italian fascists). They were threatening or committing aggression against many small nations and weak states and also hurting the interests of other imperialist powers. One peculiarity of this situation was that, only one group of imperialist powers was pushing the war without being challenged for the time being, by the other group.

(It was on the basis of this peculiarity that the imperialist powers were categorized into aggressor and non-aggressor powers, for that period).

In correspondence with this objective situation, a common tactical orientation for the international communist movement was worked out which centered around the defence of Soviet Union and world peace and called upon the world proletariat for creating a broad people's anti-war Front (which was to include not only other classes, but also weak nations and peoples whose independence and security were menaced by war). This anti-war front was directed against the forces of extreme reaction and war instigation, especially the Axis-powers who had come forward as the most pronounced and direct vehicle of such a phenomenon. As the policy of aggression of these Axis powers was leading to a differentiation in the policy of the great imperialist powers, some of which or some sections of which were interested in the defence of the status-quo and in a temporary and conditional defence of peace; also as the contradictions among the big imperialist powers were developing in such a way as to cause obstruction to the creation of a formidable bloc for war against the Soviet Union. This created an opportunity for the international proletariat and the foreign policy of Soviet Union to utilize in the struggle against war the position taken by these imperialist powers. The tactical orientation embraced this aspect also. "At the base of our revolutionary strategy and consequently of our concrete struggle against war, we put the concentration of forces against the Japanese militarists who threatened an onslaught on the Soviet Union at its eastern frontiers and who are striving to destroy the conquests of the Chinese revolution, and against German Fascism–the chief instigator of war in Europe. We endeavor to utilize all differences existing in the position of the various imperialist powers. We must utilize them skillfully in the interests

of the defence of peace, not forgetting for a moment the necessity of delivering a blow against the enemy in our own countries, against our 'own' imperialism".

*(Ercoli, The Fight for Peace and Against Imperialist War—  
Report to the 7th Congress of Communist International, Aug.  
13, 1935.)*

This tactical orientation, while specifically tackling the immediate central problems of preventing an anti-Soviet war, checking the aggression of the fascist countries and delaying the outbreak of an imperialist world war for as long as possible, addressed itself to the immediate perspective of the developing situation and movement. In a true Leninist spirit it linked the tasks of that period with the tasks ahead: "for all capitalist countries the beginning of war will denote the onset of a revolutionary crisis and during this crisis we shall with all our strength at the head of the masses to convert the imperialist war into a civil war against bourgeoisie, we shall fight for revolution and for the conquest of power." "We not only do not hide the slogan of the conversion of imperialist war into a civil war, which, in case of war, remains the fundamental slogan of Bolsheviki, but by fighting desperately for peace we desire, as the result of this fight, to unite around the revolutionary vanguard the masses of the workers, toiling peasants and also the petty bourgeoisie, which the proletariat must lead along the path of the conversion of imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie." (*ibid*)

***Second period: From 1939 to June 1941*** — *The period of imperialist war and the struggle of the international proletariat for ending this war, or seeking a way out of this war through revolution. The salient features of this period were:*

Soviet Union had, for the time being, freed itself from the dragnet of imperialist encirclement and war by concluding a non-

aggression pact with Germany and defeating the conspiracy and double dealing of the treacherous Anglo-French bourgeoisie, particularly the reactionary ruling circles of Great Britain. Both groups of imperialists were, at the time, confronting each other in a predatory war for a new repartition of the earth, the colonial possession and source of raw materials, for hegemony in Europe and world domination. In the capitalist countries, a realignment of class forces was taking place. The social democratic parties, which were earlier part of the popular front against fascism and war, were casting their lot with their respective imperialist rulers and their war-policies. Most of the capitalist Governments which earlier maintained 'neutrality' were getting themselves tagged, overtly or covertly, with one or other group of belligerents, either to share the spoils of victory in war or to fatten on the war orders for their ammunition factories.

In the changed conditions a new tactical orientation was adopted for that period. The concentration of attack on fascist powers was replaced with evening out the attack on all belligerent powers. Popular fronts policy was changed into the policy of hoisting the proletarian banner of war against war and for world proletarian revolution. Around this revolutionary banner were sought to be rallied millions of semi-proletarians and distressed petty bourgeois masses yearning for social liberation in the capitalist countries and thousands of millions of oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries struggling for national liberation. With the determined support and assistance of the Soviet Union (who was, at that time, in a relatively better position to do so) the revolutionary movement envisaged favorable situation and better prospects for its advance (while the enemy—imperialism—was getting enmeshed and embroiled in debilitating internecine war). Comrade Dimitrov, General Secretary of communist international, sized up the situation and delineated

the new orientation for that period in a policy statement, captioned; "The war and the working class" 1939, re-affirming and applying Leninist standpoint to the concrete conditions of the period:"In its character and essence, the present war is, on the part of both the warring sides, an imperialist unjust war..... Now, as in 1914, the war is being waged by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The war is direct continuation of the struggle between the imperialist powers for a new repartition of the earth, for world hegemony..... and not at all in defence of 'democracy', 'liberty', 'international law' and the guarantee of the independence of the small countries and people, as is being howled by the bourgeois press and the social democratic deceivers of the working class. The responsibility for the war lies with the ruling circles of the belligerent states..... whereas previously the above mentioned European states were divided into aggressors and non-aggressor powers i.e., into such as were directly the war makers, and such as for the time being did not come out openly as aggressors, although behind the scenes, they encouraged aggression against other countries, now this division does not correspond to the real position. This difference has disappeared..... that which in the period preceding the present war was characteristic of the regime of the Fascist countries, is becoming, in conditions of the war let loose, increasingly prevalent in the countries of so called bourgeois democracy..... For the working class there is only one true stand, namely, irreconcilable, courageous struggle against the imperialist war, struggle against the culprits and vehicles of this war primarily in their own countries, struggle to end this war..... The Communist parties and the working class of the capitalist countries will be inspired by the heroic example of the Russian Bolsheviks, by the example of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which in 1914-18 showed the proletariat the true way out of the war and subsequently secured the victory of socialism over one-sixth of the globe."

***Third Period: From 1941 to the end of Second World War*** – *The period of world People's war in defence of Soviet Union under attack from German fascist hordes or of broadest possible international anti-fascist united front:*

With the perfidious attack by German fascists on Soviet Union in violation of the non-aggression pact between the two, the main theatre of war shifted to the German Soviet battle lines, and the character of ongoing war was radically transformed. Soviet Union's war in defence of its socialist state power, its people and land against fascist aggressors became the all-determining element in the war as against element of imperialist rivalry, and consequently, the war assumed just character in essence. In case of defeat of Soviet Union, the only citadel of world revolution and light existing then, a period of blackest reaction would have set in for the people of all countries throughout the world struggling for social and national revolution, for peace and progress. Hence, an all out struggle, on the part of all revolutionary and progressive forces, for defending Soviet Union, for preventing the eventuality of its being vanquished, emerged as the paramount task of the world revolutionary movement. The situation regarding the inter-imperialist contradiction and the position of the imperialist powers opposed to Axis powers was also markedly different from that of the First Period. In the new situation, having already witnessed the westward aggressive designs and advances of ambitious German fascists, they could not afford the fall of Soviet Union to German armies at less than enormously heavy cost to German war-capacity. Though true to their inherent reactionary nature, they also wished for Soviet Union's utter ruination in war and its utter dependence on them for survival and recovery (of course, not the recovery of its socialist economy.)

So, in accordance with the requirements and tasks of the new situation a new tactical orientation was taken up by the

international communist movement of forming the broadest possible international anti-fascist united front which envisaged, apart from other combinations of class forces, an alliance between Soviet Union and a group of imperialist powers in the fight against the war of aggression of the Axis-powers, and appropriate adjustments of various contradictions at the hands of various sections of communist international to the demands of the common principal contradiction of the world revolutionary forces with the aggressor Axis-powers. The new tactical orientation enjoined upon all contingents of international communist movement constantly to keep in view the revolutionary perspective and the treacherous nature of the temporary imperialist allies; to maintain independence and strive to gain revolutionary ground in the current struggle, without impairing the promotion of common supreme task of the period—the defeat of the aggressor fascist bloc. The emergence of the forces of socialism and national liberation with enormously enhanced strength and prestige out of World War II proved that the tactical orientations worked out by Comintern for tackling the problems of war in its different phases were basically correct, notwithstanding the fact that certain mistakes were committed, and some sections of Comintern exhibited serious right opportunist tendencies in their thinking and practice of the period.

It is a notable point that the anti-fascist united front of the first period and the anti-fascist united front of the third period were not identical in their content, where as the former was a peace front (for the prevention of an anti-Soviet war and delaying so long as possible, the imperialist war) which was not solely but mainly directed against countries of the fascist bloc, and did not include imperialist powers in a blanket way ; the latter was a war-front (for defeating the war of aggression imposed on Soviet Union and the world people by the fascist bloc) which was solely directed

against the aggressor—Axis powers and did include other imperialist powers. Alliance of Soviet Union – a socialist country—with certain imperialist powers, in a special situation, was unprecedented. It did not conflict with the basic Leninist standpoint, first, because this alliance took place ***in a just war***, and ***not in an imperialist war*** (and consequently it ***was made to serve*** a just cause, whatever the considerations of the imperialist participants might be). Anyhow, such an alliance of a socialist country with some of imperialist powers could be conceived and justified only in conditions of the Third period. This tactic could not be applied and justified, say, in the second period i.e., in the conditions of imperialist war. At the time of the imperialist war when some people were making conjectures about the possibility of 'Soviet Union's participation in the war, aligning with this or that side, Mao Tse-Tung explicitly stated that socialist countries, as a matter of principle, do not get involved in an unjust imperialist war and do not line up with belligerent imperialist countries in such a war, and that Soviet Union would not violate this principle:

“The Soviet Union is a Socialist country..... and it necessarily maintains a clear cut two fold attitude towards wars:

(i) it firmly refuses to take part in any unjust, predatory and imperialist war and maintains strict neutrality towards the belligerents. Hence the Soviet Red Army will never disregard principles and join either of the imperialist-war-fronts.

(ii) it actively supports just and non predatory wars of liberation..... and it will certainly give help to any war for the liberation of the masses or of a nation which break out in other countries in the future, and it will certainly give help to any wars that contribute to the defence of peace.

*(Identity of Interests between the Soviet Union and All Mankind Sept. 28, 1939.).*

Another important point in the experience of the Second World War is related to the question of national independence of weak capitalist states in face of an aggression by one or more big imperialist powers. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, while working out the tactical orientation for the first period, proclaimed for small nations and weak states “the right to defend their national independence” against the attacks of big imperialist powers. And communists were asked upon actively to intervene, in such a case, in the armed struggle for national independence (in which the national bourgeoisie may, under certain conditions, participate) to fight in the front ranks of the struggle converting it into genuine people’s war to defeat the imperialist enemy. The chief consideration underlying this decision of communist international was that of weak capitalist states should not be equated with big predatory imperialist states. Some people, failing to understand that the decision was mainly applicable to the first period, when wars of aggression by fascist powers on some small nations and weak capitalist states in Europe (who were not a party to any imperialist war-front) were anticipated, tended to view events of the second period in the light of this decision. Consequently, when fascist Germany attacked and occupied Poland (a weak state but a party to the Anglo French war front) during the imperialist war, they were confused over the fact that Soviet Union and the international communist movement did not come out in support of the Polish Government and the ruling classes. Mao Tse-Tung gave a candid analysis of this event to clear up the misty understanding of such people: “In the war, this reactionary Polish Government, willingly drove the Polish people to serve as cannon fodder for British and French finance capital and it willingly served **as a sector of the reactionary front** of international finance capital... it would be wrong for us to waste sympathy on it. As for Polish people they are victims,

they should rise up against the oppression of **the German fascists and against their own reactionary land lord and bourgeois classes and establish** an independent, free and democratic Polish State.”(*ibid*)(Emphasis added)

By the way, does not it sound strange that for a country under occupation by fascist aggressors, Mao did not single out foreign imperialist occupiers as the principal enemy and target of the revolutionary people but bracketed both of them foreign imperialist aggressors and the native ruling classes together as the target, and set the task for the Polish revolutionaries as not restoring the independence of Poland but of establishing a people’s democratic Poland? This is a brilliant application of the Leninist standpoint on the question of national independence in an imperialist war in relation to the countries attached to one or the other imperialist war-front.

## SECTION— II

### **THE EARLIER AGREED POSITION ON THE GENERAL LINE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE RESTATEMENT OF LINE IN THE PRESENT**

At present an ideological controversy is going on in the international communist movement over defining and affirming the general line of the movement and its current direction. Back in early sixties, one such controversy had flared up which led to a sharp demarcation between forces of Marxism-Leninism and forces of modern revisionism. Marxist-Leninists closed their ranks on the basis of a common understanding of the general line and its immediate direction, at that time, a cogent statement and elaboration of which was contained in CPC’s June 1963 Letter to C.P.S.U. titled, “A proposal Concerning The General Line of the International Communist Movement,”



Since then, important developments have taken place in the world and in the proletarian revolutionary movement, which call for necessary modifications in the statement of the line and its immediate direction. But the basic approach, principles and framework of that line remain valid even today. So, it should be taken as the point of departure in proceeding to analyze the important developments since then, various current international phenomena, and to define our position vis-a-vis these.

In its most precise form the general line as well as its immediate global direction, was stated at that time, in the following way: "Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, without the exploitation of man by man."

"This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage."

"This general line..... is directed against the counter revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism."

The basis for determining the immediate global direction (of the general line) "against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism" was the following assessment of the unprecedented super-power hegemonic role of U.S. imperialism in the situation existing then.

"Taking advantage of the situation after the World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic

objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital."

"U.S. imperialism", is "biggest international exploiter", "the mainstay of colonialism today", "the main force of aggression and war." It "is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme.....it has become the enemy of the people of the whole world."

Hence the tactical orientation of the international communist movement: "The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys."

The fact that U.S. imperialism, with the colossal financial and military might of a super power, had succeeded or was succeeding in controlling most of the capitalist countries also and was dominating, in varying degrees, even other big imperialist countries, entrusted upon the proletariat of these countries a special task of fighting against "foreign" domination, along with the basic task of struggling against exploitation and rule of monopoly capital of their "own" country. This "foreign" domination was a source not only of intensified exploitation of the proletariat and other working people of these countries, but also of counter-revolutionary offensive against the capitalist system. Hence the need and significance of the struggle against "foreign" domination, existent or threatened, was not to be counter-posed to the struggle against one's 'own' imperialist bourgeoisie, for these two struggles complemented each other.

In the national democratic revolutionary struggle of the people of colonial and semi-colonial countries also, the proletariat and its party while struggling against all foreign oppression and for national liberation, would be directing special efforts to the exposure and combating of expansionist, aggressive designs and acts, various intrigues and traps of U.S. imperialism, and each and every act of betrayal of national interests by the native reactionaries—the lackeys of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialists; even if this archenemy might not be directly oppressing them they were not to be complacent of its possible intervention to save the tottering positions of other colonial powers and to replace them partially or wholly.

The socialist countries, politically the most influential segment of the international communist movement, while pursuing the general line of their foreign policy (strengthening unity and friendship among the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and extending fraternal mutual assistance and co-operation on the basis of proletarian internationalism; striving for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems and opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, thus, isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war and enlisting the support of all peace loving people and countries in defending world peace, opposing the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries and, encouraging, actively supporting and helping the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries and the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations) were to direct the sharp edge of their socialist diplomacy, political propaganda and campaign etc. against U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary designs and acts of pushing forward its hegemony, aggression and war-repartition: and constantly seeking those issues and areas where the interests of other imperialist

powers did not coincide with or clashed with the interest of U.S. imperialism so as to maneuver on the basis with the former and secure vantage position in the bitter struggle against the latter. (An example of successful maneuvering of such kind was the breaching by socialist China of economic blockade and diplomatic isolation imposed on it by imperialist powers, chiefly U.S. imperialists.)

The elaboration of the general line of international communist movement, at that time, was aimed at repudiating certain erroneous views on the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world and the struggles to which they gave rise. Among these erroneous views, one was “The view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists.” Proceeding from this view, an opportunist leadership of Soviet Union was practising all round cooperation with imperialist countries, especially U.S. imperialism, in the name of “peaceful coexistence’ emasculating, thereby, the revolutionary content of the Leninist-foreign policy of a socialist country and renouncing proletarian internationalist obligations to “oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries” and actively support and “help the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.” Instead, it sought the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations to be dovetailed to the opportunist requirements of its foreign policy aims of seeking the goodwill and cooperation of the imperialist countries, chiefly U.S. imperialism. Catering to the same aims in a more positive fashion, another pernicious view advocated by the C.P.S.U. leadership was that in the national and democratic revolutionary movement of the people of semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

the struggle for the defence and consolidating of political independence constituted the main aspect (or practically the essence of the movement) and the remnant 'influence' of imperialism or 'dependence' upon imperialists could be, gradually, eradicated in the course of their struggle for economic independence which had come to "the front".

"The peoples are now faced with the problems of consolidating their political independence, overcoming economic and cultural backwardness and putting an end to all forms of dependence upon imperialism". "Now when political independence has been won, the struggle of the young sovereign states against imperialism for their ultimate national revival for economic independence comes to the front". (*C.P.S.U....March 1963*). This view denies the semi-colonial or neo-colonial status of majority of these countries and was the cornerstone of the reformist concept of "National Democracy" allegedly being materialized through the development of "national economies" under the aegis of the reactionary bourgeois and landlord ruling classes with the "effective" economic assistance of the socialist countries. The hard fact that the reactionary regimes in these countries were pursuing anti-people, anti-national policies and persecuting the communists and democrats earnestly struggling for national liberation and development, national and economic, was sought to be explained away as temporary phenomena in constantly changing political conditions and regimes for the better: "In an endeavor to strengthen its dominant position after the attainment of independence the right wing national bourgeoisie sometimes succeeds in establishing reactionary political regimes for a time, and starts persecuting communists and other democrats. However, such regimes are short lived..." (*ibid*)(One such short lived" regime has been 'living' in India for the last thirty years!)

In short, this view was "neglecting or undermining the contradictions...between the oppressed nations and imperialism" and hypothesizing "that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations". In terms of political practice, this view was inducing the proletariat and the broad masses in these countries to accept the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, covered with Marxist-Leninist phraseology. This apologia of neo-colonialism was exposed and combated at that time.

The detailed exposition of the general line and connected principles served also to combat certain other erroneous views and tendencies betrayed by the C.P.S.U. leadership which had a bearing on the unity of the international communist movement. One such tendency was to violate the principle guiding relations among fraternal parties, namely the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation—all on the basis of Marxism and proletarian internationalism. The opportunist leadership of the C.P.S.U. was distorting "the principle of solidarity" by reducing it to the one way solidarity of other parties with C.P.S.U, not a mutual affairs. While showing formal allegiance to 'the principle of independence and equality', it was actually adopting patriarchal ways in relations with them. Not bothering about 'the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation', it proclaimed its own line and documents as the common line of the international communist movement and sought to impose it on other fraternal parties going to the length of threatening those who would not fall in line with ostracism and extending ideological differences with ruling communist parties to the sphere of state relation. Showing scant regard for the views and assessment of the international communist movement, it arrogated the right to itself

of unilaterally revising the unanimous verdict of international communist movement on the Titoite revisionist clique—renegades and traitors to the cause of socialism, a counter-revolutionary bridgehead for corroding, corrupting and sabotaging the socialist system and dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries—and of smuggling it back into the socialist community under the bogus pretext of “cementing together of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world.”

“As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we maintain..... that it is a socialist country, and in our relations with it we strive to establish closer relations between the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and the socialist commonwealth, in accordance with the policy pursued by the fraternal parties for the cementing together of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world”

*(C.P.S.U. letter to C. P. C., March 30, 1963.)*

The opportunist leadership of C.P.S.U. needed this ganging up with Titoite revisionists to augment its forces for vehemently fighting the forces of genuine Marxism-Leninism dubbed by it as the danger in the international communist movement (unilaterally reversing, thereby, another unanimous verdict of international communist movement that revisionism was the main danger). This somersault by the C.P.S.U. leadership was laid bare and condemned in no uncertain terms then:

“U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand million of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as ‘Marxist-Leninist’ and flaunting the banner of a ‘socialist country’, the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.”

“It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts

to assert..... that the Tito clique is an anti-imperialist force.”

“Firm Marxist-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist parties must put principle first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing today and another tomorrow, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow.”

### **SECTION III**

Now, let us attempt broadly to survey the significant developments that have taken place in the movement of various political forces operating in the world and in their relationships, and their bearing on the general line and immediate orientation of the international communist movement, in the present period.

The most significant negative development already occurring at that time, was, upto the year 1976, the transformation of the Soviet Union and majority of socialist countries into neo-capitalist countries and their defection to the enemy camp of imperialism. This development resulted in the disintegration of the socialist camp—the politico-economic and military bulwark of socialism manifesting the combined might of all the socialist countries—and in reformistic degeneration of greater part of the international communist movement, along with a series of divisions and dislocations in the national liberation movements. It was a serious setback to the developing proletarian world revolution, which reversed the favorable balance of forces between socialism and imperialism. But it failed in stamping out of existence the camp of socialism, represented by the genuine socialist countries persevering in continuing the revolution and the revolutionary and progressive forces rallied around them, though the capacity and effectiveness of this to influence and shape the course of international developments, was drastically impaired. This circumstance contributed to the problems of socialist countries related to their defence and imperialist encirclement and to the

difficulties and tortuousness of the advance and victory of proletarian socialism or national democratic revolutions in the countries comprising imperialist system. But the fact that despite this new circumstance, peoples of Indo-China gloriously won their wars of national liberation, routing the mightiest imperialist power, U.S. imperialism, and many African countries achieved independence by defeating the colonial powers through armed struggle, shows that the negative impact of this new circumstance, though great, was still limited and not overwhelming.

Since the year 1976, the course of this negative development has run full circle with the usurpation of proletarian state power and party leadership by revisionist-bourgeois forces in China, after the passing away of Com. Mao Tse-Tung, with the desertion of the leadership of P.L.A. from the camp of Marxist-Leninist forces, the socialist states which had survived the onslaught of Modern revisionism in the late 50's and early 60's, have, now changed color. (The process of degeneration of these socialist states into bourgeois revisionist states may be at different stages of consummation but for all practical purposes, socialist state system should be treated as no more existing).

The loss of socialist states as centers of parallel proletarian political powers and reliable bases of world proletarian revolution, especially that of socialist China, which used to play a central role in this respect, constitutes a great setback for the international communist movement and revolutionary forces the world over. It had considerably weakened the subjective factors of world proletarian revolution in the direct sense that the most powerful revolutionary segment is lost to enemy, and indirectly, through causing ideological-political confusion among and disintegration of the ranks of Marxist-Leninist of all lands. Only a small number of Marxist-Leninist contingents could, as yet, stand up to this new major onslaught of modern revisionism, while a great number of

Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary forces have been swallowed by it. Obviously this development has rendered the advance of world proletarian revolution extremely difficult and tortuous, despite the fact that objective situation of world historical process is pregnant with great revolutionary potentialities. The transformation of China from a powerful factor for revolution and peace into a reactionary regional power, virtually allied with one imperialist bloc headed by US imperialist super power, has contributed to the growth of factors for aggression and war.

Another important development of the period since the time of Great Debate is that Soviet Union has emerged as a social-imperialist super power with a strong and highly centralized economic base and superstructure which it usurped and put into service of its imperialist ambition and plans, with its control over the armed forces of the Warsaw pact, converted from being a mighty arm of socialism, security of nations and world peace, into an international gendarme of counter revolution, aggression and war; with the enormous prestige of socialist Soviet Union and the great Lenin which it could misuse to dupe and mobilize the people of Soviet Union and the world for the predatory aims of its foreign policy—the social imperialist super power could seriously challenge the other imperialist super power in the mad drive for dominating and exploiting the whole world. With this development, another dangerous centre of counter-revolutionary intervention, aggression and war has appeared on the world scene, menacing the revolutionary movements of oppressed classes and oppressed nations, the independence and security of peoples and countries all over the world and the world peace, along with and in contention with the other already operating such centre—U.S. imperialist super power. The operation of this new factor has greatly upset the relative equilibrium of the world imperialist system which, otherwise also, was constantly and increasingly

being disturbed by the operation of other inter-imperialist contradictions as well as other contradictions of the imperialist system. This development has influenced, in various ways, the development of all the fundamental contradictions obtaining in the contemporary world and contributed to the accentuation of the pace of events, both in terms of war and revolution. This social imperialist super power has become, along with the other super power, the common and arch-enemy of the world people.

Being a late-comer to the imperialist 'feast' it wishes to grab and gulp down too much and too fast, and to that end, has been displaying more ferocious and adventurist conduct. With a highly centralized economy and a fascist state at its command it has been transforming, with comparative ease, huge financial and natural resources to war industry at the cost of economic and cultural welfare of masses of the Russian people. The economic and military potential of its East-European allies is more firmly tied to its requirements as an imperialist super power than is the case with the Western block headed by US imperialism. Moreover, so many revisionist 'communist' parties working in various countries serve, in varying degrees, as instruments and apologists of social-imperialist designs and acts of this super power. These revisionist parties, and some nationalist forces corrupted and controlled by Soviet social imperialism, act as its drummer boys not only in front of the people of other countries but also the people of Soviet union to embellish its false image of a great socialist power and its various acts of intervention or aggression as selfless proletarian internationalist acts that further the cause of world proletarian revolution and world peace. In this way, they render assistance to Soviet imperialist rulers in defusing the resentment of the people of Soviet Union against the reactionary internal and external policies of this super power. All these factors make this super power a formidable rival of other imperialist powers, particularly

the US imperialist super power; and a dangerous foe of the people of the world. The task of exposing its real character should attract special attention of proletarian revolutionary forces the world over.

Notwithstanding its frightening posture, this social imperialist super power is a "colossus with feet of clay". First, its economic strength is not matching with the demands of its global role as a super power. It's over reliance on military power and frenzied build-up of huge war-machine, out of proportion with its financial economic base, has resulted in a very lopsided development of its economy – prolonged stagnation in agriculture and backwardness of its consumer goods industry. Second, it is a late comer aspiring to secure dominant position for itself in the world arena, wherein a formidable super power is already well entrenched, unlike the post-war situation when US imperialism entered the world arena as super power. Third, it is showing symptoms of old age disorder in its very prime and lacking the vitality of an upcoming imperialist power – unlike the vitality of German imperialism as an upcoming imperialist power of the time of World War-I. Within a short span of a decade of its adulthood, it is plagued with crisis and decline – it is encountering serious financial difficulties and incurring huge debts, internal as well as external and the rate of increase of its total industrial output value is continuously descending. (Source: Peking Review). And fourth it is spreading its tentacles in times of great awakening of the people all over the world, when people have got valuable experiences in their struggles against the other super power, U.S. imperialism, and have a better awareness of the mode of operation of a super power, the extent of danger posed by it and the effective ways of combating it. Despite its deceptive signboard of "socialism", its hideous features have been considerably exposed within a short period and it is facing ever more the resistance of the people everywhere.

In the other capitalist imperialist camp, one important

development is that the myth about the all conquering might of the Dollar and the Pentagon has been shattered in recent years. Conforming to the Leninist law of uneven economic development of imperialism, the wealthiest imperialist power U.S.A. increasingly betrayed the trait of economic sluggishness and decadence while other imperialist powers, especially Germany and Japan, attained comparatively faster rate of growth, favorable balance of payments, and relatively sound currency. They are now competing with U.S. capital more effectively than earlier, altering the state of affairs wherein U.S. capital enjoyed almost unchallenged domination over world imperialist economic system (though they are still not a match to the far greater financial economic power of U.S. monopoly capital). Incurring the active hostility of all the peoples of the world, and encircled by their liberation and resistance struggle, U.S. imperialist super power had received severe blows during all these year, in particular, the glorious victory of Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampuchian wars of liberation resulting in humiliating debacle of U.S. aggressor forces, has been a great set back to its global counter revolutionary strategy, forcing a change in its methods and tactical plans for realizing its global hegemonic aims, and causing tremors throughout its neo-colonial empire. As a result of all this, U.S. imperialism is encountering great difficulty at home and abroad. Its relations with its imperialist allies and reactionary lackeys are under strain, demanding readjustments in accordance with the new situation, which process cannot but be accompanied with confusion, resentment and discord among them. This circumstance enthuses all the revolutionary and progressive forces, presenting them favorable conditions and bright prospects for attacking with renewed vigor and confidence, the shaky edifice of capitalist imperialism. As the crisis of U.S. imperialism is aggravated by, and contributes to, the acute general crisis of world

imperialism, its attempts, from a dominant position, at rescuing its ailing economy at the cost of its imperialist allies, and their attempts at escaping from taking this burden upon their economies give rise to recurring conflicts of interests among them. Owing to this, apart from other factors, this imperialist alliance is showing forth serious cracks in it. Within the broad framework of their alliance, the intensification of contradiction between U.S. imperialist super power and European and Japanese imperialist powers, the resentment of the latter at the overbearing conduct of the former, the divergence of their interests and attitudes concerning certain issues, at certain times, provide the international proletariat and other revolutionary forces more scope than earlier for utilizing these rifts among their enemies, under given conditions and in suitable forms, so as to be able to concentrate their fire against U.S. imperialist super power, which along with the other super power is still "the mainstay of neo-colonialism", "the main force of aggression and war", the "common arch enemy of the world people".

The general crisis of world capitalist system has entered in its advanced stage. For about two decades after the war it was not experiencing acute crisis owing to a peculiar combination of factors in the post war years (decline and virtual collapse of England and France; defeated and ravaged Germany, Japan and Italy; U.S. imperialism unscathed and enriched by war, with its enormous finance capital and most advanced technology to be invested in a situation of vacuum) capitalism exhibited an artificial vitality for a time. Now there is a marked change in the situation prevailing in the early sixties. Acute crisis has pervaded almost all spheres of economic activity in the capitalist world. After 1973, when it was at its peak, it marginally subsided, and a feeble trend of economic recovery was noticed, but within two years the crisis again regained its momentum. Apart from the earlier symptoms (high inflation

along with stagnation, crumbling of the currency system, energy crisis, high incidence of unemployment etc.) at present it is getting expression in the growing protectionist tendencies and trade war on the part of all the developed capitalist countries. This is leading to the accentuation of all the fundamental contradictions of this system. Along with the peoples of the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working class and other toiling sections in the developed capitalist countries are facing the brunt of this crisis. The period of relative social peace, which was already being overtaken by the trend of growing working class battles during the early sixties, is going completely and finally to give way to a new period of revolutionary upheavals in these citadels of monopoly capital. No doubt, as long as these metropolises are able to retain their control over and super-exploitation of the labor power and rich resources of the backward dependent countries, the economic basis of bribing the upper crust of their working class and of social democracy will not completely vanish. Nevertheless in the conditions of the present acute crisis of capitalism, the political capital of Social Democracy and every other variety of opportunism shall get more and more exhausted with every passing day. Objectively, a revolutionary situation is in the making and is going to develop fast in these countries. This is the objective basis which will enable the proletariat and its vanguard—Marxist-Leninist parties and groups—to make up the deficiency of the revolutionary subjective factor, much faster than in normal times, provided they firmly adhere to a revolutionary orientation and follow correct policies in tune with concrete conditions and the aspirations and moods of the masses. Of course, in view of the powerful and modernized state machinery of the developed capitalist countries, and potential threat of intervention by one or other super powers, the success and sustenance of proletarian revolution in this part will generally require a set of favorable

conditions (such as the entanglement and exhaustion of the native imperialist forces in a national liberation war in a colonial or semi-colonial country, the dislocation and strife in the state machinery as, for example, was the situation in Portugal immediately after its loss of African colonies and the expiry of Salazar regime or the situation of imperialist war and situation in which the two super powers are so pre-occupied with or inter-locked in some issue of contention as to be unable to intervene etc.) but unless the proletariat organizes its activities in this direction, unless it seriously and perseveringly makes preparations for the socialist revolution it will not be able to avail of such favorable conjunctures when they present themselves.

The most positive development since that period is the great awakening of the oppressed peoples and nations of the east. The process of involvement of colonial people in the mainstream of international politics, which commenced with the ushering in of the new epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, was greatly accelerated by the two world wars, especially Second World War and the victories of socialism. This ongoing process had already assumed gigantic dimensions by the time of earlier statement of the general line and policy of the international communist movement. The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas was then acknowledged as one of 'The two great historical currents of our time' (the other being the international socialist revolutionary movement). Since then, the anti-colonial struggles and national democratic revolutionary movements had made great strides, the most significant advance being the glorious victory of national democratic revolution of the Indo-Chinese people along with victory of nationalist forces in the wars of independence in many African countries. The marked features of the present situation in this regard are the extensive character of the movement against neo-colonialist oppression and



exploitation, the phenomenal increase in the nationalist and revolutionary sentiments and consciousness of the broadest sections of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, popularly known as the Third World, spelling the doom of neo-colonialism—the most sophisticated and last weapon of dying imperialism—and causing great anxiety and nervousness in the minds of neo-colonialist robbers and their trained watchdogs, the native reactionary ruling classes. Some of the important factors which contributed to this phenomenon are: total collapse of old type colonialism and the great victories of national liberation and independence movements and vulnerability of the imperialist colossus witnessed by the oppressed millions during these years, which evoked and enhanced their national self-respect and self-confidence; moral and political exposure of imperialist powers, particularly U.S. imperialism due to their criminal inhuman acts and barefaced hypocrisy and lies seen at their maximum worst during these years; the impact of the deepened world capitalist crisis which is exacting a particularly heavy toll from the toiling people of backward dependent countries, depriving them of work opportunities and subsistence incomes, relentlessly driving most of them down the way of pauperization and slow death, thus drawing most of them into active struggles. This phenomenon offers, today more than ever, great opportunities and scope for the bold advance of the national democratic revolutionary movement, only if genuine Marxist-Leninists do not allow themselves and revolutionary movement to be duped and derailed by bourgeois demagogues, do not lose their revolutionary orientation, rely on the basic masses of people, win over all progressive and patriotic forces, expose and paralyze the compromising elements and deal unrelenting blows at the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist over-lords.

One somewhat novel element in this situation is the deeply

disturbed relationship between imperialist powers (traditional as well as with a social coating) and their lackey ruling cliques in the semi-colonial countries. This demonstration of defiance-in-servility on the part of various reactionary ruling cliques, not rare spectacle these days, is prompted by varied considerations involving their selfish class interests (but never the national interest). Their chief political consideration concerning the security and stability of their rule is to countermand and defuse every brewing upsurge in the nationalist and revolutionary sentiments of their subjects by their nationalist demagoguery, mock-blats against imperialism and its attempts at interference in and domination over their “independent” economies and policies. The pitch of this chorus of nationalist demagoguery heightens whenever some important development in the world takes place which has or is likely to have serious repercussions on the national consciousness of the broad masses of people in these countries. In the early seventies, when the victory of national liberation wars of Indo-Chinese peoples and the defeat of mightiest imperialist power U.S. imperialism was a foregone conclusion and later when it became a fact, an historic development of this kind took place with tremendous political and moral impact on the world people, particularly the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America (the period after the second world war and before the Great Debate, the victorious Chinese revolution, and defeat of U.S. imperialist aggressive war in Korea were such type of developments). As a consequence, a lot of noise has been made since that time by various reactionary ruling cliques about their ‘independent’ and ‘anti-imperialist’ position, for public consumption. But this sort of posturing is not a serious factor in the disturbed relationship between the imperialists and their native lackeys. Their trouble arises when, in the face of mounting pressure of the struggles of the toiling people and other patriotic sections against neo-colonial

exploitation and oppression, certain retracing of steps or loss of some ground on the part of the imperialists and their lackeys becomes necessary, but they are to reach a common understanding on the nature and extent of the concessions to be made to pacify the people. Such a situation of temporary and non-fundamental conflict between the needs of the reactionary ruling cliques and their imperialist overlords is caused by the fact that the conduct of latter is guided mainly by the needs of their international imperialist strategy whereas the conduct of the former is guided mainly by needs of ensuring the safety and prolongation of their rule in their own country. Hence, pressed hard by peoples protest movement, the reactionary ruling cliques are, at certain times forced to move contrary to the exact wishes of their imperialist masters against some crude manifestations of neo-colonial exploitation and oppression or interference, without essentially undermining the interests of the latter. Sometimes, even in anticipation of strong oppositional reaction of the people, these cliques dare not comply with the demands of their masters in toto and in the manner these demands are sought to be fulfilled. (In other situations when the peoples' anti-imperialist movement is weak or the imperialist pressure on these lackeys is far greater than the people's pressure, the very same ruling cliques capitulate to the dictates of their masters or are replaced by other cliques which are more pliant). On the other hand, the imperialist powers, beset with difficulties in coping with the world-wide resistance of revolutionary forces against their counter-revolutionary strategy and actions and with the pressure of other imperialist competitors are compelled to retreat from certain positions or make certain adjustments, causing apprehensions and uncertainties in the minds of their old time lackeys who are well aware that their overlords can ditch them with least compunction, whenever the formers' overall imperialist interests so require and find the latter

dispensable.

The other important factor in their disturbed relationship is economic one. In the condition of deepened general crisis of world capitalist system, the great squeeze made on the under-developed countries by international big monopoly capital not only renders the toiling millions in these countries destitute, wrecks the enterprises of small and medium capitalists and jeopardizes the professional careers of broad sections of the intelligentsia, thus generating great turbulence in the national politics which shakes the reactionary rule but also results in relative shrinkage of the share of reactionary ruling classes out of the neo-colonial loot of these countries. Hence these reactionary classes and their regimes grumble, protest and plead for better terms from international monopoly capitalists appealing to their 'good will' and enlightened self-interest, and in cases even threatened some irresolute moves for realizing the same but always remaining within safe limits of international neo-colonial order (No wonder that during all these years of quest for 'New International Economic Order', in the present decade, the penetration of and domination over, the economies of under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by foreign monopoly capital and the debt burden of these countries has increased manifold).

Apart from the factors stated above, the intensified rivalry and contention among different imperialist powers and multinational monopoly groups, particularly between two imperialist super powers, for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence in these vast and vulnerable areas considerably add to the disturbance and uncertainty in the relations of imperialist overlords with their lackey reactionary classes of these countries, resulting in shifting loyalties and stances of reactionary ruling cliques towards various imperialist powers—depending upon the changes in the inter-imperialist balance of forces and upon the

prospects of better terms of national sell-out.

Speaking in general terms this somewhat unconventional feature of the present situation—the disturbed relationship of neo-colonial powers and their native lackeys—is one of the expressions of deep general crisis of world capitalist system and the neo-colonial order. It is beneficial to the cause of advancing national democratic revolutionary movement which is storming the rear of world imperialist system—weak link of the imperialist chain, beneficial not only in the sense it undermines the political prestige and credibility of imperialism (which is being subjected to frequent public criticism, though fake, by even its political underlings in the semi-colonial countries) and of these reactionary lackeys (who under pressure of changing requirements of parasitic politics and diplomacy have to make frequent volte-faces in their pronouncements about various imperialist powers) facilitating their exposure at the hands of national liberationist forces, but also in the sense that it provides more scope and initiative to these forces to make skilful use of the selfish wrangling on certain issues among their enemies to focus and push forward such issues in a revolutionary fashion, or to focus the attack on one or the other imperialist power or grouping with which the reactionary lackeys are momentarily having troubled relations. More so, if one or the other super power is involved (both of which, being the biggest exploiters and oppressors of these peoples and nations, are the special target of their anti-imperialist movement). But, for the proletariat and other broad sections of people struggling for national and social liberation to be able to make proper use of this situation of disturbed relationship of imperialist powers and their lackey ruling cliques for furthering the revolutionary cause, it is imperative never-to-forget that such conflict of interests has a limited and non-fundamental character and this can, at best, be made to serve as an auxiliary factor in the life and death struggle

for resolving the fundamental contradictions between the oppressed nations and imperialism in which the oppressed nation (comprising of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie along with other patriots) constitutes one pole as against the other pole constituted of imperialism and native reaction—the instrument of imperialist rule in a semi-colonial country. The proletarian movement in the imperialist countries, while extending determined support to oppressed peoples and nations struggling for national liberation, can supplement this support by criticizing and exposing the positions of imperialist bourgeoisie, primarily of their own country, as well as of other countries, on such issues that are highlighted in these wranglings among imperialist powers and their lackey ruling cliques in the semi-colonial countries.

An important development in recent years is the intensified contention between the two imperialist super powers for world domination and consequent acts of aggression, expansion and war drive. Finance capital by its very nature is hegemonic and the pursuit of hegemony cannot be carried, in today's world, beyond certain limits without resorting to the force of arms. Hence all imperialism, without exception, maintains its inherent aggressiveness and always strives to its utmost capacity, for hegemony over weaker countries. But today as the situation stands, it is mainly the two super powers who are capable of striving for hegemony on a global scale and unleashing a world war for realizing this nefarious aim. Other imperialist powers are incapable of this role independently of one or the other super power, that is why, the two super powers are considered as the main force and source of aggression and war and main target of the world peoples' movement against the outbreak of new world war. Both the super powers, in pursuance of their counter revolutionary global strategies for world domination and war, have built up world-wide

military political complexes involving multilateral and bilateral pacts and treaties, military bases and other facilities dotting the entire globe, the king-pins of which are NATO and Warsaw Pact. Any Opposition to super powers' drive for world hegemony and war which does not aim at weakening, disintegrating and dismantling these counter revolutionary edifices—the instruments of aggression and world war—cannot but be superficial or hypocritical. In undertaking the important tasks of mobilizing the world people against hegemonism and war drive of the two super powers, international proletariat should judge various political forces by the attitude towards and place in, the military political edifice and counter-revolutionary global strategy of either super power and define its relations with them accordingly. The big imperialist powers (West Germany, France, Great Britain, Japan etc.) have linked up their war potential and their destiny as neo-colonialist powers with the counter revolutionary global strategy of US imperialism and huge war apparatus set up to carry it out. As junior partners in this imperialist alliance presided over by US imperialism they seek to protect their respective neo-colonialist interests and promote their own hegemonic designs, while striving always for a better position and prospects within this alliance, in struggle with U.S. imperialism and one another. To a lesser extent same thing applies to the East European powers in their relationship with the other super power (the difference of extent lies in the fact that they are not big imperialist powers like their Western counterparts and consequently have far less capacity for competitive collaboration with their boss-cum-ally Soviet social imperialism). These developed capitalist countries, member-states of NATO and Warsaw Pact respectively, are vital supports of the huge war structures at the disposal of the two super powers. The armed forces of most of the underdeveloped semi-colonial countries are nurtured and controlled by the super powers and

their allies as mercenary armies to be used for suppressing revolutionary movements, bullying small countries into submission, engineering local conflicts and intervention in these countries; and as the most dependable material in the eventuality of an imperialist war, most of these countries are tied in varying degrees and in various ways to the war chariot of one imperialist grouping or the other. It is in this context that the position of non-aligned countries assumes significance. Non-alignment is a limited military-political concept. Those weak and small countries who, though under reactionary rule, but owing to various reasons do not lend themselves to the counter revolutionary imperialist strategy of aggression and war, should be considered as non-aligned countries and a positive factor for international peace and security.

The rapid build-up of Soviet social imperialism's war potential and the intensification of super powers' contention for global supremacy have influenced the Western imperialist alliance in a complex manner. The serious challenge posed by the hostile social imperialist camp has toned down the centrifugal tendencies lately developing within the imperialist alliance led by U.S. imperialism and spurred closer military collaboration among them (implying relatively more dependence on the part of other imperialist powers on the most powerful and dominant U.S. super power) but U.S. super power having to confront the rival super power at a time when it itself is steeped in ever mounting political economic troubles, is not objectively in a position to step-up (or even consolidate) its domination over allied imperialist powers (the way it could manage during the two decades following World War-II.) On the contrary, as the objective situation exerts its pressure, the allies of U.S. imperialism are going to assume relatively greater role and say in the affairs of this military alliance (signs of stepped up militarization, on their part, are already visible). However, as

the two military blocks commanded by the super powers move on towards eventual confrontation, evoking growing opposition of the people of the world, especially the people of the Europe who are likely to bear the brunt of war devastation, some member states of these military blocks, having no or insignificant stakes in the costly war-gamble are growing jittery over the consequences of this exercise in belligerency and they tend or will tend in near future to escape from the obligations of military alliance. The international proletarian movement should strive to further such tendencies through the pressure of peoples' movements, in order to weaken or disintegrate both of the military blocks by securing the detachment of such states from these or at least helping them move to an inactive position.

In their relentless drive for world domination and war preparation, the two super powers, with the assistance of their respective allies, strive to outpace each other in getting hold of strategically important areas and sea-routes. In this mad rush, they ride roughshod over the rights of the countries in the vast zone of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, committing various acts of encroachment on their territorial rights, of intimidation to make them follow their dictates, and of interference in their internal affairs to effect desired changes in their regime, thereby antagonizing the people of all the lands and provoking and accentuating the resistance of the broad sections of nationalist forces. These acts of super power high-handedness strain their relations even with the lackey ruling cliques of these countries because these aggressive acts disturb the condition of alliance for joint oppression and exploitation between imperialism and native reaction—the carrying out of imperialist oppression by milder and sophisticated means. Such a situation greatly facilitates the revolutionary work of exposing and isolating these imperialist super powers at national and international plane and mobilizing

the broadest sections of the revolutionary and patriotic forces against super power high-handedness and laying bare in the course of such struggles, the anti-national capitulationist character of the reactionary ruling classes.

The danger of world war has grown in recent years; the international proletariat and all progressive people should take full cognizance of this fact, cast off all complacency and be prepared for it. But the trend of war has, still, not overtaken the trend of revolution; war has not become the central problems of international politics and consequently of the policy of international communist movement at the present time. The growth of war-danger has brought forth an important present-day task of the international communist movement, the task of building up a worldwide movement for opposing the imperialist war drive and preventing the outbreak of a new world war; but its central task still remains the carrying out of revolution i.e. the overthrow of imperialism through struggles of social and national liberation. It is a question of determining the main channel of world proletarian revolution at the present movement: whether it can be promoted mainly through anti-war movements, or mainly through proletarian revolutionary and national liberation struggles. This question has a bearing on the current policy and tactics to be adopted by the international communist movement in conformity with the priority of the task.

When we say that today revolution, and not war, is still the central task of the international communist movement, it implies that the political alignment of class forces for carrying out a proletarian socialist or national democratic revolution is, still, the central vehicle of the revolutionary movement and has not been supplanted by the political alignment of class forces for opposing imperialist war-drive; uniting with all those forces which can be united for the specific purpose of opposing imperialist war-drive,

remains a complementary activity to the political alignment for fulfilling the central tasks of carrying out of revolution. Hegemonism of the two super powers is a two way connection linking their counter revolutionary global strategy of intervention and suppression of peoples' revolutionary movements and their global strategy of aggression on other countries and war. Today, the hegemonism of the two super powers is mainly proceeding on the former course; in their fierce contention for world domination, the sharp edge of their offensive is directed not against each other's allies but against the revolutionary movements of the people for national and social liberation, though it is being done also in preparation for mutual confrontation. Hence, the struggle of the world people against super powers is developing mainly in conjunction with their struggles for national and social liberation, not with their struggles against imperialist drive for aggression over other countries and world war. Hence, factors for both revolution and war are growing. Still, world war is being sought to be prevented through revolution by the people of the world. Of course, the degeneration of all the socialist states and transformation of China into a reactionary regional power in league with Western imperialist bloc have greatly impaired prospects of the success of world people in preventing war through revolution. In case the development of revolution lags behind the development of war and the danger of war becomes threat of war, the international proletariat and world people shall bring the present anti-war movement to the forefront of the struggle and combat with all their might, each and every war measure and provocation by the two super powers while seeking to utilize every rift on this count between the super powers and their present day allies and skillfully exploit the positions of those who show hesitancy or opposition towards the war programme. But it is ridiculous to suggest that the future war will take the form of either

the super powers' (both or one of them) involving all other countries and all of them fighting a war of resistance, or mutually fighting out the war, single handed. Such projections clash with the historical experience of world wars, present day realities of the system of political relations among the states, and even with common sense. Any future world war, whatever may be its course of development, will be a war involving imperialist groupings. And the international proletariat, all progressive and peace-loving forces, shall have to confront not only the two super powers but also their imperialist allies and reactionary lackeys and deal crushing blows against all the belligerents conducting an unjust war.

When we are making revolution to prevent the war and when we shall be fighting against the outbreak of war to promote the revolution, on both counts, the two imperialist super powers happen to be the most dangerous enemies and foremost targets of the international proletariat and the people of the world in their revolutionary and just struggles. In fighting these common arch enemies as spearheads of counter-revolution and war, international proletariat must grasp their specific features (apart from their common features) to locate their strong and weak points and their preferred mode of operation, and choose the methods and varying emphasis, accordingly. For instance, social imperialist super power is donning the garb of a socialist power and by dint of it, is capable of practicing political deception and creating ideological confusion among sizeable sections of the toiling people; hoisting a sham platform of anti-imperialism, it obtains access to the national liberationist forces, creates splits and degeneration among their ranks to control and use them as tools of its neo-colonial expansion. Hence, in combating its neo-colonial designs and acts, international proletariat should direct special effort towards its political-ideological exposures, and call

the bluff of its anti-imperialism by coming forward as the staunch and genuine force in the struggle against all kinds of neo-colonialism. Also, the people, particularly the toiling masses, should be helped to see the true features of the revisionist, neo-revisionist parties, social-democrats of various hues and ruling class politicians who resort to socialist demagogy, as the actual or potential lackeys of social imperialism. The political platform of the other super power—human rights, individual freedom and ‘democratic’ society—has lost much of its luster; economic financial might and technological superiority are its distinctive assets as tools of neo-colonial domination. Apart from directly practising financial slavery through usurious credits, project-aid, and financial-technical collaboration with other less developed countries, it uses World Bank and its various agencies to extend or perpetuate its neo-colonial stranglehold on the economic and political life of the people of various countries. Hence, special efforts should be made to combat it in this field. Also people should be made alert to its attempts at fostering obscurantist and revivalist forces, communalists and racists, upon whom it often relies to divert or fight the rising democratic and revolutionary peoples’ movement.

Although presently, U.S. imperialist super power (along with its imperialist allies) has a command over, comparatively, much large neo-colonial set-up, spheres of influence, sources of raw-materials and markets it is encountering tremendous difficulties to maintain its hold on this neocolonial empire in the face of world-wide struggles of the anti-imperialist forces, and increasing pressure of a formidable rival in the form of Soviet social imperialist super power. Hence, the menace posed by the other super power, as a spearhead of counter-revolution should in no way be underestimated and considered as having a lesser dimension in any way. Wherever the people are struggling to hit

and drive out the wild beast of U.S. imperialism, the social-imperialist bear invariably attempts to poke in its ugly snout. And unless the proletarian revolutionaries and the people are alert to this danger, if they relax their guard, even slightly, towards the lurking danger of the other super power while struggling to get rid of one super power, their struggle for emancipation is liable to get frustrated. The logic of the present world situation where two counter-revolutionary giants are fiercely contending for exclusive hegemony over the world at the cost of the nations and peoples of the world struggling for national and social liberation, and at each others’ cost, and the contemporary experience of world-wide struggles, prove that the let-up in the fight against one Super power renders even the fight against other super power ineffective. It is so, because this provides an opportunity to the latter and its lackeys of posing as the champions of the struggle against the former, thereby confusing or rallying around itself sections of anti-imperialist forces. Apart from the varying emphasis in the mode of fighting against these new colonial super powers as the spearheads of counter-revolution and the varying emphasis, in concrete cases, (according to the variation in time and place) in delivering blows against them, any attempt to make policy distinction in general between the two by proletarian revolutionaries, will result in leading them off the revolutionary track.

Considering them as the main sources of aggression and war, international proletariat should not relent in pursuing a firm line of exposing and resisting the acts of aggression and war-mongering of both the super powers. It should not entertain or foster any illusion about the dangerous nature and claims of either of the super powers regarding the criminal course to war to achieve domination over the world. From the overall viewpoint, both are equally dangerous as sources of war and as enemies of the security

of peace-loving nations and peoples. Of course, every phenomenon is marked by disequilibrium in general, and no two aspects of a contradiction are, usually, in completely even state of being. In this sense the two super powers in conflict cannot be viewed identically and some sort of differentiation can be made between the two. But a differentiation can be of marginal or serious nature. One meant for the purpose of tactical emphasis which can be quickly and easily changed when required, the other meant for the purpose of working out a policy to be consistently followed over a considerable period of time, change in which requires marked change in the situation. With its ignominious and costly defeat at the hands of Indo-Chinese people and the accompanying economic-political crisis hitting it hard, the prestige and position of U. S. imperialism as the mightiest imperialist power was seriously impaired (it is still in the process of absorbing the shock-effects of that development). As a consequence, it was forced to make adjustments in its tactics and plans for achieving its aims of world domination. Along with this, the serious challenge posed by Soviet social imperialism as rival super power in seeking world domination (who, taking advantage of its entanglement in Indio-China, came up from behind to a matching position of contention) it was obliged to relent for a while its military pressure on socialist countries. Keeping in mind the bitter experience of its aggression over the countries of Indo-China, it has to adopt a policy of avoiding counter-revolutionary direct involvement of its armed forces in far-flung areas and raising up or fortifying instead, regional power centres of counter-revolution to make Asians fight Asians with the support of American arms and money. But owing to the fact that its hideous face as a savage counter-revolutionary force has got exposed, more than ever, and the regimes and forces it is attempting to shore-up and rely on, are utterly discredited, nationally and internationally, the successful operation of its new

counter-revolutionary plans and tactics is constantly being frustrated by upheaval of peoples' discontent and struggles. Soviet social imperialism is currently taking advantage of this situation to gain new ground because in many cases it succeeds in channelizing such people's discontent to its benefit, owing, firstly, to the weakness or lack of communist revolutionary leadership, and secondly, to the fact that most of the regimes and forces acting as sub-centres of counter-revolution and aggression under its patronage (for instance, Cuba and Vietnam) have not yet got sufficiently exposed and discredited in the eyes of their own people and world over, for those are having either socialist pretensions or anti-imperialist past and it takes some time for the people to be able to see them in their true colors. This situation enabled Soviet social imperialism to come out in recent years in a more bellicose posture of contention with the other super power for world domination. But this does not provide the basis for international-proletariat to make a policy differentiation between the two super powers to the effect that Soviet social imperialism is the more dangerous source of war and US imperialism the less dangerous one. First, the difference between the respective postures of the two super powers is increasingly diminishing: Having readjusted its response to the new situation, caused by serious political and military setbacks abroad and widespread popular opposition within US to its acts of intervention and aggression, during the years of Carter Regime, and having found in revisionist China an important political and military ally in the East, US imperialism is presently adopting a no less bellicose posture of contention with the other super power for world domination. Secondly, and that is more important, the only sound basis for such a characterization of an imperialist power (i.e., it being more or less dangerous source of war) is, whether or not, and to what extent, it is striving for domination over the world, and making preparations for war,



resorting to acts of intervention and aggression, directed against the revolutionary forces and peace-loving people, to achieve such domination.

It is on this basis that the two imperialist super powers are found to be the most dangerous sources of war in the present times, and a corresponding orientation towards spearheading the anti-war movement against both of them is taken by the international communist movement. A general characterization that one of them is a more dangerous source of war and primary target in the struggle against hegemonism and war, would conflict with and negate the policy formulation that at present the two super powers are locked up in fierce contention for world hegemony and are leading towards war. This would amount to treating one of them as most dangerous source of war. This would mean that one imperialist power (the most dangerous source of war) is imposing war on other reluctant imperialist power. Such characterization would be the most dangerous source of distorting the perspective and policy of international proletariat landing it in a position of actually contributing not to world peace but the war effort of one super power and its allies against the other super power. The ideological source prompting international, proletariat for taking up such a course cannot be Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought, but the bankrupt imperialist theory of balance of forces between bellicose powers as a safeguard against the outbreak of war. Obviously such a course militates against the cause of world peace and world revolution.

#### **SECTION IV**

The international political relations, in a given period, and the role played by different political forces in them, are based on the obtaining international economic relations and the role played by different classes in them. Therefore, to have a proper

understanding of international political situation and the tasks of the international proletariat arising thereof, it is very important to analyze the international economic relations as they stand and develop in the given period.

It was from this angle that Com. Mao Tse-Tung, in some talk, depicts the international position of various countries of the world, in his typical popular style, as belonging to three distinct sections of the world or three distinct worlds, the most privileged, first world, USA, and Soviet Union; the underdog, third world, countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, with the exception of Japan, the in between, second world, the European countries, Canada, Japan, Australia etc. (The socialist countries, on account of their level of development and strength should be grouped only with the third world countries.) “China belongs to Third world, for China cannot compare with the rich or powerful countries politically, economically etc. She can be grouped only with the relatively poor countries.” (*From a talk by Chairman Mao in February, 1974*) As is the case with all of his popular sayings, this formula rests upon a years-long serious objective study and analysis of the international scene (has been documented in the Reports to the Ninth and the Tenth National Congress of Communist Party of China.) This differentiation of the world succinctly delineates the position of each group of countries in the present day economic relations of world imperialism. All the contradictions of imperialism are related to, and sharpened by, the economic relationships expressed in this differential placing of the countries of the world.

The salient implications of this differentiation, as regards the basic appraisal of international situation, the prospects of the world proletarian revolution and the tasks of the international proletariat etc. are following :

(a) It points to the emergence of two extremely powerful, financially and militarily, centres of world imperialism who dominate the whole imperialist system of exploitation and oppression. This concentration of imperialist-neo-colonial power has led, and is leading to, the intensification of exploitation and oppression of the people world over, most of all, the people in the third world, constituting overwhelming majority of world population, who are finding it impossible to go on living in such intolerable condition of impoverishment and servitude. Moreover, proceeding from their position of dominance, these two imperialist super powers try, in an arbitrary fashion, to steer the economic (political) affairs of the world to usurp maximum benefits, to the chagrin of the monopoly capitalists of second world countries and other exploiters who share, more or less, the neo-colonial loot, and the two fiercely contend with each other to acquire exclusive access to the booty, disturbing thereby the whole mechanism of imperialist system. All this is at the root of great disorder and turbulence prevailing in the world. Thus it lays bare the material basis of the evermore developing crisis in the imperialist system, the accentuation of all the contradictions of imperialism, and of the bright prospects of world proletarian revolutionary movement as a consequence of rapid revolutionization of the mood of the broad masses of the people and serious discord among the top exploiters and oppressors, characteristic of the prevailing situation.

(b) It points to the location of the relative position of various links in the imperialist chain—the strongest, relatively weak, and the weakest links—for the purpose of mapping out the strategic plan of international proletariat for developing world proletarian revolution to hit the imperialist system hard with concentrated energy at weakest links (third world countries under colonial dependence); to make serious preparations and get ready to hit at the weak links (second world countries) at the opportune moment;

and in this process which renders the strong ones shaky and weakened lay the ground and gather forces for finally storming the strongest link (first world of the super powers), thus smashing the whole chain of imperialist system and establishing the socialist system world over.

(c) It points to the global nature of the counter-revolutionary interests, policies and connections of the two imperialist super powers which makes them international gendarmes, the main source of counter-revolutionary intervention, aggression and war, and the common enemy of the people of the world, and invests the revolutionary struggles world over with the task of guarding against or combating any interference, control, intervention and aggression by the two super powers and resolutely opposing their preparations for and apparatuses of unleashing a new world war. It provides the international proletariat with a tactical orientation to seek, at various levels in various forms, the building up of as broad as possible opposition to the policies and acts of super powers domination, intimidation and war while unswervingly striving to accomplish other revolutionary tasks.

It would be sheer distortion of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung's valuable statement if this differentiation of the world is made out to be the depiction, as such, of alignment of political forces of the world in the present day international class struggle, demarcating our enemies (first world), our friend (second world), and ourselves (third world), and that as a corollary, the present day policy of the international communist movement should be of third world (ourselves) uniting with the second world (friends) to oppose the first world (enemies).

In order to better appreciate Mao Tse-Tung's view point in differentiating the countries of the world, and the distorted nature of its interpretation of the above type, let us briefly refer to Lenin's

analysis of the post world-war first international situation when he differentiated the countries of the world, along with their population into three main groups. In the opening part of his 'Report On the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International' to the Second Congress of the Comintern which made this grouping as the point of departure for analyzing international situation, he observed "Imperialism's economic relations constitute the core of the entire international situation as it now exists". From this angle, he proceeded to analyze 'Imperialism's economic relations' and provided a graphic description of these relations showing the position of three groups of population of the world in these relations. "In the oppressed colonies— countries which are being dismembered, such as Persia, Turkey and China and in countries that were defeated and have been relegated to the position of colonies—there are 1,250 million inhabitants. Not more than 250,000,000 inhabit countries that have retained their old position but have become economically dependent upon America, and all of which during the war, were militarily dependent, once the war involved the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And, finally, we have not more than 250,000,000 inhabitants in countries whose top stratum, the capitalist alone, benefitted from the partition of the world. We thus get total of about 1,750 million comprising the entire population of the world. I would like to remind you of this picture of the world, for all ***the basic contradictions of capitalism, of imperialism which are leading up to revolution.... are all connected with this partitioning of the world's population.***"

And in the next lines he comments on the nature, and the central implication, of this grouping, "of course, these figures give the economic picture of the world only approximately, in broad outlines. And comrades, it is natural that, with the population of

the world divided in this way, ***exploitation by finance capital, the capitalist monopolies, has increased many times over***". (Emphasis added)

Lenin projected this situation as the source of acute economic crisis and consequently of political crisis, of the imperialist system. He noted in this situation, "..... the maturing of the two conditions for the world revolution," because there was, "..... discord at the top, among this handful, this very small number of very rich countries," and there were "... 1250 million people who find it impossible to live in the conditions of servitude which advanced and civilized capitalism wishes to impose on them". He focused it in connection with the fundamental tasks of communist international relating to world proletarian revolution. Quite naturally, the central theme of this thesis on Comintern's fundamental tasks was intensification of the preparations for proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries (and determinedly supporting and assisting the national democratic revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries).

At another place Lenin discusses the bearing of this international situation on the course of development of world proletarian revolution:

"The system of international relationship has now taken a form in which one of the states of Europe, viz, Germany, has been enslaved by the victorious countries. Furthermore, a number of states in the West, find themselves in a position, as the result of their victory, to utilize the victory to make a number of insignificant concessions to their oppressed classes—concessions which nevertheless retard the revolutionary movement in these countries and create some semblance of 'social peace'."

"At the same time, precisely as a result of the last imperialist war, a number of countries...in the East, India, China etc, have been completely dislodged from their groove, their development

has definitely shifted to the general European capitalist lines. The general European ferment has begun to affect them, and it is now clear to the whole world that they have been drawn into a process of development that cannot but lead to a crisis in the whole of world capitalism.”

In view of this fact, and in connection with it, “the West European” capitalist countries will consummate their development towards socialism, not as we formerly expected.

They are consummating it not by the even ‘maturing’ of socialism in them, but by the exploitation of some countries by others, by the exploitation of the first of the countries to be vanquished in the imperialist war combined with the exploitation of the whole of the East. On the other hand, precisely as a result of the first imperialist war, the East has definitely come into revolutionary movement, has been definitely drawn into the general mainstream of the world revolutionary movement.

*(Lenin, Vol. XXVIII. p-415-16 as quoted by Stalin in October Revolution and Tactics of Russian Communists p-417).*

And Stalin rounds off this statement by observing:

“If we add to this the fact that not only defeated countries are being exploited by the victorious countries but that some of the victorious countries are falling into the orbit of financial exploitation at the hands of the most powerful of the victorious countries, America and Britain; that the contradictions among all these countries are an extremely important factor in the disintegration of world imperialism, that in addition to these countries, very profound contradictions exist and are developing within each of these because of the existence, alongside, these countries of the great Republic of Soviets—if all this is taken into consideration then the picture of the special character of the international situation will become more or less complete.

*(December 17, 1924; J. Stalin, On the Road to October.)*

The actual course of revolutionary development in the post First World War period testified to the correctness and far-sightedness of these observations of Lenin. Apart from the general upswing in the national liberation movements in the colonial East, proletarian revolutions rocked Hungary, Bulgaria and Germany—the very capitalist-imperialist countries, under the terms of the Versailles treaty (the other victim country of this and the Brest Litovsk Treaty, Russia, had already gone through a victorious proletarian revolution). Had the proletariat at that time misunderstood the international situation and the grouping of countries by Lenin, and taken this grouping as such for the alignment of political forces of the world, in that case these revolutions would have been fore-doomed. On the other hand, if the revolutions in the above named countries were not victorious and were ultimately crushed by the bourgeoisie, it was, apart from other factors, mainly because the proletariat had not sufficiently made preparations for the eventuality, and in Hungary particularly, had not politically demarcated from, and isolated in a thorough going way, the social democrats (which is an important part of these preparations) who betrayed the revolution and became accomplices in suppressing it. (This revolutionary attempt was the proletariat’s way of eradicating foreign domination over their respective countries by breaking loose of imperialist system, of which such domination is a perennial feature. When proletariat’s attempt failed, fascism took over these countries and they headed for imperialist war that was decadent bourgeoisie’s way.)

So, we see how Lenin, while analyzing the international situation in the framework of imperialism’s economic relations and the position of different countries in this relationship, always kept in mind the position and role of different class-forces and

drew political conclusions and worked out political tasks of international communist movement from this total perception. Like Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung's analysis of international situation, at different times, have always been permeated with class analytical approach, with an insight of the interplay of various class-forces at international and national levels. His recent analysis of the international situation in terms of the differentiation of these countries of the world into three categories of worlds is no exception. If one were to view this differentiation of three worlds in a distorted way, as discussed earlier, knocking out its revolutionary kernel, its class content, it would be an act of violation of, and violence against, the whole teachings of Mao Tse-Tung. It would result, in theory, in confusing the friends and enemies, fundamental and non-fundamental contradictions, fundamental and ephemeral nature of class relationships, fundamental and special tasks, primary and secondary tasks, bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism, and in practice, in neglecting or renouncing revolutionary tasks under the pretext of the requirements of some immediate task (but bungling even the latter), renouncing the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle for national and social liberation and establishing a tailist unity with one or other section of the reactionary ruling classes, and thus sliding down the path of social democratism – betrayal of the cause of world proletarian revolution cloaked in Marxist-Leninist phraseology.

(Footnotes)

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected works* Vol. 22, Page 310. "The Junius Pamphlet"

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 35, Page 264. "To Inessa Armand"

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected W*

orks, Vol. 28, Page 286. "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky"

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 21, Page 38. "Position and Tasks of Socialist International"

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 22, Page 309. "The Junius Pamphlet"

<sup>6</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 35, Page 264. "To Inessa Armand"

<sup>7</sup> V. I. Lenin *Collected works*, Vol. 23, Page 59. "A Caricature of Marxism"

<sup>8</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 28, Page, 286.87. "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky"

<sup>9</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 22, Page 316. "Junius Pamphlet"

<sup>10</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 21, Page 40. "Position and Tasks of Socialist International"

<sup>11</sup>(i) V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 21, Page 251. "The Collapse of the second International"

(ii) V. I. Lenin, *Collected works*, Vol. 21, Page 40. "Position and tasks of Socialist International"

## *SUPPLEMENT*

### ***ONSLAUGHT OF NEW OPPORTUNIST CURRENTS***

In the main text, we have presented in broad outlines our assessment of the present international situation and what, in our view, should be the general line of the international communist movement and its specific direction in the present situation.

This revolutionary line of international communist movement for pushing ahead the historic process of world proletarian revolution and the guiding ideology which this line is based on, Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought, are under attack from various opportunist quarters. Along with modern revisionism centered around the renegade leading clique of CPSU, Trotskyite revisionism, Titoite revisionism, social-democratism, new leftism etc., new opportunist currents are pitted against the proletarian revolutionary line and ideology. Special ideological efforts, on the part of Marxist-Leninist forces worldwide, need to be directed against the latter currents, because, the process of their exposure has just begun and the ideological menace posed by these has, as yet, not been sufficiently contained.

Of these latter opportunist currents, the major one has its fountain-head in the renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of CPC. This renegade leading clique of CPC has ganged up with all the bourgeois and reactionary forces of China to bury the socialist revolution of China and carry out all-round capitalist restoration there. In order to provide theoretical justification of its criminal course of action and smoothen the process of counter-revolutionary restoration, it has denounced the basic theory and line, expounded by Com. Mao Tse-Tung for developing socialist revolution, replacing it with the revisionist theory of productive

forces and a bourgeois pragmatist line for building state monopoly capitalism, yet shamelessly claiming Mao Tse-Tung Thought as its guiding ideology.

As an extension of the counter-revolutionary role of this clique inside China, on international plane, it is busy in ganging up with Western imperialism led by US imperialism and its reactionary lackeys all the world over and seeks to do to world proletarian revolutionary movements what it has done to victorious revolution in China. In order to provide theoretical justification for its betrayal of world proletarian revolutionary movement and smoothen the process of disorientation, degeneration and disintegration of world proletarian revolutionary movement, it has surreptitiously renounced the revolutionary legacy of the great struggle against modern revisionism waged by Marxist-Leninists of all lands under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung, in the sixties, renounced the Marxist Leninist critique on Khrushchev's phony communism, the fraudulent "self-administrative" socialism of Tito sustained by millions of US dollars, the wholesale revisionism of the Italian and the French Communist parties, Khrushchev's apologia for neo colonialism (down-playing of the neo colonial rule of imperialist powers over most of the ex-colonies, prettifying of the anti-communist, anti-popular reactionary regimes in these countries, and emphasizing of the task of developing national economies and downgrading of the pressing task of making national democratic revolution in these countries) and Khrushchev's anti-Leninist fallacies in denying the inherently aggressive nature of imperialism etc. It has renounced, without acknowledging, the general line of the international communist movement and substituted it with the counter-revolutionary class collaborationist "Three World Theory" fabricated by arch-revisionist Teng-Hsio Ping, yet shamelessly claiming that its international conduct and line is

dictated by Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

It is not fortuitous that the renegade Teng-Hua ruling clique wishes to erase the memory of that monumental struggle against modern revisionism waged by Marxist-Leninist forces with Mao Tse-Tung at the head. The phenomenon of the rise to power of renegade Khrushchev-revisionist clique in Soviet Union and its currying favor with US imperialism and various lackey reactionary regimes was accompanied by a systematic ideological onslaught against international communist movement on the basis of a set of revisionist theses put forward by this clique with the objective of disorientating and decimating world proletarian revolutionary movement and its political vanguard. Today, the phenomenon of the rise to power of renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of CPC in China and its unashamed honey-mooning with the US imperialism and various lackey reactionary regimes, is being accompanied by a similar systematic ideological onslaught against international communist movement on the basis of the revisionist "Three World Theory" with the similar counter-revolutionary objectives.

The present ideological onslaught of Teng-Hua revisionism is not much different in its content and objectives from the previous one of modern revisionism. Certain differences in the respective physiognomy of the two are due to different historical conditions in which these took shape. Modern revisionism centered around the renegade Khrushchev clique advocating capitulation to US imperialism at a time when crisis in the world capitalist system and the danger of world war had not acquired grave dimensions. Hence this capitulation took on a pacifist complexion, TengHua opportunism is advocating capitulation to US imperialism at a time when world capitalist system is caught up in grave economic political social crisis and intensified imperialist rivalry, particularly between the two imperialist super

powers, and is heading towards a global armed conflagration. Under these conditions of crisis and war danger, all hues of international opportunism are driven towards aligning with one or the other imperialist super power and company, and, ipso facto, against the rival one. Hence, the capitulation of Teng-Hua revisionist clique to US imperialism has taken on a militant complexion owing to its vociferous denunciation of the rival imperialist super power, Soviet social imperialism. While its verbal crusades against Soviet social imperialism also serve as a smokescreen for covering its retreat from revolutionary fighting positions of red China against imperialism and reaction to the lap of US imperialism, both its alignment with US imperialism and confrontation with Soviet social imperialism are promoted by its counter-revolutionary aspiration of making China a regional hegemonistic power with the US imperialist financial, technological and military patronage.

Leaving aside the phenomenon of naturally enthusiastic response to Teng's 'Three World Theory', of the right opportunistically inclined elements nestling inside international Marxist-Leninist movement whose thinking and practice found great theoretical support in the systematized revisionist ideological, political platform of a "Three World Theory", how is it that this bankrupt theory could temporarily succeed even in confusing or winning over considerable sections of genuine Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary ranks? Familiarity with Khrushchevian modern revisionism and the experience of the great struggle against it should have enabled these Marxist-Leninist forces better and quickly to recognize the hideous features of Teng-Hua revisionism despite the deceptive red veil of Mao Tse-Tung Thought put on these. But it did not happen that way. Apart from the fact, indicated by this development, that our forces were not adequately posted with Marxist theory, hence

were liable to be taken in by superficial political phenomena and pragmatic and eclectic logic of the arguments of Teng-Hua revisionists, a major reason of their failure in their encounter with "Three World Theory" is that there are certain relatively new features in the present day international situation which demanded to be appraised and explained by international Marxist-Leninist movement. Taking advantage of the lack of systematic Marxist-Leninist explanation of these features, the Teng Hua revisionist clique juggled with these phenomena and wove a revisionist "Three World Theory" around these. The deceptive potential of "Three World Theory" lies in its seemingly plausible, though actually false, explanations of these phenomena.

These phenomena are (A) serious disparity, in terms of financial-military power, between first-rate imperialist powers—USA and Soviet Union, on the one hand and second-rate imperialist powers—England, France, West Germany, Japan, Canada etc., on the other hand; sharpening contradictions between the former and the latter, (B) extremely accentuated contradiction between the two first-rate imperialist powers or super powers on account of their drive for attaining exclusive global domination; relative demotion of US imperialism from its earlier status of being the unquestionably supreme imperialist power of the world, under the impact of serious set-backs suffered by it at the hands of national liberation movements of the oppressed-peoples, the rise of a rival imperialist super power contesting for the supreme imperialist status, and stiff economic competition from West German and Japanese monopoly capital; stepped-up expansionist and aggressive activities of Soviet social imperialism and (C) The disturbed relationship of imperialist masters and lackey domestic reactionary rulers of underdeveloped countries, particularly the latter's bickering over the terms of financial collaboration and the terms of trade.

Let us briefly examine how Teng-Hua revisionism lends distorted meanings to these political phenomena in order wholly to revise the Leninist orientation of international communist movement.

All these political phenomena are expressions of the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism, and the operation of two fundamental contradictions of the world, the contradictions which have got extremely accentuated at present, namely, the inter-imperialist contradiction, and the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. But, the Teng-Hua revisionists avoid to discuss these phenomena in the context of these fundamental contradictions. Why? Because, discussion within such theoretical frame gives far less scope for opportunist sophistry, for eclectic jumbling together of phenomena of different order, which are their patent weapons of deceit.

They evade answering in a clear-cut fashion the vital questions concerning the present stage and targets of world proletarian revolution. Have the world social progression and consequent political development during the period since the Great Debate radically changed the fundamental contradictions of the Leninist era? If not, doesn't it follow that all imperialism and reaction remain the targets of world proletarian revolution during the whole period of the present stage? If so, doesn't it follow that distinctions made in the targets of proletarian revolutionary movements, in the present stage, can only be either for policy purposes of directing concentrated attack against the principal target which are valid only for the given historical period or phase of the revolution, or for purposes of ever-shifting tactical emphasis in dealing with various components of the principal target and those of the non-principal target?

Proceeding from the fact of existing disparity in the respective



strengths of the first-rate imperialist powers and the second-rate imperialist powers, instead of making a policy distinction between these imperialist enemies for the purpose of directing concentrated attack against the two super powers in the present period, the "Three worldists" raise this distinction to the level of basic demarcation that implies a radical transformation of the character and role of the second-rate imperialist powers. From being imperialist enemies and targets of world proletarian revolution, though relegated to a position of secondary importance for the present period of concentrated fight against the two super powers at international plane, those get metamorphosed, at the hands of "Three worldists", into "middle forces" having "dual character."

The concept of "middle forces" having "dual character" applies to such social forces as do not constitute the target of revolution at a given stage of its development and have some potential for playing a role in the revolutionary movements to a certain extent, under certain conditions. As for example, is the case of national bourgeoisie of an oppressed country in the stage of national democratic revolution. Under no circumstances does this concept apply to a section of enemy forces constituting the target of revolution. Even when a tactical alliance is forged by revolutionary forces with a section of enemy forces against the principal enemy this section does not lose its enemy character to become "middle forces" having "dual character."

By attributing "dual character" to these imperialist powers the "Three worldists" change the fundamental content of the contradiction between the second-rate imperialist powers and the two imperialist super powers. It no more remains an inter-imperialist contradiction, imperialism at one pole of this contradiction gets transformed into something of a lower order having "dual character" and imperialism at the other pole gets transformed into something of higher order, 'hegemonism'.

Referring to the second-rate imperialist powers, the "Three Worldists" state "They oppress and exploit the oppressed nations and are at the same time controlled and bullied by the super powers. They have a dual character, and stand in contradiction with both the first and the third worlds. But they are still a force the third world can win over or unite with in the struggle against hegemonism,"

*(Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds... ....Peking Review, No. 45, 1977, p. 17).*

According to these caricaturists of Leninism, the second rate imperialist powers have "dual character" of being, "at the same time" imperialist oppressor forces and anti-hegemonist forces. So, for these revisionists, it is not a question of making a distinction between chief hegemonist power and secondary hegemonist powers (hegemonism being an inherent characteristic of imperialism) and making use of the contradiction between the two, but a question of handling a new fundamental contradiction between the hegemonist imperialist super powers and allegedly anti-hegemonist imperialist powers so as to unite with the latter in the worldwide struggle for overthrowing hegemonism which turns out to be the target of world proletarian revolution in its present anti-hegemonist stage of development preceding the stage of socialist revolution for overthrowing world imperialism (i.e. the world capitalist system).

As the basic content of the struggle of the world people against the two super powers and that of the struggle of the second-rate imperialist powers against the super powers is made out to be the same, that is, anti-hegemonist, it becomes their "common struggle"; "In the common struggle against Soviet Union and the United States, it is both necessary and possible to ally with the second-world under given conditions." (*ibid*)

What is the stuff that the 'anti-hegemonism' of these imperialist powers is made of? Referring to the state of Western imperialists alliance led by US imperialism, the "Three Worldists," state: "True, the monopoly capitalists of West European countries, Japan, etc., have a thousand and one ties with the United States and, in face of the menace posed by Soviet social imperialism these countries still have to rely on the US 'Protective Umbrella'. But so long as the United States continues its policy of control, they will not cease in their struggle against such control and **for equal partnership.**" (*ibid*, p. 30) (emphasis added). In their own words, the objective of this struggle against the over-bearing behavior of US imperialism is to realize "equal partnership." Well, may we ask, "equal partnership" in what and for what? Isn't "equal partnership" being sought in the predatory imperialist alliance for perpetuating and intensifying oppression and exploitation of under developed countries and contending with social imperialism for this neocolonial loot? Doesn't it show that while US imperialism seeks, through "its policy of control", to limit the scope of imperialist contention and loot on the part of these powers, they, through their struggle against such control seek to enlarge this scope, and that friction between the two sides, on this score, is just another dimension of the fundamental contradiction between USA and these countries as imperialist powers?

Building a case for 'anti-hegemonism' of these imperialist powers, in another context, they state: "In certain cases, their own interests even compel them to make certain concessions to Third world countries or to give some support to third world's struggle against hegemonism or to remain neutral". Why "In Certain cases"? What is the situation "taken as a whole" (to use their favorite phrase)? And which imperialists are not occasionally compelled by "their own interests" to make certain concessions to third world countries"? All imperialists are. Only these "certain

concessions", are made with a view to perpetuate or extend imperialist stranglehold on the third world Countries. As an instance of "support" rendered "to third world's struggle against hegemonism" by these imperialist powers, they refer to the incident of mercenary attack backed by Soviet lackey Neto clique of Angola on Zaire's province of Katanga in the year 1977. "This year, when Zaire was repelling the armed invasion masterminded by the Soviet Union, France rendered it some logistic support." (*ibid*, p. 30). By what distortion of language can landing of the French Commandos in Katanga be termed "some logistic support"? If the entry of French imperialist troops in Zaire in a concerted move by Belgium, USA and France to "holster up the military efforts of their lackey Mobutu clique and safeguard their respective imperialist interests in Zaire was an act of "Support to third world's struggle against hegemonism" then what is to be called imperialist intervention? According to this twisted logic of the "Three Worldists" when Cuban Troops, East German and Soviet Union's military advisers were engaged in bolstering up the military efforts of the lackey Neto clique of Angola in repelling South African armed invasion masterminded by US imperialism they were actually giving "some support to third world struggle against hegemonism"? To be, more exact, "some logistic support"!

Thus, whether viewed in relation to the super powers, the "first world" or in relation to the under developed countries, the "third world", the 'anti-hegemonism' of these second-rate imperialist powers turns out to be a striving for imperialist contention with the super powers. No doubt an uneven contention, all the same an imperialist contention. The "Three Worldists" wish to de-track the forces of world proletarian revolution from the Marxist-Leninist course of skillfully utilizing the contradictions between second-rate imperialist powers and the super powers, as contradictions within the enemy imperialist camp

and direct the revolutionary forces to the class-collaborationist course of seeking a strategic alliance with the second-rate imperialist forces, at domestic and international plane, since these are allegedly no more enemy forces at this stage of world proletarian revolution.

As in the case of other revisionist concepts woven into Teng's 'Three World Theory', so in their revisionist distortion of the distinction between the two super powers and the second-rate imperialist powers they deploy all their skills in trickery to palm it off as Comrade Mao Tse-Tung's ideas. They dig out an utterance by Mao in 1970 regarding the handling of West European powers by China at the plane of socialist diplomacy in order to break through the encirclement imposed on it by US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. At that time, he said: "We should win over these countries such as Britain, France and West Germany." They deliberately cause confusion between the foreign policy concept of 'winning over' certain states to the side of socialist China on some matters and the strategic concept of 'winning over' certain social forces to the side of the proletariat as revolutionary allies.

They give the following excerpt from Mao's comments on the Suez Canal incident in 1956. "In the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions; first, those between different imperialist powers, that is between the US and Britain and between the US and France, and, second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed. The three kinds of forces are; One, the US, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers, and three, the oppressed nations". They claim that "It is not difficult to see that Chairman Mao's analysis of the three kinds of forces was the forerunner of his theory of the three worlds. The difference between the two is chiefly due to the existence however precarious of a socialist camp at the time." (*ibid*,

p. 17)

We wish to quote in detail from the same talk by Mao Tse-Tung to show how his dialectical and revolutionary treatment of the concerned questions, far from being a progenitor of 'Three world theory', is a damning indictment of the revisionist line encompassed in Teng's 'Three World Theory.'

Referring to the phenomenon of intensifying contention among imperialist powers, he said: "Their embroilment is to our advantage. We, the socialist countries, should pursue the policy of consolidating ourselves and not yielding a single inch of our land. We will struggle against anyone who tries to make us do so. This is where we draw the line **beyond which they can be left to quarrel among themselves**. Then shall we speak or not? Yes we shall. We **certainly will support the anti-imperialist struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles** of the people of all countries.

"As for the relations between the imperialist countries and ourselves, 'they are among us and we are among them', **we support the people's revolution in their countries** and they conduct subversive activities in ours. We have our men in their midst, that is, the communists, the revolutionary workers, farmers, and intellectuals, and the progressives in their countries. They have their men in our midst, and in China for instance they have among us many people from the bourgeoisie and the democratic parties and also the landlord class.

"In short, our assessment of the international situation is still that the **embroilment of the imperialist countries contending for colonies** is the greater contradiction. They try to cover-up the contradictions between themselves by playing up their contradiction with us. **We can make use of their**

***contradictions***; a lot can be done in this connection. ***This is a matter of importance for our external policy.***

*Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries  
– Mao; Jan 1957) (All emphasis added).*

In dealing with phenomenon of disturbed relationship between the reactionary ruling cliques in Asia, Africa and Latin America and their imperialist masters, the “Three Worldists” go whole hog in revising the basic thesis of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung on colonial revolution and present a topsy-turvy picture of the realities of class rule of the domestic ruling classes and tasks of revolutionary movement in the countries of this region.

Trampling under foot Lenin’s important injunction that communists must expose the systematic deception practised by imperialism through setting up such states as are economically, politically and militarily dependent on it and proclaiming these to be independent national states, the “Three Worldists” come forward as propagandists of this deception. In a sweeping manner, they depict the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America as more or less independent national states. They dish out a distorted appraisal of the historical phenomenon of collapse of old colonial system after World War II. Whereas a number of countries of this region won their political independence through hard fought people’s struggles of national liberation and national resistance against fascist occupation armies, in large majority of cases independence was ‘conferred’ by imperialists on their colonies through ‘transfer of power’ to their trusted lackeys under the pressure of obtaining historical, political circumstances, with the result that the colonial state power structures were not demolished in these countries. Even in the case of nationalist regimes that came to power on the crest of popular national upsurge at that time, some were toppled through imperialist machinations and

replaced with more pliant ones and the reactionary state-structures were refurbished, while in some others, the upper-sections of the new ruling bourgeois classes gradually developed reactionary traits and became the retainers of colonialist and feudal interests. Of course, there are still a number of progressive nationalist states struggling to defend and consolidate their political independence and national economies against the economic, political and military pressures of imperialist powers particularly the two super powers. But, the majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries are under neo-colonial rule wherein the domestic reactionary classes share state power in varying measures with their imperialist masters. For the people of most of the underdeveloped countries, it is primarily a matter of breaking the shackles of neo-colonialism and accomplishing national democratic revolution all the while resisting attempts, on the part of any imperialist power, particularly a super power for bringing them under complete subjugation. Only in the case of some progressive national states the task of defending and consolidating political independence and national economy assumes first-rate importance.

The “Three Worldists” not only down-play the role of neo-colonialism in these countries, they also give a distorted account of its mode of operation; impairing, thereby, the political vigilance and consciousness of revolutionary forces. Reducing neo-colonialism essentially to the attempts of imperialist powers at directly exercising control on the basis of their capacity for exerting military pressure at the given time, over these countries they state “Europe, which is the focus of contention between the two hegemonist powers has drawn and pinned down the bulk of their strength. They are not likely to maintain tight control over many third world countries, for it is very often the case that they cannot grab at one without losing hold of another.” (*ibid.* p. 27)

By such talk they seek to create the false impression that neo-colonialism does not hold sway over these countries chiefly through the medium of the domestic reactionary ruling classes. They down play the phenomenon of the neo-colonialism and project a distorted view of its mode of operation, because any reference to the medium of neo-colonial hold over these countries brings into discussion a crucial question which they avoid like hot coal, that is, the question of state-power in these countries. By putting aside the question of state power, they feel free to discuss the political role of these countries enbloc as third world countries and that of all the class forces enbloc as 'country'. In their typical deceptive phraseology they seek to wriggle out of this "complex situation" created by their indiscriminate tie-up of forces having qualitatively different political character and role; "Their (third world countries) social and political systems differ, the level of their economic development is not uniform, and there are constant changes in the political situation in each country. Hence it is often the case that the authorities of these countries adopt different attitudes towards imperialism and the super powers and their own people.....But taken as a whole, the majority of these countries are for struggle against imperialism and hegemonism." So, all the differences listed here prove to be of marginal relevance as these do not essentially affect their common trait of struggle against imperialism and hegemonism:

"There are of course struggles between different political forces within the third world countries themselves. Some people are revolutionaries who firmly stand for carrying through the national democratic revolution. Others are progressives and middle of the roaders of various descriptions. A few are reactionaries. And there are even some agents of imperialism or social imperialism... .. However, this complex situation does not affect the basic fact that the third world countries are the main force in the struggle against

imperialism and hegemonism." So, the fact that 'country' covers national democratic revolutionary forces on the one hand and reactionaries and imperialist agents on the other, does not alter their "basic fact". They tell us the secret of it, "when we look at a question, we must grasp its essence and its main aspect" (*ibid.* p-28) What the "Three Worldists" seek through their above statements is precisely to prevent the people from grasping the "**essence**" and "**main aspect**" of the question since the essence and main aspect of the political character and role of a country is determined by the class character of its state power. All their phraseology is designed to conceal the real basic fact about these countries, that it is these "few reactionaries" and "even some agents of imperialism or social-imperialism", who hold state-power in most of these countries. And this state power, far from being an instrument of struggle for smashing up neo-colonialism, is a powerful weapon of neo-colonialism ever-aimed at the people and their revolutionary movements in these countries. Under conditions of neo-colonialism, all talk of anti-imperialist struggle of the people of these countries is pure humbug if this struggle is not directed against the lackey big bourgeois and feudal classes and their reactionary state power.

The so many wranglings between, the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters on non-basic issues, that are not concerned with any substantial change in the new-colonial set-up but, at best, with some reformist alterations in it, do not affect the basic character and role of the former which continues to be reactionary and pro-imperialist. It is another matter that revolutionaries can use such wranglings to their benefit, in an appropriate way.

The "Three Worldists" shamelessly eulogise and defend the lackey reactionary state power in these countries by saying that "By exercising the state power in their hands, the independent

third world countries have gained broader arenas and more means to carry on the struggle than in the past... ..The fact that the Asian, African and Latin American countries... ..**have boldly taken their destiny into their own hands** and wrested back the rights due them (*ibid*, p-26). They refer to the struggle of the people of these countries merely for duping the gullible, actually, when they say that, the third world countries are the main force in the world-wide struggle against imperialism and hegemonism, the purpose is to glorify the political role of the states of this region. Although they use the terms 'world', 'countries' and 'people' interchangeably to cause confusion, at some places they can be pinned down to get the truth. For instance, in their following statement about the second world countries, "they have a dual character and stand in contradiction with both the first and the third worlds". Who has a dual character? It cannot be said of the people of the second world, nor can the people of the second world be standing in contradiction with the third world. Without any shadow of doubt, here 'second world', means the states in Europe and other places. The 'first world' also denotes imperialist states, USA and Soviet Union, since the people of these two countries cannot be the target of the struggle of 'Third World' and the 'Second World'. How can it be different in the case of 'third world'? Moreover, Teng Hsiao-Ping would have no need for rigging-up a new 'theory' to say that the struggling people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main force in the world wide struggle against imperialism which has been an established stand of international Marxist-Leninist movement ever since the Great Debate, were it not for conferring this exalted role of being main anti-imperialist force upon the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Through the eclectic method of knocking together, into a hybrid whole, phenomena of different order or differentiating phenomena of essentially similar nature into qualitatively

different categories, the "Three World Theorists mutilate the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and the fundamental contradictions between various imperialist powers, transforming the reactionary ruling clique in underdeveloped countries into the main anti-imperialist force and the imperialist ruling cliques in highly developed capitalist countries into an anti-hegemonist force. All these revisionist acrobatics of "Three Worldists" are meant for selling their line of un-adulterated class collaboration and tying up of proletarian and other revolutionary forces, to the boot-laces of the ruling cliques of both the 'Third World' and the 'Second World', both for renouncing revolutionary tasks concerning the struggle against imperialism and reaction and those concerning the struggle against unjust criminal inter-imperialist war.

This is not all. Unfolding of the revisionist logic of "Three World Theory" thus far does not fully serve the counter revolutionary objectives of the renegade Teng-Hua clique. This much of "Three World Theory" would, no doubt, throw its followers into the arms of the "second world" imperialist rulers and the "Third World" reactionary rulers but it still carries a formal message of directing concentrated fire against hegemonism of the two super powers (notwithstanding the fact that opportunistic embracing, on the part of revolutionary forces, of 'second world' imperialists and 'third world' reactionary lackeys of imperialism would knock out the bottom of their struggle against hegemonism and war-drive of the two super powers). This would not accord with the demand of Teng-Hua clique's present capitulationist tie-up with one of the super powers, US imperialism. This clique needs theoretic justification of its ganging-up with one, of the chief enemies of the people of the world, of proletarian revolution and world peace. Hence cooking up of the revisionist thesis of differentiating the 'first world'. According to which, as a

hegemonist power and instigator of world war, Soviet social imperialism is the more dangerous than US imperialism and is “the primary target” in the struggle against hegemonism and war.

This thesis is the real king-pin of Teng’s ‘Three world theory’, and the line of uniting with US imperialism and its lackeys worldwide in the struggle against Soviet social imperialism, singled out as the principal enemy, is the operative line of the whole “Three world theory”. All the noise of “three Worldists” while dealing with the ‘third world’ and the ‘second world’ about concentrating the revolutionary attack on the hegemonism of two super powers is aimed at taming the ideological resistance of revolutionary forces against the class-collaborationist course of action and then ultimately leading them into the lap of US imperialism.

The “Three Worldists” first, transform the policy-distinction (meant for deciding “the primary target” from among the imperialist enemies) between the two imperialist super powers and the second-rate imperialist powers into a basic distinction (meant for demarcating enemies and friends). Then they transform the specific distinctions (meant for deciding specific mode of fighting against each segment of the “primary target”) between the two super powers into policy distinction, in violation of all norms of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics.

Their differentiation between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism rests on distortion of Marxist logic. One of their chief-arguments in favor of this differentiation is that “soviet social imperialism is an imperialist power following on the heels of the United States and is therefore “more aggressive and adventurous” and that according to Lenin late-comers among imperialist countries are “even more rapacious, even more predatory”. So what to conclude from this? When Lenin said this in reference to the late-comer German imperialism, he concluded from this that

inter-imperialist war was inevitable and not that the late comer German imperialism was the “primary target” of proletarian revolutionary movement.

They say that US imperialism, “...has over-reached itself and all it can do at present is to strive to protect its interests and go over to the defensive in its overall strategy”. So what to conclude from this? Any conclusion, relevant to the formulation of current policy of international proletarian revolutionary movement can only be drawn on the basis of the answers to the following two questions. First, “Its overall strategy” in which US imperialism can but “go over to the defensive” is in pursuit of what? For seeking **exclusive world hegemony in contention** with Soviet social imperialism. Second, what line of conduct is taken, at present, by US imperialism in this contention for exclusive world hegemony, whether of contending with its rival chiefly through other means than war and seeking, for the time being to ward off the war or, of preparing for war? **Offensively preparing for a world war**. Both the answers are there in their own statement, “**each super power sets exclusive world hegemony** as its goal and to this end **makes frantic preparations for a new world war**”(emphasis added, p. 19) “**The war-machine of each** of the two super powers in peace time assumes a magnitude unprecedented in human history”, emphasis added, p-20). In the criminal imperialist operation of forcible re-division of the world, where each super power seeks to ‘realize exclusive world hegemony, the circumstance of US imperialism having to fight in a state of strategic defensive, that is, having more to exert in retaining and consolidating its earlier huge colonial exploits than in seizing new territories, does in no way change the **predatory character** of its endeavor before and during the actual outbreak of the imperialist war. A super power may employ an “offensive strategy” or “go over to the defensive in its overall strategy”, the

imperialist striving for seizing or for retaining colonial possessions through military means is equally predatory in both the cases. It gives no scope to international proletarian revolutionary movement for meeting out differential treatment to Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism. They juggle with military statistics to give the impression that Soviet social imperialism is a more formidable military power than US imperialism. First, it is factually wrong to assert so. In the wide range of military weaponry and other apparatus, each of the two super-powers is having comparative lead in certain branches and comparative lag in other branches. However, in terms of over-all military might there exists almost parity between them. Secondly, which is more important, in view of the gigantic military build-up, on the part of both the super powers, even if one of them acquires an edge over the other in this respect, it would not affect in a significant way, the capability or role of either of them as an aggressive imperialist super power and would be irrelevant to the question of formulating the policy of international proletarian movement towards the two super powers.

They say that while US imperialism “has time and again met with resistance and been subjected to exposure and denunciation... Soviet social imperialism “wears the mask of ‘socialism’” and has not “completely lost its capacity to deceive” people, that “arduous efforts are called for to help the people of the world to recognize its true features.” Right, it should only imply that the exposure of its fake socialism and real social imperialism should be an important feature of our revolutionary propaganda. But, since when has it become a Marxist-Leninist tactic to treat the politically less-exposed enemy as “the primary target” and, the notorious one as the secondary target? Demanding that revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world against US imperialism be left to their fate without the guidance and

leadership of international proletariat, the “Third Worldists” say that “Progressive world opinion is already familiar with its true nature and will go on fighting against it.”

Surely, the revolutionary people of the world “will go on fighting against it” and genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world will see to it that they are led to do so more vigorously and more effectively with the uprooting of the poisonous weed of the “Three World Theory.”

The other opportunist current that strives ideologically, politically to disorientate international Marxist-Leninist movement from its revolutionary course in this period, is generated by the leadership of PLA. This opportunist current is wrapped up in the mechanistic, revisionist, ‘Two World Theory’ propounded by Enver Hoxa. It is presented as an anti-dote to the class-collaborationist ‘Three World Theory’, of Teng Hsiao Ping. But, notwithstanding the revolutionary rhetoric in which it is couched, the ‘Two World Theory’ of Enver Hoxa is as inconsistent, anti-dialectical, and revisionist in nature as the ‘Three World Theory’ of Teng Hsiao Ping. Both of these opportunist platforms are structured on the ideological basis of the mutilating treatment of the major contradictions of the contemporary world and flagrant distortions of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung, in particular, the negation of Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Consequently both of these are out to serve the same political purpose, that is, sabotaging the advance of world proletarian revolution through projecting wrong analysis of the contemporary world situation, the revolutionary tasks emanating there from and the strategy and tactics of international communist movement for realizing these tasks.

In “Imperialism and the Revolution”, alleged to be a classic work of Enver Hoxa, one comes across his, exposition of the ‘Two



World Theory'. Referring to certain utterances of Lenin and Stalin in connection with the emergence of Soviet Russia and of a new major contradiction, the contradiction between socialist system and capitalist system, Enver Hoxa sets out to depict the present world political situation and activity of various political forces in terms of the global clash of the two worlds, the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. He states

(A) "After the victory of October Revolution, Lenin and Stalin said, "In our times there are two worlds the socialist world and the capitalist world..." (Imperialism and Revolution, p-15)

(B) Today, there are two worlds, as before, and the struggle between two worlds, between two opposing classes, between socialism and capitalism, is there not only on the national scale but is also on an international scale." (p. 16)

(C) "...We are firm defenders of the Leninist theory of two worlds, we are part of the new socialist world and we are struggling to destroy the old capitalist system..."(p.. 149)

This absolutising of one of the major contradictions operating in the contemporary world, namely the contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist (imperialist) system is meant for depreciating the role of other major contradictions, and ascribing a pivotal role to Albania as the leading factor of the aspect of socialism locked in mortal conflict with capitalism world-wide. No person with moderate intelligence can fail to notice that such an appraisal of the present day world political situation has no relevance to the actual class struggles that are unfolding in the world arena.

Throughout the years of fifties and sixties, the world witnessed the stormy unfolding of the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples, generally, in the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin

America. The contradiction is still maintaining its acuteness and has, in no way subsided. Any proposed strategy for world proletarian revolution today which does not take cognizance of the crucial role of this contradiction and the revolutionary struggles emanating from it, can but be an apologia of neocolonialism and a blue print for sabotaging the advance of world proletarian revolution. In this respect Enver Hoxa's "Two World Theory" seeks to accomplish, under cover of revolutionary phrases, what renegade Khrushchev attempted and failed, on the eve of the Great Debate.

The protagonists of 'Two World Theory' not only devalue the great historical current of national democratic revolutionary movement that is pounding the vast rear areas of imperialism and hastening its inevitable collapse, they also revise the Marxist-Leninist characterization pertaining to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal content of national democratic revolutionary movement. Finding it difficult to fit the semi-feudal, semi-colonial societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America into the "two worlds" pattern of their conception, they choose to present these as capitalist societies. According to Enver Hoxa, "The bourgeoisie, which has in its hands the state power of these countries, protects that very capitalist society to which the proletariat, along with rural and urban poor, wants to overthrow."

The situation regarding the class rule and class confrontation in these countries is made out to be essentially no different from that of Western capitalist countries. "In both the 'third world' and 'second world' countries the bourgeois capitalist classes are the same class forces which rule the proletariat and the people... Here also, the main force is the proletariat." (p. 21)

Of course, they do not deny that the ruling bourgeoisie in most of these countries is in league with the foreign imperialist

oppressors. Accordingly, the two fundamental social contradictions operating in these countries are depicted by them in the following manner:

“To aspire for the internal unity of the third world in the real sense means to aspire for unity between the oppressed class and the oppressor class, it means, an attempt to mitigate the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the laboring people, between the people and foreign tyrants.” (p. 121) And the chief internal contradiction operating in these countries, in general, is said to be not between the broad masses of the people and feudalism but between the former and the big bourgeoisie: “In this period of imperialism, native big bourgeoisie is the main internal enemy of the revolution, not only in the developed capitalist countries, but also oppressed and dependent countries..” (p. 97) Thus the crucial revolutionary task to be taken up by the proletarian leadership in these countries that is, the task of carrying out the agrarian revolution through unleashing the revolutionary fighting potential of primarily the peasant masses, is sought to be abandoned. In other words, the kernel of new democratic revolution is discarded under cover of revolutionary sounding phrase about the proletarian crusade against the capitalist world. In this attempt, they reveal themselves as actually being rescuers of feudalism.

This revision on the programmatic plane, of the chief target of the new democratic revolution leads the ‘Two Worldists’ into bungling over the question of strategic alignment of class forces for this revolution. They formally advocate the forging of worker peasant alliance but actually knock-out the basis of this alliance in semi-feudal semi-colonial countries, that being the agrarian revolutionary programme and movement. They reluctantly concede the possibility of drawing the national bourgeoisie into people’s revolutionary alliance for national democratic revolution

but recoil from the prospect of its participation in the new state to be set-up, under the leadership of proletariat, after the victory of this alliance. It indicates that they consider the national bourgeoisie to be at best a tactical ally and not a strategic ally of the proletariat in national democratic revolution. In fact, they reject the very concept of New Democracy as a state-form for implementing the programme of national democratic revolution.

The rejection of new democratic stage of revolution in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the part of ‘Two Worldists’, is also implicit in their underassessment of the dimensions of democratic and national tasks in these countries. They not only emaciate the anti-feudal task but water-down the anti-imperialist task too by obliterating the qualitative distinction between the phenomenon of imperialist colonialist oppression in these countries and the factor of domination in relations between the relatively weaker and the mighty imperialist countries. They visualize or portray only a quantitative difference, in this respect, between the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America on the one hand and the developed capitalist countries on the other hand, the former being “**more dependent** on foreign capital” than the latter (*Imperialism and Revolution* p. 222) (emphasis added). Consequently, for them, the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks do not constitute the very content of revolution, at this stage, in the former countries but merely, “the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution have special importance” there. (*ibid*). On the basis of the above appraisal of the revolutionary tasks, they vaguely suggest some sort of “interlacing of the national-democratic, anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution with the socialist revolution.” (p. 174) In the context of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Trotskite-thesis of “interlacing” or “intertwining” socialist revolution is a patent recipe for making a mess of either revolution.

In accordance with their revisionist propositions concerning the programme and strategy of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America, they also advocate a mechanical-revisionist-military line for the revolution. They categorically reject the path of waging "protracted peoples war" and establishing "parallel people's political power" in revolutionary rural base areas with the aim of encircling and ultimately capturing the cities, and mechanically recommend instead the Bolshevik experience of insurrection in the cities preceded by considerable period of political and military preparations, for making revolution in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this connection, they state "In all conditions and circumstances, it (the revolutionary party of the working class) carries out an unceasing revolutionary struggle and activity in various forms, in order to prepare itself and the masses for the decisive battles in the revolution, for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence. But only when the revolutionary situation has fully matured does it put armed insurrection directly on the order of the day and take all the political, ideological, organizational and military measures to carry it through to victory." (p. 236)

This course of action, prescribed by the "two-worldists" even for the revolutionary forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America stands in clear contravention of historically-validated understanding of international communist movement that armed revolution in these countries is essentially peasant armed struggle. Any attempt at conducting armed struggle not primarily based on the strength and struggle of the peasant masses, would result in disastrous defeat of revolutionary forces in most cases. From this angle, the path of revolution in these countries, as pointed out by the 'two-Worldists' is fraught with "left" deviations on the part of the revolutionary forces who may look upto these opportunists for revolutionary guidance. But, more noteworthy aspect of this

line is its right opportunism veiled under revolutionary sounding phrases. In these countries, the revolutionary situation and movement develop quite unevenly due to the backward and unevenly developed character of their economies. Here, more often than not the revolutionaries find themselves simultaneously confronted with certain rural areas of sharply developing class contradictions and conflicts demanding higher forms of revolutionary organization and struggle, and other areas marked by weak or sluggish revolutionary movement, while the mass movement in the cities and towns still being at the level of struggle for partial demands. In such circumstances for a communist revolutionary party to take the line that "...**only** when the revolutionary situation has **fully matured** does it put armed insurrection directly on the order of the day" (emphasis added) is tantamount to renouncing armed struggle, for a countrywide "fully matured" revolutionary situation would be a rare phenomenon. Thus, the plan or posture of working for a countrywide insurrection or insurrection in major industrial city-centres can be a convenient pretext, on the part of these opportunists, for ditching, restraining or liquidating popular revolutionary upsurges, particularly the armed struggle and forces of peasant masses.

The other major contradiction which they depreciate and distort is the contradiction among different imperialist powers. In recent years, contradictions falling in this category, particularly the contradiction between two imperialist super powers, US imperialism and soviet social imperialism, underwent process of accelerated intensification. The fierce contention between the two super powers for global hegemony is showing no let up, generating great turmoil all the world over and driving them to war. The development of this contradiction tends to out-pace the development of other major contradictions, pushing it towards

exercising decisive influence on the course of world political developments for a certain period. Such an eventuality does not fit into Hoxa's 'two world' pattern based on an unaltering decisive role of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. So, whenever the 'two worldists' have willy-nilly to speak of the intensifying contradictions among imperialist powers, particularly, between two imperialist super powers, they always hasten to de-emphasise this point by highlighting the intensification of other contradictions or the conciliatory aspect of inter-imperialist relationship. This is how Hoxa soft-peddles the inter-imperialist contradiction:

"...between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, there is an obvious tendency towards maintaining the status quo", "Of course, while the United States of America and NATO are striving to preserve this status quo with the Soviet Union, at the same time, they have contradiction with it, but these contradictions have not yet reached such a level as to justify the Chinese refrain that war in Europe is imminent". (p. 28)

"The two super powers...have the suppression of the revolution and socialism as the first point in their programme which is an expression of the irreconcilable contradiction between socialism and capitalism... .." (p. 281,) ".....the existence of contradictions and rifts among the imperialist powers and groupings **in no way overrides or displaces to a position of secondary importance** the contradictions between labor and capital in the capitalist and imperialist countries, or the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and their imperialist oppressors. Precisely these, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, between socialism and capitalism, are the most profound; they are permanent, irreconcilable contradictions". (p. 300)

The playing down of the intensity and role of the inter-imperialist contradiction, and the possibilities latent in it for maneuvering by the revolutionary forces, fosters a rigid policy posture rendering the revolutionary leadership incapable of properly handling the problems of war and revolution.

The mutilating treatment of the inter-imperialist contradiction at the hands of 'two worldists', finds expression in their analysis of the relationship between the second-rate imperialist countries and the two super powers. While they play down the conflict of imperialist interests which is the essence of the relationship between the two super powers and the weaker imperialist countries, they tend to magnify the factor of former's domination over the latter into a phenomenon of national oppression. In this respect, their position is not much different from that of Teng-Hua revisionists. The only point of difference turns out to be on the alignment of class forces for struggle against this national oppression. Whereas the 'Three Worldists' place the ruling classes of these countries in this alignment, the 'two-worldists' conceive this alignment of forces without and against the ruling classes. Both are one in assigning the national task to the revolution in these imperialist countries, only, the line of the 'two worldists' on this question is inconsistent, stopping short of embracing the logical conclusion of its premise that US imperialism and soviet social imperialism deny them (the weaker imperialist countries) their national identity". (p. 287)

Formally, the 'two worldists' consider the two super powers, U.S. imperialism and soviet social imperialism to be the chief enemies of people of the world, equally hostile to the cause of peace and revolution but in effect the whole thrust of their analysis of international situation is directed against US imperialism as the most powerful and dangerous enemy. The soft corner in their hearts for soviet social 'imperialism peeps through so many of their

utterances about how it happens to be a harassed super power who is forced by the devilish U.S. imperialism to enter into a costly arms-race and is being encircled and threatened by the formidable US-Peking-Tokyo axis, so on and so forth. Here is Hoxa in action as the cosmetologist of soviet social imperialism:

“The problem is that the increase of U.S. military potential relatively *weakens* soviet fighting strength and forces the Soviet Union to follow the United States of America step by step in order to balance its military potential and aggressive power. However, keeping up with U.S. imperialism in the armaments race weakens the economy of the Soviet Union, because it means that large material, monetary and human funds are transferred from the economy to the army. This is what is worrying Brezhnev and company”. (p. 289)

“The Chinese revisionists need this treaty and the friendship with Japan, so that, together with the Japanese militarists they can threaten Soviet social imperialism and possibly liquidate it and its influence in Asia.” (p. 43)

“... It is most likely that the policy of the United States of America and the wrong strategy of China itself, may impel the Soviet Union to increase its military strength even further, and as the imperialist power it is, to attack China first.

“On its part China has a marked inclination to attack the Soviet Union when it feels strong enough, because it has great territorial ambitions towards Siberia and other territories in the Far East. (p. 366)

That is not all. Hoxa goes to the absurd length of portraying Soviet social imperialism itself as a victim of imperialist domination, which got itself caught up in the hegemonic claws of mighty U.S. imperialism “...any state, big or small, which gets caught up in the mechanism of imperialism suffers curtailment

or loss of its political freedom, its independence and sovereignty. Even the Soviet Union has been reduced to this state of curtailed sovereignty....” (p. 351)

So, notwithstanding their formal pronouncements to the effect that both of the two super powers are the chief and equally dangerous enemies of people of the world, the real message of the ‘two worldists’, delivered through such utterances as fore-quoted is that the international proletariat and other revolutionary forces should direct the sharp edge of their struggle at international plane, against US imperialism and the imperialist bloc under its leadership.

The economic approach exhibited by the ‘two worldists’ in their comprehension of the menace posed by various imperialist powers and that of the phenomenon of neocolonial oppression leads them to misconceive and mishandle not only the various manifestations of the inter-imperialist contradiction but also the other major contradiction, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. In all the countries that come under the operation of the latter contradiction, excepting the USA, they adulterate the class contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by surreptitiously grafting on it a fictitious national contradiction between the people of these countries and their foreign oppressors mainly the U.S. imperialism.

If the ‘two worldists’ betray their confused and opportunist thinking in the matter of comprehending the state of development and relative importance of these three major contradictions respectively, they fare no better in the case of their most prized contradiction, the contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist (imperialist) system.

The socialist countries seek to resolve this contradiction by

working for the internal disintegration of the capitalist-imperialist system, that is by acting and developing as reliable revolutionary bases for inspiring, supporting and assisting the development and victory of revolutionary forces in the capitalist imperialist system. The imperialist countries seek to resolve this contradiction by weakening and destroying the socialist countries, preferably through military economic blockade and armed intervention or aggression, when feasible, but more patently by promoting internal degeneration of these countries through encouraging and strengthening the counter-revolutionary restorationist forces. Therefore, the successful handling of this contradiction, on the part of the proletariat in power, requires that it should be able not only to grasp and tackle the problems concerning the direct dealings between the socialist countries and capitalist countries but also grasp the process of development of each aspect of this contradiction to influence this development in favor of proletarian revolution and communism. In other words, it should be able correctly to grasp and treat the internal contradictions of the process of development of each aspect. The fallacious thinking of the 'two-worldists' permeating their appraisal of the major contradictions of the imperialist system has already been discussed. Their conception of the nature of socialist society and its internal contradictions is even more fallacious. Actually, it was the anti-dialectical and economistic approach of Enver Hoxa to the problems of socialist revolution and construction that impelled him to openly come out against Mao Tse-Tung Thought and reveal himself as an opportunist in a Marxist-Leninist garb.

Enver Hoxa denies the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the process of development of socialist society constitutes a protracted revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. For him the coming into being of socialist society marks a complete rupture from capitalist society, a consummation of the process of

transformation of one social phenomenon into the other entirely new social phenomenon. It is, in this meaning that he interprets and uses the Marxist formulation about socialism being the lower stage of communism.

Socialism is termed as the lower stage of communism because one of the aspects constituting its entity is the aspect of nascent communism which is the ascending aspect. But this aspect, nascent communism, grows through struggle against the other aspect of the socialist entity, the aspect of dying capitalism. It is the unity of these two opposite aspects that determines the character of socialist society, its being, and it is the struggle of these two aspects that determines the process of development of socialist society, its becoming.

In his typical metaphysical manner, Hoxa visualizes socialist society as a monolithic phenomenon with the sole content of nascent communism. This denial, on the part of Hoxa, of the existence, in the socialist society, of dying capitalism, of the fundamental contradiction between nascent communism and dying capitalism, between the respective class protagonists of these conflicting aspects, is prompted by his simplistic notion that since the victory of socialist revolution constitutes, a qualitative leap from old capitalist society, it means termination of the old, process and its fundamental contradiction, and the beginning of new process encompassing new fundamental contradiction. He seems to be oblivious of the other dimension of the movement of contradictions, that is, the mutual transformation of the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction which constitutes a qualitative change, marking the conclusion of a definite stage in the process; of development of contradiction but not the complete resolution of the contradiction, effected through the gobbling up one aspect by its opposite. Hence, his inability to recognize that the qualitative leap involved in the victory of socialist revolution

does not abolish the fundamental contradiction that causes it, namely, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which continues to unfold itself under new conditions and forms in socialist society. On this issue, he reveals his ignorance of Marxist dialectics through his attack on Mao Tse-Tung's masterly exposition of the mode of operation of contradiction, specifically in socialist society. Hoxa complains that, "the mutual transformation of the opposites into each other, understood as a mere exchange of places and not **as a resolution of the contradiction** and a qualitative change of the very phenomenon which comprises these opposites, is used by Mao Tse-Tung as a formal pattern to which everything is subject", and puts up the charge against Mao, "Thus, he does not see the socialist revolution as a qualitative change of society **in which antagonistic classes** and the oppression and exploitation of man by man **are abolished**, but conceives it as a simple change of places between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." (*Emphasis added, p, 415*)

As a corollary to his conception of socialist revolution as an absolute qualitative change of society, Hoxa denies any qualitative distinction between socialism and communism, and fulminates against Mao Tse-Tung for pointing out this distinction: "...openly revising the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism and communism, which, in essence, are two phases of the one type of socio-economic order, and which are distinguished from each other only by the degree of their development and maturity, Mao Tse-Tung presents socialism as something diametrically opposite to communism. (p. 417)

To put it mildly, these views of Enver Hoxa show that he dogmatically refuses to learn from the historical experience of dictatorship of proletariat and building of socialism in Soviet Union and China. He clings fast to certain limitations of earlier Marxist-

Leninist understanding of the complex reality and problems of socialist society, and so doing, in new historical conditions, slides into the company of modern revisionists. Today having witnessed the phenomena of usurpation of political power by bourgeois revisionist forces and capitalist restoration in the great citadels of socialism – Soviet Union and Peoples Republic of China – to maintain that "antagonistic classes... are abolished" by the victorious socialist revolution, that the socialist society does not have at its core the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which determines or conditions all the processes of its base and super structure, the operations of the dictatorship of proletariat and the party of proletariat, amounts to the abandoning of socialist revolution halfway and reneging from the historical task of the proletariat **of carrying out revolutionary transition to a communist society.**

This is what Enver Hoxa is doing and advocating. No wonder he is found venomously attacking Mao Tse-Tung's great theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of dictatorship of proletariat, and its glorious practice in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. According to his own admission, Hoxa and his other colleagues had, from the very beginning, "doubts" over Mao's theses pertaining to the colonial revolution, New Democracy, protracted people's war, the class character and class struggle in socialist society etc., but what unnerved them and assisted their slump into opportunism was the great revolutionary turmoil during the cultural revolution that shook, exposed and toppled those very notions, concepts, orientations and practices which were enshrined in their bosom. And what made them crane and crow was the defeat of the Cultural Revolution.

No matter how frenziedly Hoxa and his 'two worldist' drummer-boys chant about the global clash, taking place between the 'Capitalist world' and 'Socialist world', about the pivotal role,

in world political developments, being played by the contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist (imperialist) system, about Hoxa's masterly handling of this contradiction in the interests of the development of socialist Albania and world proletarian revolution, the fate of those who betray their incapability of properly grasping the fundamental contradictions of socialist system or the fundamental contradictions of imperialist system, is to become the victims or instruments of the transformation of the former into the latter, that is, of resolving this contradiction in favor of imperialism.

**DOCUMENT ON  
THE DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE  
CHINA**



## ***Introduction***

This document "On the Internal Developments in China" was written, by the Central Committee (O), with a view to starkly bring forth and drive home the fact that socialist China had changed color; that the usurpation of the supreme leadership of the Party and the state by the Teng-Hua leading clique of the Chinese communist party marks the victory of the bourgeois revisionist line and forces in China over the revolutionary line and forces related to Mao-Tse Tung.

The document proceeds with a view to show that this development is the continuation and culmination of the protracted process of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, unfolding in the Chinese society and the Chinese communist party since around the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Chinese Communist party i.e. ever since the socialist transformation of the means of production has been achieved in the main; to briefly lay out the broad contours of the different concrete expressions of this struggle, at different junctures and on different ideological, political and economic issues; to show that the most basic question to be clinched and concluded, all through the different phases and expressions of this memorable struggle, was that out of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, which class would prevail and which class would mould the social process in China as per its interests and its worldview; to show that the theoretical mainstay, which underpinned the forces and lines struggling against each other – the revolutionary proletariat forces and line related to Mao-Tse

Tung and the bourgeois revisionist forces and lines related to Liu Shao Chi – were respectively the glorious theory of continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the notorious theory of productive forces along with the theory of withering away of the class struggle in socialist society.

Further, to provide an historical perspective while presenting the class struggle in China and the two line struggle in the Chinese Communist Party, the document briefly includes into its purview the fundamental principles of the teachings of Marx and Lenin about the transformation from capitalism to communism i.e. the problems of the socialist revolution and the socialist construction and the first experience of socialist construction in Soviet Union by the Communist party leadership of the Soviet Union led by Com. Stalin. The purpose of this brief excursion into the past was to show that Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of proletariat had inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory about the historical phase of transformation to be accomplished by socialist society; whereas the renegade Liu-Shao Chi had inherited and defended the theory of productive forces, refurbished by Khrushchov, and the social-democratic theory of withering away of class-struggle; and that contrary to the reformist garbage being propagated by the off-springs of the renegade Liu-Shao Chi i.e. Teng-Hua revisionist clique, Mao's revolutionary proletarian line has been vindicated on the Marxist-Leninist basis.

The objective, in brief, of this document was (a) to substantiate the position taken by Central Committee (O) regarding counter-revolutionary turn of events in China, revisionist character of the present Chinese rulers i.e. Teng-Hua leading clique of the Chinese Communist Party, the counter-

revolutionary line adopted by this clique to restore capitalism in China through systematically dismantling the achievements of Socialist revolution; (b) to uphold and explain the glorious theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which took shape under the leadership of Com. Mao-Tse Tung and which has universal significance; (c) to throw light on different phases, and their related expressions, of emergence of the Chinese revisionism; its basic theoretical viewpoint and deceptive logic so as to facilitate the revolutionary ideological task of catching the Teng-Hua revisionists red-handed, while subverting the revolutionary teachings of Mao-Tse Tung and negating their content, and giving an effective fight against this variety of international opportunism.

As per the limited objective of the document described above, the issue has been dealt while remaining within the purview of the internal social contradictions of Socialist China. It has been done, in the main, from the angle of the principal class contradiction in Socialist China i.e. the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalists (old and new) (which had been manifesting itself, in the Chinese communist party, as a contradiction between the proletarian revolutionaries mobilized around Mao and his close comrades and the handful of unrepentant capitalist roaders mobilized around Liu-Shao Chi, Teng Tsiao Ping etc. Secondly, the document was focused around those fields and issues where the struggle assumed, more or less, a glaring character and where the related material was available to Central Committee (O). Because of this, the international aspect of the class struggle was not dealt in the document, (although there were indications giving the impression that on many occasions, the questions pertaining to the international line of the socialist revolution of China came forth as a two line struggle; just

to mention, during the years of 69-70, when, in the situation of immense pressure on China of the two super-powers, especially the direct military pressure of Russian Social imperialism, the Lin Piao Clique advocated selling out to Soviet social imperialism; and during the years of 71-75 when Teng-Tsiao Ping Clique attempted to turn the policy of improving diplomatic relations with US imperialism into a policy of all-round co-operation with US imperialism and its lackeys and a policy of cold-hand towards the revolutionary struggles of the world people; yet there was lack of material on the concrete positions and arguments of the contending sides.)

In the initial section of this document the problems of the historical phase of transition from capitalism to socialism have been discussed in general. There, in that section, some observations could have been provided regarding the external contradictions of socialist society under the conditions of capitalist encirclement and regarding the inter-relationship of external and internal contradictions of socialist society and their mutual impact on each other. However, keeping in view the fact that it had not been decided to bring under discussion, in the subsequent section which is the main section of the document, the questions regarding the external contradictions of socialist China, providing such general observations would have been out of context with the actual subject of the document i.e. with the problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China and with the class struggles emerging out of these problems. Hence, it has been left out.

Why such an elaborate explanation has been provided about putting aside the external aspect of the class-struggle in Socialist China? Providing such an explanation should have been unnecessary because, given the context of the document, such a

discussion is uncalled for. Any person acquainted with the Marxist methodology would agree that, as a method, it is absolutely justified and correct to put aside one set of contradictions while discussing and expounding another set of contradictions, even if the sets of contradictions were inter-related. But what could be done of such persons who, in the name of inter-relationship, attempt to muddle-up different sets of contradictions and point finger towards those not doing so. Unfortunately, quite a good number of such persons could be found here as well as in the international communist revolutionary sections. And recently, even certain such elements have raised their heads among the ranks of our organization, who are drifting away by portraying our leaving aside the discussion of the external contradictions of a socialist state as a sign of ignoring the proletarian internationalism or as an attempt on our part to cover up the so-called “narrow-nationalism” of CPC led by Mao Tse Tung.

But leaving aside the critics with such confused thoughts, we do feel really concerned about the danger, not much though, of certain genuine sections of communist revolutionaries, in India as well as abroad, wrongly interpreting our thinking on the issue. Moreover, several vacillating tendencies are raising their head these days in the communist revolutionary movement, which contribute in engendering confusion regarding the questions related to external relations of a socialist country under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, along with many questions of principle that are already settled. We, therefore, consider it essential to put forth clearly our position in this regard.

Our position, regarding the questions concerning the external relationship of a socialist country, under the conditions of capitalist encirclements, is briefly as follows:

1. We firmly adhere to the fundamental law of capitalist development actually operating under conditions of monopoly capitalism that was discovered by Comrade Lenin namely, the law of uneven economic and political development of the capitalist countries, and to all the derivative theses concerning the prospects of proletarian socialist revolution under conditions of imperialism.

2. We firmly uphold the Leninist theory derived from the law of uneven capitalist development, of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. We uphold this Leninist theory as explained and defended by Comrade Stalin in ideological controversy with Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamnev etc to the effect that not only is it possible for the proletarian to seize and maintain political power in individual countries taken separately but also successfully to build a socialist society in a single country, under conditions of capitalist encirclement, while complete victory of socialism cannot but be a world phenomenon involving seizure of political power by the proletariat in, at least, the major developed capitalist countries.

3. We firmly maintain that the process of development of a socialist country, under conditions of capitalist development, towards a communist society involves the forward movement and resolution of two categories of contradictions – contradictions of the internal order and contradictions of the external order – which are at once distinct and interconnected; that; normally; it is the former category of contradictions, chiefly the class contradictions between the ruling proletariat and the bourgeoisie (old & new), which plays a determinative role in this process of development (through its resolution chiefly on the basis of the strength of internal forces of socialist revolution) and the latter category of contradictions operate, mainly, through the former to bring about distortion and degeneration of the socialist state and society and

restoration of capitalism in the land of socialism, nevertheless, that the danger of imperialist intervention and aggression, i.e., of the latter category of contradictions coming to the fore to play a determinative role in process of development of a socialist country, persists throughout the period till the final victory of socialism which would be the fruit of concerted efforts of the world proletariat and its revolutionary allies.

4. We firmly maintain that victory of proletarian socialist revolution (i.e. seizure of state power) in one country is, not all an end in itself but a means, an instrument, further revolutionary development at national and international level as well, that such victory embodies not only a mighty impulse for the upswing of socialist revolutionary and national democratic revolutionary movement world-wide but also a reliable base for promoting the revolutionary process, that such victorious revolution is a reliable base for the successful building of a socialist society in that land as well as for promoting the world proletarian revolution as a whole and that not only the consolidation of proletarian state power and building of socialist society is, in itself, a source of exercising revolutionary impact on the proletarian revolutionary forces in all lands struggling for a socialist future but also constitute a material basis for rendering more effective support and assistance to these forces.

5. We firmly maintain that not only does the existence, consolidation and strengthening of the victorious socialist revolution play a great role in supporting and aiding the international proletarian revolutionary movement but, in a like manner, the existence, consolidation and strengthening of the international proletarian revolutionary movement plays a great role in assisting and safeguarding the victorious socialist revolution subjected to imperialist blockade, economic and

military pressure, intervention and aggression; that the highest form of assistance to the rendered to a socialist country by proletarian revolutionary forces of other countries would be that of effecting victorious revolution in their respective countries.

6. We firmly maintain that the external policy of a socialist country for securing its survival and advance, under conditions of capitalist encirclement, the true Leninist policy in external affairs, involves two main lines of operation; skillfully utilizing contradictions among capitalist states in order to break their encirclement and thwart attempts at intervention and aggression; and determinedly supporting and assisting the advancement of international proletarian revolutionary movement. Action on both these lines of operation is indispensable for a socialist encirclement exists.

We maintain that the apparent contradiction between the respective demands made on the socialist country by each line of operation is not constituted in terms of the essence of its action but in terms of the forms of action. The successful handling of this contradiction in terms of forms of action, i.e. determining such appropriate forms and extent of action on each line of operation in a given period and according to obtaining concrete conditions, as are conducive to preserve and strengthen the common revolutionary essence of its action, constitute fundamental tactical problem of the external policy of a socialist country.

Further, we maintain that the distinction and interconnection of internal and external contradictions applies also to capitalist countries; that normally, it is the internal contradictions which play the determinative role in the process of development of a capitalist country toward socialist revolution, and the external contradictions (in this case the contradiction between socialist

countries and capitalist countries) operate upon it though the former to inspire, encourage and aid the development of proletarian revolution towards its consummation in that country; nevertheless, that there can be situations, through rare, under conditions of capitalist encirclement where in the external contradictions may come to the fore to play a determinative role in this process of development through the direct military intervention of a socialist country in support of native proletarian revolutionary forces and against the capitalist state, that the highest form of assistance to be rendered to proletarian revolutionary movement in a country by a socialist country would be that of direct military assistance.

7. We firmly maintain that is impermissible to artificially counter-pose the interests of a socialist country to the interests of world proletarian revolution, that world proletarian revolution compasses various fronts of struggle including the front of a victorious socialist revolution, that where as the proletarian revolutionary movement going on in countries under the imperialist system constitute a vast front of world proletarian revolution, a socialist country constitutes its advanced detachment, that the question of determining the relative significance of and required emphasis on these fronts, in a particular period; and accordingly making adjustments in the class struggle on different fronts for promoting the case of world proletarian revolution in a best possible manner under given conditions, constitutes the fundamental tactical problems of the line of international communist movement for different historical periods.

8. Lastly, we maintain that as socialist revolution triumphs in a number of countries the prospective course of development of socialism, objectively, is destined towards the establishment, in due course of time, of an integrated world socialist economy

and an integrated world socialist state-system; that the most plausible form of such state-system, as indicated by great Marxist teachers as well as the historical experience, is world federation of socialist republics, that socialist nations must proceed on this course of mutual integration by adapting various forms such as state-union, state association and treaties of economic, military and diplomatic alliance in accordance with the concrete conditions of their level of economic and political development and other historical national peculiarities, that such course of action on their part, is dictated not only by the conditions of capitalist encirclement under which it would be extremely difficult, but not impossible, for them to isolatedly withstand the capitalist blockade, pressure and attack, but also by the fact that voluntary union of free nations is a necessary concomitant of developing socialism, that it is impermissible to confuse the slogan of building socialism by chiefly relying on one's own assets and efforts and the concept of building a self-sufficient economy and society, and it is artificial to counter-pose self-reliance and mutual co-operation and integration of various socialist countries; that the process of voluntary Union and amalgamation of various socialist nations would be a complex and protracted process involving a persistent struggle against remnants of great nation chauvinism as well as small nation narrow mindedness.

This is how, in our view, the problem of external contradictions of a socialist society and that of their interaction with its internal contradiction stands. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on this question were inherited, defended and developed by comrade Mao-Tse Tung. The CPC headed by Mao waged a determined struggle against the Khrushchovite revisionist distortions of Leninism on this question, during the great debate of sixties. The Marxist-Leninist exposition by the Chinese

comrades on this question is to be found in the contemporary polemical literature. The ideological struggle being waged by the CPC during the sixties on this question was directed not only against Khrushchovite revisionism but also against Chinese revisionism which was rearing its head under the influence and inspiration of the former. Although, we are, as yet, not in a position to depict concretely the specific road taken by the two-line struggle being waged inside the CPC on this question. Yet it is beyond doubt that attempts were made to water-down, distort or entirely discard the proletarian revolutionary line of Com. Mao on this question by the revisionist cliques raising their head at various junctures inside the CPC.

The theory of Com. Mao concerning the existence and inevitability of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in a socialist society, has laid the basis for further dialectical exposition of the Leninist teachings on this question. Whereas, formerly, the impact of external elements of class struggle (between socialist and imperialist countries) upon the internal factors of class struggle inside a socialist country was conceived in the form of counter-revolutionary activities indulged in by the dethroned reactionary classes linked with all sorts of imperialist agents, espionage intruders and international bourgeoisie, Mao-Tse Tung, conceived the internal struggle of a socialist country basically as a protracted class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle in which the latter exerts itself in one way or the other to establish its relation with the international bourgeoisie and acts as a sort of social contingent of the international bourgeoisie to topple the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. Interestingly, we come across a very vivid and dialectical presentation of a socialist country by Com. Mao as far back as in January 1957:

“As for the relations between the imperialist countries and ourselves, “they are among us and we are among them”. We support the people’s revolution in their countries and they conduct subversive activities in ours. We have our men in their midst, that is, the communists, the revolutionary workers, farmers and intellectuals and the progressives in their countries. They have their men in our midst, and in China, for instance they have among us many people from the bourgeoisie and the democratic parties and also the landlord class.”

*(from “Talk at a conference of a secretariat of provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region party Committees” Vol. 5, Page 36)*

13.8.82

*Central Committee (O)  
Unity Centre of Communist  
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I

**SIGNIFICANCE OF  
FIGHTING TENG-HUA OPPORTUNISM**

Socialist China has changed color. A Counter revolutionary revisionist gang has seized leadership of the CPC and state power from the hands of proletarian revolutionaries by pulling off a military coup. For the time being the proletarian revolutionary line and forces associated with Mao Tse-Tung have suffered defeat. The renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of CPC which now rules China has clamped a bourgeois dictatorship over the broad masses of Chinese people. The revisionist rulers of China are now set upon a course of systematically demolishing all the achievements of the socialist revolution of China and restoring capitalism there in the name of accomplishing "The Four Modernizations".

The counter revolutionary course adopted by them in running the domestic affairs of China has found expression in their line and conduct at international level. Having discarded the path of socialist development, of self-reliance, they hanker after finance capital, sophisticated technology and expertise of imperialist countries in order to rush along the bankrupt path of capitalist development. To propitiate the lords of international monopoly capital for this purpose, they have made their political, economic and ideological offerings.

Politically, they strive to paint the ugly face of Western imperialism, and its leader U.S. imperialist superpower, in agreeable colors to save it, and its various lackey reactionary

regimes, from the wrath of the workers and oppressed people of the world. Also, they lend the political and military weight of China in favor of Western imperialism and its lackey reactionary forces worldwide to supplement the prowess of U.S. imperialist superpower in its sharp contention, with the rival superpower, U.S.S.R. imperialist superpower, for world domination.

Economically, they are giving a shot in the arm of crisis ridden international monopoly capitalism by laying bare to its rapacious tentacles the labor-power, natural resources and vast market of China.

Ideologically, they serve world imperialist system the way none of its instruments other than opportunism can serve. And that is, by caricaturing Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and sowing confusion and dissention in the international communist movement – the reliable ideological and organizational weapons of international proletariat – so as to corrupt the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and enfeeble its revolutionary blow directed against the decadent world imperialist system. They try to displace proletarian internationalism with bourgeois national chauvinism which they practice themselves and encourage others to do so. They promote economism in order to derail the global struggle for revolutionary transformation. They try to displace the Leninist conception of revolutionary tactics with bourgeois pragmatism free of all constraints of principle, so as to justify all acts of class-collaboration in the name of 'tactics'.

Thus socialist China, a great fortress of world proletarian revolution today stands transformed into a citadel of neo-revisionism – a center hostile to world revolution.

This grave development has serious international repercussions. Remaining true to proletarian international outlook, we in India cannot afford to adopt an attitude of unconcern or casualness towards this development. It has a

profound bearing on the development of our organization and revolutionary mass movement.

We should bear in our mind that every significant triumph or setback experienced by any of the contingents of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, and lessons drawn from it, influence all the other contingents in terms of material prospects as well as ideological clarity. Proletarian internationalism rests on the common fundamental interests, aims and fate of international proletariat.

Like Marxism its opposite aspect i.e. opportunism, a form of bourgeois ideology in Marxist guise, is also an international phenomenon. Although, opportunism may assume particular expression in a given country which demands a corresponding treatment at the hands of Marxist-Leninists situated there, its content and role is the same everywhere. On account of this, every local opportunist trend gets nourishment from international opportunism. That is why opportunism can effectively be combated only through concerted attack all along the front, locally as well as internationally. The practice of consistent struggle against local opportunist trends equips the Marxist-Leninist forces for discerning the concrete thrust of opportunism of any hue that comes to the fore at international level. On the other hand, the process of uncompromising struggle against the latter brings out the latent opportunist and vacillating tendencies within the ranks of Marxist-Leninists.

The tendency to evade bold confrontation with international opportunism is a pointer to the sagging revolutionary will of the Marxist-Leninist forces who exhibit it, and it works towards undermining the very proletarian revolutionary character of the concerned organization. Because, an organization that succumbs to this tendency would not only be turning its back to the obligation of proletarian internationalism but also paving the

ground for opportunism to flourish within its bosom and, ultimately takes it over. This is how this tendency itself happens to be an opportunist tendency.

One of the factors, responsible for assisting a well-meaning Marxist-Leninist section or organization in falling prey to this opportunist tendency is the wrong notion, entertained by the leadership concerning the method of struggle against opportunism. The leadership relies on a subjective assumption for justifying its course that it will be able to prevent the Organization being overwhelmed by international opportunism even without taking a clear-cut stand against the latter, that is, without involving and ideologically arming its ranks up to the primary level.

An effective struggle against opportunism requires not only the involvement of rank and file of the Organization but still more, of the revolutionary masses of the people led by it. This requirement cannot, be fulfilled unless the Organization comes out openly and boldly against opportunism and its chief protagonist in a particular period.

Another factor underlying the vacillation of certain Marxist-Leninist forces in India on this issue is their distorted notion of the principle, and practice of proletarian internationalism. This distortion is not a recent phenomenon. It is one of the so many defective attributes inherited by the communist revolutionary movement of India from the olden day communist movement. The circumstances that favored the occurrence of this distortion was the incompetence and diffidence of the party leadership, at national level, time and again seeking assurance of the correctness of its line from a greatly experienced Communist party in power which happened to play at that time an outstanding rôle at international level. (Of course it is quite legitimate and desirable for a communist party to learn from the experience of other



fraternal parties, especially, the rich experience of victorious ones. But, it can properly learn only on the basis of its own grasp of the line and practice of revolution in its own land. Otherwise, it will not be able to find its bearing in the dynamic reality concretely confronting it.) That was the case, earlier, in relation to the C.P.S.U. up-till its degeneration, and more or less, in relation to the C.P.C. afterwards, in the absence of international Communist organization.

The resultant distortion was that the obligations of proletarian internationalism were narrowly conceived mainly in terms of unflinching solidarity with the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. successively.

On account of such thinking, at the time of revisionist transformation of the C.P.S.U. at the hands of the renegade Khrushchev leading clique, the minds of the so many Marxist-Leninists were greatly exercised by the prospect of a break with the revisionist C.P.S.U. and their revolutionary will to confront the international opportunism of Khrushchevian hue was paralyzed. The experience of that period of great demarcation and realignment in the international communist movement showed that those who vacillated for long in drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation from Khrushchevite opportunism, ultimately, landed in the mire of revisionism. The present situation is witnessing the occurrence of similar phenomenon in the great struggle against the latest version of international opportunism headed by the Teng-Hua revisionist clique of C.P.C.

In the period of Great Debate, the opportunist leadership of great many Communist parties used to brandish the sword of fake proletarian internationalism and the accusation of anti-Sovietism to scare the Marxist-Leninist ranks into vacillation in openly denouncing the Khrushchev revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U.

Following the footsteps of their predecessors, the opportunist leaders of many communist revolutionary groups of India are now waving, in the same way that rusty weapon of fake proletarian internationalism and accusation of being anti-China to cause vacillations among the Marxist-Leninist ranks in relation to the Teng-Hua opportunism.

Like their opportunist predecessors, they also trumpet the fake proletarian internationalism in order to cover up their retreat from real proletarian internationalism. They attempt it by means of blurring the distinction between solidarity with a Marxist-Leninist Party, be it the C.P.S.U. or the C.P.C. which is an important part of our proletarian internationalist duty (but not the whole of it) and solidarity with a revisionist CPSU or C.P.C. which means deserting the proletarian as well as national revolutionary forces of all lands, particularly, the proletariat of Soviet Union or China, as the case may be.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the conflicting demands made by these two conceptions of proletarian internationalism. Real proletarian internationalism prompts us to denounce and oppose soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan as well as the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchia, and support the valiant struggles for national independence of the Afghan and the Kampuchian peoples, while the fake proletarian internationalism prompts the revisionist bosses of CPI and CP(M) to hail the Soviet and Vietnames aggressors, and denounce the just struggles of Afghan and the Kampuchian people as "bandit activities" of reactionary forces aided and abetted by Western imperialism and China.

Again, real proletarian internationalism would prompt to hail the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian people, and denounce the despotic, lackey regime of the Shah and its patron U.S. imperialism as well as the renegade Hua Kou-feng

who rushed to Iran to boost up the sagging morale and image of Shah's regime in the thick of massacre of insurgent Iranian patriots. On the contrary, the fake proletarian internationalism of the opportunist leadership of many communist revolutionary groups of India would prompt them to hail Hua's trip to Iran as a further demonstration of China's unflinching support to Third World regimes-in-distress, and opposition to the sinister moves of the "more dangerous" super power to displace the "declining" super power by means of fomenting disturbances in the latter's spheres of influence. And they would secretly wish the subsiding of Iranian turbulence lest the Soviet social imperialism should fish in the troubled waters of the Persian Gulf.

Similarly, real proletarian internationalism would prompt us to denounce Sadat's brazen betrayal of the cause of Arab peoples, especially, the Palestinian people struggling against aggressor Zionist state of Israel and his shameful groveling before the arch Zionist Menochon Begin under the baton of his new found master U.S. imperialism, on the other hand, the fake proletarian internationalism of these opportunist leaders would prompt them to hail Sadat's 'Camp David peace initiative' as marking the ascendance of forces of independence and peace in Egypt and a welcome setback to the hegemonic plans of Soviet social-imperialism in the Middle East.

Similar instances can be available in abundance, at home and abroad, which would invariably show the opportunists of various hues ranged along with one or the other superpower and its reactionary lackeys, against the Marxist-Leninists, proletarian and national revolutionary masses. And everywhere they will be found camouflaging their desertion to the enemy with the flag of fake proletarian internationalism.

Hence, the Marxist-Leninists of India must treat all talk of proletarian internationalism, unaccompanied by a staunch

struggle against international opportunism, as sheer humbug.

At this juncture, the international opportunism headed by the renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of the CPC has come to the fore as the principal target of the ideological offensive of international Marxist Leninist movement. Consequently, ***those parties and groups who do not demarcate themselves from Teng-Hua opportunism lose their claim to be treated as Marxist-Leninist organizations. Nevertheless, a distinction should be made***, between such ardent champions of Teng-Hua opportunism as the renegade S.N. Singh clique of CPI (M-L) and certain Marxist-Leninist forces who are still vacillating or have temporarily been duped by the Teng-Hua clique through hypocritically flaunting its allegiance to Mao Tse-Tung Thought. While the former should be denounced and routed, efforts should be made for some time to win over the latter through ideological struggle. At the same time mere denunciation of Teng-Hua opportunism should not be deemed enough for considering a party or group to be Marxist-Leninist. Past experience teaches us that, generally not all opposition to a certain opportunist current does mean to form a correct ideological and political standpoint, and opportunist platform can be attacked from another opportunist platform.

A cursory glance at various organisations, who at present denounce Teng-Hua opportunism, reveals that many of them conceal their "left" opportunism under the militant posture of crossing swords with the right opportunism spearheaded by the renegade Teng-Hua clique of the CPC. In this spectrum of "left" opportunist hues, two shades are quite prominent in India: One comprising of those whose main thrust is directed against the revolutionary personality and thought of Mao Tse-Tung rather than against the present revisionist leaders of China; and the other comprising of those who formally uphold Marxism Leninism Mao

Tse-Tung Thought while stubbornly clinging to the late Charu Mujumdar's discredited line and practice with the semi-terrorist policy of "annihilation of class enemies" at its core. The former, an insignificant force in India, is being patronized by the Hardyal Bains clique of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) on behalf of the PLA; and the latter's specimen can be found in the CPI (ML) faction grouped around the fortnightly paper "Mass Line". A differentiated approach should be taken in struggling against these. The one that openly attacks the revolutionary practice and thought of Mao Tse-Tung should be openly refuted and defeated, while the other should be subjected to a patient ideological criticism with a view to retrieve those healthy sections who have not become incorrigible. But, necessary struggle against these "left" opportunist trends must not divert us from mainly concentrating our ideological blows at Teng-Hua opportunists.

In order to accomplish our present main ideological tasks of thoroughly exposing and vanquishing the international opportunism of Teng-Hua brand, upholding Mao Tse-Tung Thought as an **integral part of Marxism-Leninism** and deepening our grasp of the theory and practice of proletarian revolution in all the stages of its development, we must delve deep into the mode of manifestation of Chinese revisionism under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat and the causes underlying its temporary triumph over the Marxist-Leninist forces reared and trained by Mao Tse-Tung – the great Marxist teacher of our times.

### **A COMMENT ON THE NATURE AND PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

The Teng-Hua revisionism is a continuation and culmination of the revisionist trend which has been contending since long, for taking over the leadership of the C.P.C. and the state of New China,

in order to check and reverse the forward motion of Chinese proletarian revolution. Its outstanding exponent was renegade Liu-Shao Chi. All through its various stances, adopted to the concrete condition of the class struggle in China and the struggle between two lines in the CPC, the cornerstone of its platform has been the economistic '**theory of productive forces**'. **Pragmatism** in all practical activity and **eclecticism** in all arguments, have generally been the salient features of this trend.

At present, it no more has to operate under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and got emboldened by the initial consolidation of its counter revolutionary rule in China. So it is increasingly adopting so many positions of Khrushchevite, Titoite and European revisionism. These positions were thoroughly exposed and defeated by genuine Marxist-Leninist forces of the world led by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung during the great debate of the sixties. For this reason, the Marxist-Leninist critique of modern revisionism made in the great debate is relevant to the study of the general features of the Chinese revisionism as well.

So far as its specific features are concerned, these were laid bare by Marxist-Leninist forces of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-Ping clique to reverse the correct verdicts of the G.P.C.R. Actually the work of all those Marxist-Leninists who want to know and combat Teng-Hua revisionism has been enormously facilitated by the theoretical analyses and advances made by Mao Tse-Tung and his close comrades in arms notably, comrade Chang Chun-Chiao and Yao Wen-Yuan during the glorious decade of the GPCR. This rich theoretical contribution needs to be seriously studied and grasped. It should be used as an effective tool for recognizing and trouncing the Teng-Hua revisionism.

In proceeding, on the basis of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-

Tung Thought, to study the experience of class struggle and two-line struggle in socialist China, it will be better to commence with a comment on the ***nature and problems of socialist society wherefrom the issues of class-struggle and two-line-struggle emanate.***

Between capitalism, and communism, there lies a long transition period of revolutionary transformations. This historical period is covered by the process of development of socialism which is the lower stage of communism. This transitional period, in other words the socialist society “must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy”<sup>1</sup>. The establishment of the dictatorship of proletariat and the revolutionary transformations made in economic and social relations and the consciousness of men under conditions of proletarian dictatorship constitute the new aspect of socialist society – the aspect of ***nascent*** communism – which marks its qualitatively different nature from that of capitalist society. At the same time, as it emerges from the old capitalist society, it is “in every respect – economically, morally and intellectually – still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges”<sup>2</sup>. These “birth marks” of the old society constitute the other aspect of socialist society – the aspect of dying capitalism – which marks its basically similar nature to that of capitalist society. The continual protracted and life and death conflict between these two contradictory aspects of socialist society constitutes the process of development of socialist society and its transitional nature. So it can be said that by its very nature, ***the life period of socialist society “has to be period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism or in other words***

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1. V.I. Lenin, Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

2. Karl Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme

***between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble”<sup>3</sup>.***

All problems of socialism are essentially the problems of cognition of this contradictory reality of socialist society and of changing it for the better, the problems of tackling the struggle of these two opposite aspects as to promote the development of the aspect of nascent communism to the detriment of its opposite aspect of dying capitalism. On account of surviving capitalism “which has been defeated but not destroyed” in the realms of the economy and the superstructure of socialist society, ***it retains its character of a class-society.*** No doubt, it does not provide for class exploitation, ***nevertheless, inequality and class-distinctions*** continue to exist. Not only the overthrown old exploiting classes are still around, material and spiritual conditions exist which generate new bourgeois elements. Besides, there are intermediate classes i.e. different layers of peasantry and intelligentsia who are gradually to be remolded into proletarians in terms of consciousness and status. This social reality is the source of class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society. Consequently, as in all class societies, class struggle remains the objective motive force for social development of the socialist society too.

The struggle among various classes, principally between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, do not subside with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, rather it “rises to a higher level dominating over each and every form”.

The struggle between two contradictory aspects of socialist society, the aspect of nascent communism and its opposite aspect

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3. V.I. Lenin, Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

of dying capitalism, proceeds through the class struggle, principally the struggle between the proletariat (chief protagonist of the former aspect) and the bourgeoisie (chief protagonist of the latter aspect). Hence, class-struggle, ***principally the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, constitutes the key-link*** in the chain of the process of development of socialist society. Only by grasping, the key-link it is possible to properly grasp and solve the whole range of problems concerning the development of socialist revolution and construction, and the transition to communism.

The class contradiction, which generally plays the principal role in capitalist society, namely, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, generally maintains its principal position in socialist society. It happens to be so because of the fact that with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the principal contradiction previously operating in capitalist society is not completely resolved. ***Its development enters a qualitatively new phase due to the mutual transformation of its principal and non-principal aspects.*** The proletariat, previously the ruled class and constituting the non-principal aspect of the contradiction becomes the ruling class acquiring the status of the principal aspect, similarly the status of the bourgeoisie is reversed which means in socialist society, the struggle of the two aspects of the same principal contradiction unfolds in interchanged conditions and mode of operation.

As this struggle unfolds under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat has the great advantage of political power for waging class struggle and achieving favorable results. At the same time, ***the bourgeoisie after experiencing setbacks in open confrontation with the proletariat during the infancy of the proletarian rule***

***is forced to adopt a camouflaged mode of struggle against the proletariat.*** Taking resort to a new deceptive strategy, it folds and keeps in its pocket the white banner of the counter revolutionary rebellion and hoists a false red banner to carry on under this cover the struggle against the proletariat. Thus the class struggle under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, assumes extremely complex character. The revolutionary task on the part of the proletariat of defeating and, ultimately eliminating the bourgeoisie in this complex class struggle is many times more arduous than the earlier one of seizing political power from the bourgeoisie.

Class contradictions ***other than the principal one, that is the contradiction between the proletariat and the intermediate classes,*** and those among the latter also assume new complexion under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although these contradictions are sought to be resolved in a non-antagonistic manner, the development of the relationship of unity and struggle between the proletariat and these non-proletarian strata of society ***is conditioned by the acute class struggle going on between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.*** In view of the acuteness acquired by the struggle of these two classes creating great commotions in all social relations, and “in view of the great attachment of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie generally to the old, the routine and the unchanging, it is only natural that we should inevitably find them swinging from one side to the other, that we should find them wavering, changeable, uncertain and so on”<sup>4</sup>. Hence the revolutionary process of remolding of these non-proletarian strata, particularly the intellectuals, does not proceed in a smooth and simple manner because it has to proceed “under conditions of the frantic resistance of the bourgeoisie which assumes many and

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4. Ibid

diverse forms”<sup>5</sup>.

The strategic objective of the bourgeoisie in this complex class struggle remains the seizure of state power back from the hands of the proletariat and restoration of full-fledged capitalism. In order to pave the way to achieve this objective, it seeks under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat to influence the course of social development. ***It seeks to peddle such a course of social development that does not entail the revolutionization of those parts of the economic base and the superstructure, which sustain and reinforce the bourgeois aspect of socialist society.*** That is, it seeks to emasculate the socialist revolutionary content of the process of social development. If social development proceeds along this course it is bound to accelerate the reproduction of bourgeois relations and forces within the shell of socialist society. With the result that, in course of time, the balance of class forces would change in favor of the bourgeoisie and the ground for usurpation of the proletarian state power and all round restoration of capitalism would be laid. That is why, the question to what course of social development is to be followed, ***whether to follow the capitalist road of social development or the socialist road, is the central issue*** of contention in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during the transition period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Because, the former is the road of infusing new life into the aspect of dying capitalism and temporarily restoring its lost sway over the society, while the latter is the road of consummating the process of development of the aspect of nascent communism through persistently carrying out revolutionary transformations in the economic base and the superstructure, that is, abolishing, ***step by step***, all class-distinctions in society, all the relations of production on which they rest, all the social relations that correspond to these relations

of production, and revolutionizing all the ideas that result from these social relations.

In socialist society the state institutions are responsible for charting out the course of social development to be pursued, working out specific policies to this end ensuring the implementation of these policies. And, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exercise all its functions under the leadership of the communist party of the proletariat, so the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle over the issue of the road of social development to be followed, gets intense expression inside the state and the party of the proletariat.

Pursuing its deceptive strategy of waging class struggle against the proletariat under a false red banner, the bourgeoisie infiltrates these proletarian institutions. It inducts into and recruits from within these institutions, its agents who wage class struggle as under-cover-political representations of the bourgeoisie, within these institutions, principally the Communist Party. This struggle as reflected inside the communist party assumes the form of the struggle between two lines within the Party – the proletarian revolutionary line upheld by genuine Marxist-Leninists and bourgeois counter-revolutionary line pushed by the handful of revisionist diehards. Thus, the handful of revisionist diehards, who sneak into the top most leading bodies of the Party, on account of their role as vanguard fighters on behalf of the bourgeoisie in the two line struggle inside the Party, discharge the functions of the top commanders of bourgeois forces in the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the all-round class-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. These diehard capitalist roaders inside the Party leadership are the chief vehicles of capitalist restoration. Therefore, in resolving the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during the period of socialist revolution, the

proletariat aims its revolutionary blow against the bourgeoisie, especially, the diehard capitalist roaders in the party – the general staff of the bourgeoisie – who constitute the bull's eye in the target.

These are then the basic ingredients of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of socialist society as a transition period between capitalism and communism, the problems of socialism associated with the process of transition and the issues of class struggle and the two-line struggle in the party which emanates from this transitional nature of socialist society and associated problems.

Whether or not this is grasped and unequivocally affirmed that the historical period covered by socialist society combines the features and properties of both capitalism and communism; and that it is a transitional period of revolutionary transformation involving, uninterrupted struggle between the aspect of nascent communism and dying capitalism; and that throughout this transition period, the danger of retrogression remains while the ultimate triumph of communism over capitalism is inevitable; that class struggle is the key-link to be grasped for properly apprehending and solving all problems concerning this transition; that the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie remains (excepting the eventuality of aggression from outside) the principal contradiction throughout the period of socialist revolution; that the unfolding of this principal contradiction conditions the class struggle as a whole, determining thereby the relationship of the proletariat with other non-proletarian strata of society and the process of proletarian molding of the latter; that the class-struggle finds concentrated expression on the political plane as the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and the struggle between two lines inside the party; and that the clique of diehard capitalist roaders holding portion of supreme leadership of the Party and the state, forms the political vanguard

of the old and new exploiting classes and the chief vehicle of capitalist restoration, thus, constituting the bull's eye of the target of the proletarian revolution, becomes the water-shed demarcating Marxism from revisionism, the proletarian revolutionary line from the bourgeois, counter-revolutionary line.

Judged by the above standard, the basic line now predominant in the CPC is a bourgeois counter-revolutionary line. Essentially, it is the same line as had been earlier peddled by the Liu Shao-Chi clique, the Lin-Piao – Chen Pota clique and the Teng Hsiao-Ping clique, the only difference being that of its presentation and elaboration. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese revisionists would not dare to openly repudiate the fore-mentioned tenets of the basic line of socialist revolution. They would, rather attempt to sabotage the operation of the correct basic line of the CPC headed by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung by distorting its specific application and practice. Consequently, the struggle between two lines would generally unfold around specific policies for various fields of activity and the actual practice of the line.

However with the deepening of the socialist revolution and intensification of class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between two lines every now and then would crystallize into more or less open confrontation between the proletarian revolutionary and the bourgeois revisionist Headquarters in the CPC. As a result, the particular bourgeois Headquarters that sprang out for an open trial of strength with the proletarian Headquarters would be smashed and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated. Thereafter, the struggle would pass on to the next phase of development leading to the next round of confrontation between the proletarian revolutionary Headquarters and the new bourgeois Headquarters. This process would go on for a fairly long historical period till the complete

elimination of the bourgeoisie and the soil that creates it anew, if it were not aborted due to the temporary triumph of bourgeois headquarters over the proletarian headquarters. The October 1976 coup staged by the Teng-Hua revisionist clique marked the temporary triumph of the bourgeois headquarters in the CPC resulting in a qualitative change in the character of the party and the Chinese state. With this counter-revolutionary political development, the line and direction of the social transition has been reversed. In any case, whether the struggle between two lines raged over specific policies and practice of the line or extended to the questions of general orientation, the essential thrust of the revisionists would be towards persevering and strengthening the "birth marks" of the old society in order to stall and reverse the development of socialist revolution of China i.e. the revolutionary process of transition to communism.

Under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung, the CPC was able to develop and implement a correct basic line for the socialist revolution of China. It was a proletarian revolutionary mass line of class struggle. It was a mass line because it always relied on the masses of the working people, bringing into full play their dynamism and initiative for surmounting all social and natural obstacles in building socialism in China. It was a revolutionary line because, it always sought a radical intervention of the conscious factor changing the objective reality at hand, aiming always to achieve maximum possible transformation of this reality within the limits determined by this objective reality. It was a proletarian line because it approached and transformed this objective reality from the standpoint and in the interests of the proletariat; in other words, it constantly sought to restrict and eliminate all the surviving birthmarks of exploitative class society and bring into being, step by step a society without exploitation and classes – a communist society.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production, the proletariat of China had achieved a signal victory over the bourgeoisie. The economic power of the bourgeoisie had been fundamentally undermined and a basically socialist economic base created. The overt political resistance of the bourgeoisie to this transition of the new democratic Chinese society to socialist society had been smashed; the revolutionary process had entered a new phase characterized by the deepening of socialist revolution. This called for a proper comprehension and solution of the problems of building socialism, nature of the contradiction to be solved in this process as well as the forces of resistance to the further development of this process. By then, the CPC was inadequately equipped with the theory and experience of building socialism.

The experience of Soviet Union in building socialism was there. It had both positive and negative aspects. Remarkable achievements were made in economic construction there against heavy odds, which transformed Soviet Union from an economically backward country into a modern industrialized country. At the same time, the process of development was marked by serious imbalance.

In the building of socialism, the Soviet proletariat had to explore unfamiliar territory. Its venture was the first of its kind, with no previous experience to rely upon in properly comprehending and solving the problems of socialist construction and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Naturally, its grasp of the task and process of consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the transition period covered by the socialist society, could not be comprehensive enough.

The danger to dictatorship of the proletariat was conceived essentially in terms of imperialist economic and military pressure,



armed intervention or aggression directed against the Soviet state, as well as subversive activities of counter revolutionary elements, enemy agents on the pay roll of hostile imperialist countries. Therefore, once the armed intervention of hostile imperialist powers had been smashed, the activities of counter-revolutionary elements within Soviet Union effectively suppressed, and socialist ownership of the means of production achieved defeating the liquidationist platform of the Trotsky clique and the capitulationist platform of the Bukharin-Zinoviev clique, the principal task was conceived as the rapid development of economy in order to strengthen the material foundation of dictatorship of the proletariat and attain better defense capability.

Primacy was accorded to the role played by technology in developing production, and the role played by dynamism and initiative of the masses of working people, prompted by proletarian revolutionary consciousness was underestimated. Accordingly the development of technological revolution, technical and administrative expertise remained the principal preoccupation of the party and state leadership to the neglect of ideological transformation of man. Given the lack of ideological motivation for putting in massive effort for boosting the development of production, excessive reliance was placed on individual material interest as a motivator of fervent productive activity. Such stress on individual material interests served to foster bourgeois prejudices inherited by the proletarian masses from the period of their trade union struggles against the capitalist and undermined the development of their socialist consciousness; consequently there was serious imbalance in the economic and the ideological development of Soviet society. This situation provided for unrestricted growth of bourgeois influences that undermined the ideological base of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Technique and professional efficiency having acquired the

paramount role in the production process, the technical and administrative experts got prominent position and say in running the economic enterprises. As they were not thoroughly subjected to ideological remolding, they could not but foster a bureaucratic style of working which stifled the innovative spirit and initiative of the masses of working people in managing and developing the production process (this applied not only to the experts absorbed from the old society who by their training and rearing were thoroughly tainted with bourgeois ideology but also to those who emerged from among the working class under conditions of socialism and gradually got divorced from their roots in the masses of working people and productive labor). In this situation, the relations among people in the production process and the society in general were adversely affected. It worked against the development of socialist aspect of the production relations as well as social relations, that is, the comradely relations of equality among people discharging different responsibilities at a higher or lower level, as cadre or masses and for the growth of the bourgeois aspect of these relations rooted in the division of labor and unevenly developed capabilities, i.e. the relations of command and subordination. Thus, there occurred serious imbalance between the rapid development of the productive forces and stagnation in the revolutionary transformation of the relation of production. This situation provided for the flourishing of bourgeois forces within the shell of socialist economy and corroded the socialist content of the economic base of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In terms of economic developmental strategy also while the importance of heavy industry as the base pillar of a modern industrial structure, was correctly appreciated, due importance was not given to the proportionate development of other sectors of the economy. Consequently, there developed a sectorial imbalance in the soviet economy. Heavy industry developed at

the cost of agriculture as well as light industry. Thus, the contradiction between the proletariat and the collectivist peasantry could not be properly handled and the revolutionary bond between these classes was constantly plagued by heavy strain endangering the social class base of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The CPSU under the leadership of Comrade J.V. Stalin persisted in following a basically Marxist-Leninist line in leading the Soviet people to build a socialist society. That is why, it could register glorious achievements in socialist construction and trouncing the formidable aggressive Nazi imperialist armies. Surmounting all kinds of difficulties, it kept the red flag of proletarian revolutionary rule flying for nearly four decades, still, because of its historical limitations and consequent inadequacies of its line and practice, as fore mentioned, it could not properly recognize and meet the challenge to the dictatorship of the proletariat posed by the bourgeois restorationist forces which developed through the process of internal retrogression of soviet society, state and the very communist party of Soviet Union. After the death of Com. Stalin, the renegade Khrushchev clique of the CPSU acting as the spearhead of these bourgeois restorationist forces, usurped the supreme leadership of the party and state power of the proletariat to establish the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and cashing on the great material achievements of the Soviet people turned the first bastion of world proletarian revolution into a socialist imperialist country.

### ***THE THEORY OF CONTINUING REVOLUTION UNDER CONDITIONS OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP***

Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, using the method of materialist dialectics, analyzed and summed up the experience of dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and China, and developed

the brilliant theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theory is his most outstanding contribution to scientific socialism.

He stated that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, and the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure continued to be basic contradictions of socialist society in China. The basic socialist revolutionary transformations in the relations of production and the superstructure of the old Chinese society had not fully resolved these contradictions. Those transformations had brought the superstructure and the relations of productions in partial harmony with the economic base and the productive forces respectively. To the extent the former were in harmony with the latter they promoted the development of the latter and in so far as they were still in contradiction with the latter they hindered the development of the latter. In order to consummate the process of resolution of these contradictions, the process of socialist revolutionary transformations in the superstructure as well as the relations of production needed to be carried through to the end.

Summing up the experience of the practice of socialist revolution in the Soviet Union as well as the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung laid bare the social class implications of the process of resolution of the fore-mentioned basic contradictions of socialist society. He observed that those parts of superstructure and the relations of production which remains untransformed represent and reinforce the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. On the basis of these strongholds, the bourgeoisie resists, corrodes and prepares to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, the proletariat cannot but storm those remaining strongholds of the bourgeoisie in order to consolidate its dictatorship. ***In other words, the uninterrupted struggle to exercise all round hegemony***

***of the proletariat is to be the mode of consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.***

Summing up the experience of various periods of revolutionary transition from one social system to another in the history of class society, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung observed that the roles played by the opposite aspects of the fore-mentioned contradictions are reversed at such times. Where as in general the economic base and productive forces play the principal role, in a period of revolutionary transition, the superstructure and the relations of production assume the principal position in the process of resolution of the contradictions. In this connection, he explained, "All revolutionary history shows that the full development of new productive forces is not the prerequisite for the transformation of backward production relations. To be sure, the revolution in the production relations is brought on by a certain degree of development of the productive forces, but the major development of productive forces always comes after changes in the productive relations." Uptill the time when the development of new productive forces attain a certain level, the change in productive forces, plays the principal role in the unfolding of this contradiction, as it determines the further development of relations of production by creating the necessary material basis for the latter. Thereafter, the necessary change in the relation of production assumes the principal role as it determines the further development of productive forces by creating the necessary conditions for the latter. Because, ".....the major development of the productive forces always comes after changes in the productive relations."

In a period when the relations of production are in the process of revolutionary transformation but these are not yet wholly transformed and even the transformation already made are not yet effectively consolidated i.e. in a period of revolutionary

transition, the change as well as the consolidation of the change in the relations of production, ***continues to play the principal role which has not yet been exhausted.*** All the while, the development of the productive forces is pushed ahead on the basis of transformed portions of the relations of production.

As a consistent dialectical materialist, Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung probed the inter-relationship of various facets of the relations of production – concerning the ownership of the means of production, place in the work division and organization of the productive labor, and distribution of the product. He observed that while the ownership of the means of production is the determinant among these relations, the distribution relations and relations among men in the labor process also act upon the ownership relations. In certain conditions, these can decisively influence the ownership relations. In a situation where basic transformations in the system of ownership of the means of production have taken place but the transformation of the distribution relations and relations among people in the labor process is still inadequate and lags behind (which is a characteristic feature of the transition period) the latter exert decisive influence over the former by way of encroachment on or consolidations of the new ownership system. That is why the question of restricting the "bourgeois right" (the right to implied privilege on the basis of existing inequality in the capabilities of the people) which exists to a serious extent in the relations of distribution and the organization of labor assumes key importance in this struggle for consolidation and development of the socialist relations of production.

So long, as commodity production is practiced and the three major differences – between worker and peasant, town and country, and mental and manual labor – continue to exist, bourgeois right in distribution and exchange as well as in mutual relation among the people cannot be completely liquidated but

can only be restricted step-by-step. Only by creating material and spiritual conditions i.e. narrowing the three major differences and criticizing the ideology of bourgeois right can the process of restricting bourgeois right be pushed ahead. If stress is laid on developing the material basis of narrowing the three major differences and in the meanwhile bourgeois right is not restricted but given free rein, the result will be social polarization. Thus, contrary to the objective of narrowing the three major differences, these differences will get widened. Hence, to pave the ground for restricting the bourgeois right, the ideology of bourgeois right has to be smashed and replaced with proletarian communist consciousness. In this way, the superstructure (in the form of ideology) decisively influences the development of the economic base in the transition period.

Moreover, in socialist society the system of ownership of means of production comprises for a certain period, of two types of socialist property – the ownership of the whole people, and the collective ownership. “Under these two systems of ownership, the laboring people possess and allocate the means of production they collectively own through the state of proletarian dictatorship or collective economic units, and the power to allocate and manage the means of production and the power to distribute products are expressed in a concentrated way as the power of political leadership.” (Emphasis added)

The character of political leadership in a state or collective enterprise can decisively affect the character of the relations of production in that unit. “If leadership over a department or unit is controlled by capitalist roaders, who energetically push the revisionist line, socialist production will turn into a movement to multiply the value of capital with pursuit of maximum profits as the only goal, a capitalist wage labor system. While the socialist system of ownership is reduced to an “outer shell”, it will actually

become a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders, and the proletariat and the laboring people in fact lose this part of the means of production..... they (the capitalist roaders) will strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the relations between people, subject workers to “control, check and repression”, turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations, and enforce the bourgeois dictatorship”. In this way, the superstructure (in the form of politics) decisively affects the development of the economic basis in a transition period.

Owing to decisive influence exercised by the superstructure on the development of the economic basis, in the transition period (covered by socialist society), the class-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie takes particularly acute form in the struggle to dominate every front of the superstructure (ideological, cultural, and political fronts). This wide-ranging struggle converges on the question of state power, the class-dictatorship, with the ultimate objective of dominating the economic base. Hence, the struggle for proletarian revolutionary transformations in the realm of superstructure assumes prime importance in the overall class struggle waged by the proletariat for consolidating its class rule and the socialist economic base.

With this conception of the unfolding of the basic contradictions of socialist society, the relative significance of the roles played by the opposite aspects of these contradictions; its implications in terms of class contradictions and class struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung pin-pointed the key link in the understanding and handling of the whole process of building socialism (i.e. class struggle), the principal combatants of class struggle (i.e. the proletariat and bourgeoisie), the main content of the class struggle (i.e. for and against transformation, for and against restoration, in the superstructure and the relations of

production), the crux of the class struggle in the realm of the relations of production (i.e. for and against restricting the “bourgeois right”), the principal arena of the struggle (i.e. the superstructure) and, thus, propounded the basic theory and line for the entire historical period of socialism (i.e. continuing revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat). The theory of continuing revolution under conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat determines for the ruling proletariat its principal task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, in a protracted struggle, from all positions of authority (which it still retains or acquires anew through the medium of the capitalist roaders within the communist party) in order to completely eliminate the bourgeoisie and the conditions which give rise to it and realize, step by step, the basic programme of building a classless society, free from all exploitation and oppression of man by man i.e. the communist society. All the other important tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as developing production and defense capability etc. are to be undertaken in conjunction with and subordination to the carrying out of this principal task. The relationship between the basic line and various specific policies, between the principal task and various other tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is depicted in the directive slogan given by Mao Tse-Tung “Grasp revolution, promote production and other work”.

This summing up of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of the basic theory and line for the entire historical period of socialism was not achieved and could not be achieved, at one go by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. It was achieved gradually through study, revolutionary practice and the two-line struggle extending over so many years. All the same, by the year 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung was able to enunciate the basic line of the socialist revolution

of China:

“Socialist Society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions, between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people, and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and everyday so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line”. (Both the Ninth and the Tenth National Congresses of the CPC reaffirmed this basic line.)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China, the gigantic revolutionary offensive of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology, was conceived and carried out under the guidance of the basic theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat and the basic line of the socialist revolution of China derived from this theory. The great revolutionary practice of the GPCR positively confirmed the validity of this theory and the basic line and made them more comprehensive. Especially, the concept of the diehard capitalist roaders as the vanguard detachment of the bourgeoisie operating within the party and state apparatus, and the cruciality of struggling against the ideology of bourgeois right as well as restricting the bourgeois right, got more crystallized during this period.

All the revisionist cliques which emerged within the CPC during the period of socialist revolution of China, from the renegade Liu Shao-Chi clique, double dealer Lin Piao-Chen Po-ta clique down to the criminal Teng Tsiao-Ping Hua Kuo-Feng clique, at one stage or the other, came into mortal conflict with this basic theory and the line of China's socialist revolution and tried to subvert or repudiate these precious acquisitions of the proletariat. They were bound to do so, because they felt the cutting edge of these proletarian weapons, and all of them invariably relied on "the theory of productive forces" as a theoretical counter to the theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat.

### ***THE THEORY OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES***

This theory almost absolutises the role played by the development of the productive forces in bringing about social change and obliterates the role of class struggle as the motive force of the development of class society. It has its roots in a mechanistic materialist streak of thought which infected the thinking of a sizeable section of international Marxist movement in the last quarter of nineteenth century, after the death of Comrade Karl Marx.

Comrade Friedrich Engels commented in this respect that all their lives Marx and he had to wage relentless fight against idealist fallacies to establish the materialist viewpoint in philosophy that man's being determines his consciousness and in social sciences that all social phenomena are ultimately determined by economic factors. They had to repeatedly hammer in and elaborate this fundamental aspect of the doctrine of dialectical materialism and could not find enough time for adequately elaborating the other aspect that once determined man's consciousness reacts upon his being, and the superstructure reacts upon the economic basis.

Consequently, a section of Marxists at that time failed to grasp properly the consistent dialectical materialist approach of Marx and Engels. As such this kind of one sided emphasis on the role of productive forces could be treated merely as an ideological flaw in the approach of certain Marxist circles where it was not used as a theoretical weapon by the revisionist, for opposing revolutionary advance of the proletariat. This ideological flaw acquired the character of a pernicious theory of productive forces when the revisionists sought to stall the revolutionary action of the proletariat under the phony pretext that the low level of development of productive forces would not permit such revolutionary action.

It happened on the eve of the October revolution when revisionist within the second international contended the validity of Bolsheviki programme of socialist revolution in capitalistically backward Russia. According to the logic of these revisionists, based on the theory of the productive forces, Czarist Russia needed at first, to undergo a stage of capitalist development under bourgeois rule in order to develop its backward productive forces and only after that the proletariat could attempt a socialist revolution there. The Bolshevik scheme of carrying out a democratic revolution and establishing the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and then passing on to socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was looked upon by these revisionists as a violation of the "objective laws" of social development (while pontificating as high priests of Marxism on the course of the social development of Czarist Russia, these revisionists were least bothered by the fact that Russia had already witnessed a revolutionary upheaval, the 1905 revolution, wherein the proletariat had demonstrated its political maturity as "class for itself" and superseded the liberal bourgeoisie as the leader of democratic revolution in Russia")

Lenin ridiculed the ossified thinking of these so-called Marxists and chidingly asked them where, in which books of history had they read that historical development proceeded in a set linear fashion, that at times, normal sequence of historical development did not get reversed?

The actual historical development as unfolded in Russia and elsewhere repudiated the bankrupt theory of productive forces and vindicated the revolutionary standpoint of Leninism – the Marxism of the eve of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

After usurping the state power of the proletariat in Soviet Union, the Khrushchev revisionist leading clique of the CPSU resurrected the theory of productive forces in a new garb, under changed conditions. In an attempt to cover the reality of the process of capitalist restoration in Soviet Union and disorientate the world proletarian revolutionary movement, it projected the caricatured concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its revolutionary task and the socialist system, robbing these of all revolutionary content. It projected the realization of high rate of growth of production as the be-all and be-end of all socialist development, the sole indicator of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, and set the goal of economically surpassing the most developed capitalist countries in a “peaceful economic competition” and usher the Soviet Union into communism. This renegade clique reduced the glorious ideal of communism, the unprecedented lead to be made by human civilization, to a mere abundance of beef and butter – the “goulash” communism.

The CPC under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung exposed and rebutted Khrushchev’s “Phony communism” and its theoretical kingpin, the theory of productive forces. To the Khrushchev revisionists and their Chinese counterparts, who were

trying to befog the minds of revolutionary people with dreams of peacefully gliding into communism, Mao Tse-Tung gave a serious rebuff by showing that real life around them was bristling with class contradictions and class struggle, which were radically transforming the world “Stop this windy nonsense, the world is being turned upside down”.

The revisionists within the CPC learned in their own way from the experience of the loss of proletarian state power and revisionists take over in the Soviet Union. They noted how the bourgeois forces within Soviet society and the revisionist elements within the CPSU had got strengthened by taking advantage of the soviet proletariat’s inadequate grasp over the sharpening class contradictions and class struggle, under the conditions of its class dictatorship and its excessive preoccupation with its production tasks. Having watched the restorationist course pursued by the Khrushchev-revisionist-clique in Soviet Union, they realized how the theory of productive forces could be used as theoretical cover for the revisionist line of building state monopoly capitalist economy under the sign board of socialist construction. So they eagerly clutched at this refurbished theory of the productive forces and started singing the tune of “dying out of the class struggle” in China after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production. They clamored that in China the advance socialist system stood in contradiction with backward productive forces and this constituted the principal contradiction of Chinese society at that time. In other words the principal task of the proletariat was the development of productive forces.

The renegade Liu Shao-Chi clique succeeded in inserting a formulation to this effect in the political report to the Eighth National Congress of CPC. This development was indicative of the fact that the offensive of the international revisionism, with the Khrushchev revisionist clique of CPSU at the head, had greatly

bolstered up the positions of revisionist elements in the CPC, as in all other communist parties, and that the proletarian revolutionary understanding and line on the problem of building socialism had not yet been sufficiently developed.

Even prior to the Eighth Congress, Liu Shao-Chi and company had exhibited, on various occasions, their economic anti-revolutionary approach. They had sought to stem the revolutionary process of transition from new democracy to socialism by raising the slogan of “fully consolidating the new democratic system”. They had opposed the co-operative movement in Chinese agriculture by arguing that it could proceed only after the mechanization of agriculture, and ridiculed Mao Tse-Tung’s line of making revolutionary transformations in agriculture prior to its mechanization as an exercise in “utopian socialism”. But, what certified them to be revisionist diehards was their persistence in sticking to the theory of productive forces even after Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, had summed up the soviet experience and formulated the basic line of the CPC for the entire historical period of socialist revolution.

The whole logic of the theory of productive forces, as propounded by the Chinese revisionists, proceeded from the basic premise that with the overthrow of old exploiting classes from state power and socialist transformation of the means of production carried out in the main, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system become **accomplished** phenomena. A typical expression of their line of argument in this respect can be seen in the following extract from “On the General Program for the Whole Party and the Whole Nation” – one of the “Three Poisonous Weeds” prepared under the supervision of Teng Hsiao-Ping in the year 1975: “Now that our country has become a socialist country under the dictatorship of proletariat, conditions within the country permit us to carry out peaceful construction.

We are however facing the threat of subversion and invasion by imperialism and social imperialism. Should we not seize the time, redouble our efforts, develop the national economy quickly as possible and strengthen the material basis” (Emphasis added).

In the preceding pages it has been discussed, how the above proposition is fallacious in respect of the socialist system which remains in the process of becoming for the long historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. The same holds good in respect of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The ruling classes, over the centuries of their oppressive rule have not only been responsible for economic exploitation and deprivation of the toiling masses of the people but also for their cultural deprivation. They have been denied access to all the advances made by science and culture. This forced under development of the toiling masses of the people does not vanish the moment they seize state power by over throwing their oppressors. For a long time after the seizure of state power, they remain handicapped in this matter, in relation to the overthrown landlords and capitalist classes. Talking of this vantage position of the overthrown landowners and capitalists, Lenin remarked, “the ‘Art of state’, military and economic administration gives them a superiority and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical proportion of the population (Economics and Politics in the Era of Dictatorship of Proletariat).

By overthrowing the old exploiting classes and creating the organs of their revolutionary rules, the working people take first decisive step in their long march for gradually retrieving, through protracted class struggle, science and culture from the narrow confines these have hitherto been fettered in, for socially appropriating scientific and cultural knowledge and truly becoming the masters of the conditions of their life and work.



Only through this protracted revolutionary struggle, waged on the basis of dictatorship of the proletariat, the all-round expropriation of the expropriators takes place and the dictatorship of the proletariat comes into full bloom as the dictatorship in fact of the whole mass of proletarians and not only of its advanced sections, and then withers away. Basing on his very brief experience of the soviet rule, Comrade Lenin made this illuminating observation, "The result of this low cultural level is that the soviets, which by virtue of their programme are organs of government **by the working people**, are in fact organs of the government **for the working people** by the advanced sections of the proletariat but not by the working people as a whole."

So, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not become an accomplished phenomenon at the time of its inception as presumed by the adherents of the theory of productive forces, rather it undergoes a process of consolidation and development through the revolutionary struggle of the working people, under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard for exercising dictatorship in all fields over the bourgeoisie. Thus taken as such as it present itself, the modern version of the theory of productive forces is untenable, based as it is on a fallacious premise, but more than the theory, the practice of the Chinese adherents of the theory of productive forces has been illustrative of their revisionist character.

The practice of Chinese revisionists, during the two decades of socialist revolution in China, as well as in the period after the revisionist coup there, has revealed that their concern for the development of productive forces and production has been sham, while their opposition to revolution has been real. The cry of promoting production has always been raised by them in order to divert the working people from their revolutionary orientation of

class struggles, to shelve the process of revolutionary transformation of the super-structure and relations of production that is the process of realization of the real mastery of the working people over the conditions of their life and work.

The diversionary tactics of the Chinese revisionists have not been confined only to the counter-posing of the issue of promoting production to the cardinal issue of grasping of revolution. Any issue that posed itself as a pressing problem at the hands of the Chinese people, whether it be of preparedness against war in view of imperialist military pressure, coping with serious natural disasters, seeking a breakthrough in scientific and technological fields or gearing up the pace of economic development, has been a handy weapon in the hands of Chinese revisionists to be used against ongoing socialist revolutionary movement. On any of such pretexts, they have been demanding that in view of the urgency of tackling that particular issue, revolution should be shoved off to the back bench, class struggle should give way to 'stability and unity', the initiative of revolutionary masses should give way to bureaucratic discipline and instead of the proletarian class outlook and politics, professional competence should be put in command (Because in the words of that hidebound revisionists Teng Hsiao-Ping "black cat or white cat, the color does not matter so long as it is good at catching mice" damn care whether the cat catches mice to protect the provisions of the master or feeds on mice to prove a greater menace to these provisions).

The practice of class struggle in China between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the two line struggle within the CPC have shown that while the directive principal "Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" has been guiding proletarian revolutionary forces in all their activities and serving their class purpose of advancing to communism. The principal, "promote production and other work

and preparedness against war so as to undermine revolution” has been guiding the bourgeois revisionists in all their activities and serving their class purpose of restoring capitalism.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the counter revolutionary nature of the theory of productive forces advocated by Liu Shao-Chi and company was thoroughly laid bare. The proletarian revolutionary mass movement unleashed through the Cultural Revolution, not only smashed the bourgeois HQs commanded by Liu Shao-Chi inside the CPC but also gave concrete demonstration of the revolutionary way of solving the production problem as well as other problems through grasping the revolution.

### ***THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION***

It was a gigantic ideological political offensive of the revolutionary masses of the Chinese people inspired and guided by Mao Tse-Tung’s proletarian revolutionary line and leadership and a great leap forward by them into proletarian consciousness and liberation.

The great proletarian cultural revolution of China was not the outcome of the particular situation confronting the socialist revolution of China at that time, as certain persons would like to project it. The particular situation at that time wherein mounting internal and external dangers confronted the Chinese revolution contributed only in pressing upon the Chinese communists to explore a more effective comprehensive and sweeping form of developing socialist revolutionary movement so as thoroughly to cleanse the rot that had set in the Chinese society and revolution and rejuvenate the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as socialist construction. It was the supreme form of putting into practice the theory of continuing revolution under the conditions of the

dictatorship of proletariat. And this theory is applicable to any socialist society and for the entire period of transition to communist society.

In the wave like progression of the continuing revolution under conditions of dictatorship of proletariat, the GPCR marked the first one of the various stormy crests that are bound to appear during the long historical period of transition to communism.

A characteristic feature of GPCR was the most extensive and intensive involvement of the masses of Chinese people in the revolutionary process. It triggered off an unprecedented outburst of their revolutionary initiative and energy and became the wonderful mode of expression and assertion of their revolutionary will on a grand scale. In every respect, it was a “festival of the masses”.

Another characteristic feature of GPCR, that distinguished it from other major ideological political campaigns, was the vast scope of its mighty thrust. In this great proletarian assault on the vestiges of old society, no sphere, section or institution of Chinese society was treated as exempt from the operation of struggle-criticism-transformation; moreover, the process of transformation involved both non-antagonistic and antagonistic forms as the case might be. Those sections of people, including state and party functionaries, who had unwittingly succumbed in varying degrees, to bourgeois revisionist influences and practices were subjected to proletarian re-molding through persuasion and education in the process of struggle, those handful incorrigible persons who had degenerated into conscious peddlers of bourgeois revisionist ideas and practices, thus forfeiting their right to remain in positions of authority, were subjected to revolutionary overthrow. The advanced sections of the proletarian masses themselves underwent the process of further proletarian remolding in their struggle against all vestiges of old society and revisionism

existing without and within themselves.

The feature of revolutionary overthrow of various manifestations of bourgeois revisionist authority lent to this mass ideological political campaign, the character of full-fledged revolution, an act through which one social class overthrows the domination of other class.

The deep-rooted old cultural influences – old customs, traditions, notions and forces of habit etc. – acted as a powerful counter-acting force to the forward motion of the socialist revolution of China. So the ideological-cultural domain, the fields of education, art and literature which promote one or other kind of ideological-cultural influence came under the frontal assault of the proletarian revolutionary mass movement and it was appropriately called proletarian cultural revolution. But the fierce class struggle unleashed on the cultural front was bound to extend to the political front and economic front too.

By storming the ideological cultural sphere, the proletariat sought to smash or undermine the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie – to occupy that front so as to make it serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist economic base. On the other side, the bourgeoisie put up all out resistance against proletarian revolutionary transformation of the cultural sphere in order to maintain its entrenched position on that front and use it as a launching pad for attempting usurpation of political power and capitalist restoration in the economic base. The revolutionary transformation movement of the proletariat and the counter-revolutionary resistance movement of the bourgeoisie in the ideological-cultural sphere were both led by their respective political cores located within the CPC – the Marxist-Leninists following the proletarian revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung; and the capitalist roaders following the bourgeois revisionist line of renegade Liu Shao-Chi & company.

Without exposing and hitting at the revisionist chieftains masquerading as Marxist-Leninist within the CPC, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois resistance could not be effectively broken and proletarian revolutionary transformation extensively carried out in the ideological-cultural spheres and they could not be effectively forced to jump out and reveal their true renegade features unless confronted with a proletarian revolutionary mass movement threatening their class positions on the ideological-cultural front. Moreover, only in the practice of mass revolutionary struggle could the handful revisionist diehards be sifted from a large mass of those who had unwittingly fallen victims to the bourgeois-revisionists ideology and culture, so as to deal crushing blows to the former by winning over the latter to the proletarian revolutionary standpoint. Owing to the organic connection between the struggle for proletarian revolutionary transformation of the ideological cultural sphere and the struggle for flushing-out from positions of proletarian political power, the hidden scabs torpedoing the cultural-revolution, the sweep of the GPCR extended to the whole superstructure, including the political institutions of Party and state of the proletariat of China.

(Because of the fact that a number of leading Party and state cadre following the capitalist road were overthrown in the GPCR, certain hidden opportunists within the international Marxist-Leninist movement allege that it was actually a political struggle with a deceptive label of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In doing so, these persons betray their ignorance of the process of development of socialist society wherein every advance of the proletariat has to materialize through class struggle and every significant class battle, whatsoever be the field of action cannot but be accompanied by political struggle.)

The GPCR of China was a revolution in the superstructure of Chinese society particularly in the ideological-cultural sphere,

for ensuring therein hegemony of proletariat and accelerating revolution in the economic base. It marked a qualitatively new phase in the process of deepening socialist revolution of China.

The Cultural Revolution enabled broad masses of the Chinese people to make a great leap forward in becoming the masters of their own mental processes by appropriating the most reliable and potent ideological weapon, Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought. They liberated their minds from being shackled with the false notion that Marxist philosophy was beyond the grasp of illiterate or semi-illiterate common people and accessible only to the learned few. Rendered into popular idiom and carried to the factories and fields, the substance of Marxist philosophy was found by them to be not only intelligible but applicable to the problems of their day to day life and work. The basic tenets of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought were propagated, on an unprecedentedly vast scale, in conjunction with the revolutionary activity of the broad masses of the Chinese people. Thus through their own experience of waging revolution coupled with an ideological-political education campaign, the broad masses of cadres and people were trained as proletarian-revolutionary fighters for carrying the revolution forward through protracted class struggle against the old and new bourgeoisie, in particular, against the capitalist-roaders among the top party leadership, constituting the leading core of bourgeois forces. Apart from the general achievement in enormously raising the proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary initiative and self-confidence of the broad masses of the Chinese people, the Cultural-Revolution concretely tackled various problems concerning revolutionary transformation of the superstructure as well as economic base of Chinese society.

On the plane of superstructure, the most significant proletarian revolutionary advances were made in the fields of

education, art and literature, scientific research and health services and in restructuring the institutions of proletarian party and state power.

The revolution in the fields of university education brought forth a new pattern of enrollment of students and invested education with new content and purpose. The old pattern of enrollment based on the entrance examination system i.e. on mainly assessing the student's capabilities for memorizing textbooks, was heavily biased in favor of students belonging to the erstwhile upper classes and relatively well-off sections of new Chinese society – who were groomed for this purpose with special efforts on the part of their parents. Moreover children of high ranking party and state cadre used to get entry to educational institutions through “the back-door”, as they called it in China i.e. through making use of the influential position of their parents. The new enrollment policy envisaged that over-whelming number of students should come from worker-peasants-soldier families. Class background and political consciousness of the candidate acquired more prominence as criteria for his or her evaluation in place of mere academic ability. Manual labor on the part of students and teachers became an essential part of the job of learning and teaching. The class-room study was made livelier by linking it to the practical problems of everyday life of the masses of the people. Students and teachers were encouraged to go and work among laboring masses and learn from their rich experience of life and work. They were encouraged to be concerned with the ongoing class-struggle in their institutions as well as society at large, defend socialism and criticize revisionism. They were exhorted and guided by proletarian revolutionary forces rallied around Comrade Mao Tse-Tung to struggle against and discard the lingering effects of reactionary Confucian tradition of unethical submission to the patriarchal authority of parents,

teachers, and all elderly persons. Instead they were called upon to treat their work in educational institutions as a comradesly collaboration among teachers and students involving democratic discussion, mutual supervision criticism and self-criticism, dare to uphold what is correct and rebel against reactionary ideas, practices, and authorities. They were exhorted and guided to struggle against and discard the bourgeois outlook of treating knowledge as private property, to be converted into personal gain and fame. Instead, they were called upon to view their studies as means of seeking all round development of their personalities and becoming better equipped to serve the socialist society, which provided them those means. Briefly put, the revolution in the field of education addressed itself to these questions: Whom the educational facilities were mainly meant for? What the students were sought to be shaped into through the educational process and how? What motivation the students were to seek their education with? It solved these questions both at the conceptual and practical plane, in accordance with the Marxist theory of Knowledge and fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people and developing socialist revolution in China. Proceeding along the road ablazed by the Shanghai Machine tools plant, where students not only come from amongst the workers and peasants but after graduation return to their midst, the revolution in university education aimed at bridging the gap between manual and mental labor, between town and country and preventing the emergence of new elite stratum from among the educated young generation.

In the field of art and literature, the Cultural Revolution focused on and solved the crucial question, who were to occupy the centre of the stage, in works of art and literature – the luminaries of the overthrown reactionary classes exuding decadence or the popular characters portraying in a

concentrated way, the heroism and revolutionary aspirations of the masses of the working people and revolutionary optimism of the proletariat? The line and practice of the bourgeois-revisionist “authorities” on art and literature, hitherto dominating the cultural scene, came under heavy fire in the Cultural Revolution. They used to foster in the name of socialist realism the pernicious trend in art and literature that stood for the so-called objective portrayal of the life of masses of the people, which amounted to making no differentiation between their excellent traits constituting the principal aspect of their character and the secondary aspect pertaining to their failings, in this way berating the former. The revolutionary cultural workers, with Comrade Chiang Ching as the leading figure, exposed and trounced this pernicious trend along with the “authorities” at its back, and forcefully affirmed the revolutionary essence of socialist realism in art and literature. As a result, such works were promoted as represented in art form the best element contained in the life and struggle of masses of working people. In this connection, the most notable achievement was made in revolutionizing the institution of the Peking Opera and creating the Eight model revolutionary operas. No doubt, the Cultural Revolution did not bring forth a large number of creative works on the new revolutionary pattern, still by making use of some model works and so many pieces of art and literary criticism, it did set the ball rolling in a right direction and it was no small achievement.

In the fields of science and technology, the Cultural Revolution encountered the most dogged resistance put up by the revisionists and the professionals thoroughly imbued with bourgeois prejudices. Some of the problems and related policies in the field were similar to the ones in the field of education and art and literature, namely the integration of mental work with

manual labor and integration of intellectuals with worker and peasant masses. Apart from these, the crucial issues around which the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and the two-line struggle unfolded in the field were the assertion or denial of the existence of class bias in scientific and technological work, and the assertion or denial of the leading role of the Party and doctrine of the proletariat in this matter.

The proletarian revolutionaries asserted the historical materialist position that in class society, like all other phenomena, the scientific and technological work as well as those responsible for directing and organizing it, are conditioned by the class-struggle and they serve the dictatorship of one or the other class. They further asserted that the general laws of dialectical materialism are universally applicable to all forms of motion, including all branches of natural sciences. No doubt, every form of motion has its own particularity on the study of which, different disciplines are based; for that reason Marxism cannot take the place of different branches of learning. Nonetheless it embraces them all and can guide their development on correct lines.

Hence, they maintain that only by putting proletarian ideology and politics in command of the scientific and technological work, not only it can't be greatly improved but also made to serve the process of development of socialist society i.e. the consolidation of dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic base and this can be effected only under the leadership of the party which alone is the conscious thread of all social activities weaved into a whole and which ensures the socialist content of this whole.

Another issues of struggle, that was in a way a corollary of the crucial issues concerning the affirmation or denial of the existence of class bias in scientific and technological work, was the approach towards the developed Western technology. Having

no faith in the revolutionary masses and their creative genius and betraying slavish mentality inherited from China's colonial past, the revisionists and the professionals entertained great fascination for the sophisticated technology of the developed capitalist countries, it was beyond their comprehension, that the technological development of a less developed country under conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat need not proceed along the beaten track of Western capitalist countries, that owing to favorable conditions provided by superior social organization, the technological development of socialist country could break new grounds and cover the lags in shorter span of time. Their view of the process of China's technological development had at its core the utilization of sophisticated Western technology. Consequently their thinking and practice stood in sharp conflict with the line of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung and his comrades-in-arms in this matter, which rested mainly upon self-reliance and bringing into full play the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative genius of the masses of the working people. The proletarian revolutionaries led by Mao were not opposed as such to the utilizing of Western technology. What they opposed was the embracing of this technology indiscriminately, and uncritically. Indiscriminate inhaust of sophisticated Western technology, apart from its negative economic and political implications, would stifle the development of China's indigenous technology. Uncritical approach towards its utilization would mean ignoring the fact that it is designed to ensure maximum profits for the monopoly capitalist class at the cost of the workers. So the proletarian revolutionaries maintained that judicious use should be made of Western technology within the scope of the policy of self-reliance, and in doing so, it should be adapted to the requirements of the specific conditions of China's developmental process and socialist class content of the latter.

On the basis of the revolutionary stand outlined above, the scientific and technological workers were mobilized by communist revolutionaries for waging struggle against the dominant revisionist line in scientific and technological fields which pampered and strengthened bourgeois expertise and for implementing the revolutionary line of developing red expertise. They sought to win over the great majority of scientific and technological experts to the standpoint and the cause of proletariat through the process of friendly criticism, education and transformation, assisting thereby, the latter in becoming "red-and-expert". The process of becoming "red-and-expert" required of these intellectual workers that they grasp and defend Marxism, grasp and defend the party's basic line and policies for carrying forward the socialist revolution, criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, criticize and combat bourgeois theories in natural science, take part in manual labor go to the masses of the working people to tap the rich experience stored by the masses through their activities in production which is the eternal and primary source of theories of natural science. Sum up and generalize this experience and thus make best use of their professional skill by integrating the laboratory work of scientific experimentation and research with the mass experimentation in the field. To the extent they become "red-and-expert" by fulfilling the above mentioned requirements they, in turn could assist the process of developing experts from among the revolutionary masses of working people.

As discussed earlier the fierce class struggle unleashed on the cultural front was bound to extend to all fronts of the superstructure and base of Chinese society. The revolutionary offensive of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to trounce the latter from all positions of influence and power converged upon seizing back those portions of political power, which the bourgeoisie had usurped through its partial hold over the party

and state apparatuses.

The revolutionary seize-back of portions of political power by the proletariat was the most unconventional but essential feature of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China.

(It kicked up great controversy inside and outside China. The revisionists of all hues and lands still harp on this point in attacking the GPCR. Even certain genuine Marxist-Leninist elements initially got confused on this point. The main argument touted by the former that carried some weight with the latter, against the seizure of portions of political power by the proletariat was that it had not been accomplished through proper constitutional procedure. Actually, what they were objecting to was the very theory and practice of making revolution under conditions of proletarian rule. Because every Marxist worth the name knows the historical materialist truth that revolutions do not follow constitutional procedures.

Constitutions are legal expression of obtaining states of class rule and class relationship in society, which get established or replaced through revolutions. Constitutional procedures are meant for enforcing the existing class-rule and not for making drastic changes in it. It is as true in the case of constitutional procedures under conditions of proletarian rule, as in other cases so long as their exist classes, class-contradictions and class struggle in society.

What the proletariat of China attempted, during the GPCR was a drastic change in the prevailing state of its class rule in a direction favorable to it and unfavorable to the bourgeoisie. Such drastic changes could not be effected except through revolutionary mass-action.)

A large number of state-cadres, many of whom were important party cadres as well, earned the fury of revolutionary

masses on account of pushing the capitalist road of social development and bureaucratic style of functioning. These cadres had been invested with proletarian political power to exercise it for buttressing the position of the proletariat in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie. By acting to the contrary they abused their position of power and thus forfeited it. But by dint of their power position, they managed to suppress the criticism raised by the advanced elements from amongst the masses.

The circular on conducting the Cultural Revolution issued by the party's Central committee, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, called upon the masses of Chinese people to air their views freely and publically. As the Central message of the Cultural Revolution, that rebellion against everything reactionary was justified, got increasingly registered with the minds of the masses, their pent-up resentment against the malpractices of the capitalist-roaders burst forth like a hurricane. Genuine Marxist-Leninist discharging their revolutionary duty towards their class, provided political lead in mobilizing the proletarian masses through laying bare the class significance of the practice of the capitalist-roader and exhorting the masses of the working people to assert their mastery over the conditions of their life and work. And the revolutionary mass movement responded to it by striking the capitalist-roaders down from positions of power which the latter had already forfeited and instituting revolutionary committees for administering their own affairs under the leadership of genuine Marxists-Leninists.

Those party persons and committees who failed to stand in the forefront of the revolutionary masses of the proletariat engaged in tempestuous class struggle against the bourgeoisie, rather, revealed their hidden revisionist character in attempting to save the skin of the capitalist roaders under attack from the proletarian revolutionary mass movement, were themselves cast off by the

proletarian masses as well as revolutionary ranks of the party. (Such party committees defaulted on two counts; first they did not fulfill their revolutionary obligation towards the proletarian class, politically to defend and lead it in its major confrontation with the bourgeoisie, thus eliminating the very reason of their existence as vanguard detachment of the proletariat; secondly, they acted against the basic line of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism and the specific line decided by the Central Committee on conducting the GPCR; thus, forfeiting the mandate to exercise the authority of the party in dealing with their respective ranks. Therefore, the revolutionary ranks who steadfastly upheld the proletarian class-stand and the revolutionary line of the party by defying the authority of these defaulting party committees, did in no way flout the party principle of democratic centralism. Actually, their practice involved the repudiation of the concept of mechanical discipline advocated by Liu-Shao-Chi and affirmation of the Marxist-Leninists concept of conscious discipline.) Under the impact of the proletarian revolutionary mass movement of seizure of political power, the process of exposure and crumbling of hidden bourgeois revisionist satraps gathered momentum and worked upwards, ultimately to overtake the bourgeois Headquarters, within the party, headed by renegade Liu-Shao-Chi.

The concrete practice of the Cultural Revolution corroborated the conclusion arrived at by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, through summing-up the historical experience of the temporary triumph of revisionism in socialist countries, that under conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, the menace of revisionism and the bourgeoisie growing right inside the communist party cannot be effectively combated, solely by means of inner-party struggle, without integrating this struggle with the overall class struggle waged against the bourgeoisie through the proletarian revolutionary mass movement.



The Cultural Revolution not only flushed out much of the revisionist poison accumulated in the body of the party but also replenished the party with new revolutionary blood. It underlined the necessity of amending the prevalent mode of cadre evaluation which used to be weighted in favor of veteran cadres. Because of their past revolutionary exploits, their age and experience, the veteran cadres would always get higher assessment in comparison with the young cadre irrespective of the latter's better show in terms of proletarian revolutionary consciousness and performance. The genuine Marxist-Leninist led by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung advocated that while glorious revolutionary acts performed in the past should be taken into account for evaluating a cadre, the evaluation should not be based only on history, without consideration of his actual performance in the class struggle, currently going on, and that primary emphasis should be placed on his consciousness in the two line-struggle. It rectified the mechanical concept and practice of party discipline, fostered by Liu Shao-Chi in the name of party discipline. The lower committees and ranks of the party were expected blindly to execute the instructions of higher committees. Reviving the true spirit of Marxism, which is essentially critical and revolutionary, it rehabilitated in the party's organizational functioning the concept of conscious discipline, that means party members should be able to judge the correct line that the orders from above reflect, because party discipline essentially, is the discipline of the correct revolutionary line of the party organization.

The Cultural Revolution also addressed itself to the problem of developing proletarian revolutionary armed forces as the bulwark of dictatorship of the proletariat, to fit in this role, the armed forces must acquire proletarian revolutionary consciousness and the capability of waging class struggle against the bourgeoisie, in unison with the struggling masses of the

working people and under the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist. A two pronged attack on this problem was attempted in the cultural revolution, involving on the one hand the revolutionary politicizing of the people's Liberation army, and on the other hand the arming of the revolutionary proletarian masses and the build-up of people's militia.

(The people's Liberation Army was a very powerful and prestigious institution in China. It had acquitted itself creditably well in the people's Democratic revolution of China and had a long tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses of the working people in their weal & woe and engaging in productive labor. Nevertheless, like all other institutions, it was prone to bourgeois influence and showed tendencies towards professionalism and stratification after the victory in the people's democratic Revolution of China. Various measures were taken by the party to check this phenomenon, for instance, the abolition of military ranks, narrowing the differences between living standards of the soldiers and commanders, continuing the tradition of fulfilling the consumption needs of the PLA by mainly relying on its own production activities and above all, carrying on political education among the ranks. Notwithstanding this it was only in the Cultural Revolution that the soldier masses of the PLA got the opportunity, after decades to participate along with the profound political education. For the first time in socialist China, they conducted political agitation within the PLA in defense of Com. Mao Tse Tung's military line and the line of the socialist revolution of China, and did cause the toppling of some big guns of PLA, who persisted in following the revisionist line of Liu-Shao-Chi and Co.

In this way, the revolution on the political front, resulted in the renewal of the communist party of China on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and revolutionary practice, lending deeper content to the operation of dictatorship

of the proletariat, through the creation of the institution of revolutionary committees and strengthening the military basis of proletarian dictatorship through developing the proletarian revolutionary armed forces.

On the plane of economic base, the Cultural Revolution consolidated and deepened the socialist content of the production process and management of the enterprises as well as that of the distribution and exchange of commodities. The class struggle and, the two line struggle on all these fronts, was focused on the question of restricting the “bourgeois right” and that of ensuring the leading role of the working class, in running the enterprises.

Under the impact of the proletarian revolutionary transformation in the superstructure, particularly the ideology, there occurred a revolutionary upsurge of the masses of the working class, to assert their mastery over the socialist enterprises. They refused to be treated as a mere economic category – labor force – an object of management carried by few specialists working in seclusion. They struggled to acquire and assert their true identity as self-conscious socialist producers, who were not only the most potent productive force but also the masters of the conditions of their own work. And in this process, they came into sharp conflict with the revisionist line of Liu Shao-Chi & Co., on running the socialist enterprises.

The revisionist line, in practice, was “opposed to launching vigorous mass movements, to the principle of cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations and of close co-operation among cadres, workers and technicians and opposed to putting politics in command.....” “just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses and so forth.”

Implementing and carrying forward the true spirit of the

“Charter of the Anshan Iron & Steel Co.” the mass proletarian revolutionary movement challenged and swept aside all those irrational rules and regulations which used to foster a rigid pattern of division of labor, stifle the initiative and innovative genius of the worker masses, tie-down every worker exclusively to a specific pole and which were used through practicing “control, checks and coercion” by revisionist cadres and specialists for imposing bourgeois dictatorship over the worker in the factories.

Not only the principle of cadres participating in the productive labor and workers participating in management, was vigorously implemented but the latter, the major aspect of the principle, was institutionalized, in the form of various workers administrative groups, in the workshops and mass management committees at the team and squad level. It enabled the workers to exercise revolutionary supervision over the cadres and the cadres to remold their outlook and relations with the workers, thus the revolutionary workers particularly of Shanghai, through the mass movement of “struggle-criticism-transformation” gave concrete shape to Com. Mao Tse-Tung’s concept – “management itself is a matter of socialist education” by effectively restricting the “bourgeois right” existing in the relations among people engaged in production work. This proletarian advance in strengthening socialist relations among the cadres, technicians and workers in turn, consolidated the socialist revolutionary achievement already made in liquidating the “bourgeois right” in the system of ownership of the means of production, in the sense that, it furthered the process of transformation of the formal ownership of the enterprises by the working people into actual ownership.

So far as the relations of distribution and exchange were concerned, the main feature of the mass proletarian revolutionary movement was that of criticizing the ideology of the “bourgeois right” in these spheres, although some measures for actually

restricting the “bourgeois right” were also initiated. The revisionist line relying on material incentives strengthened the idea of doing work for the sake of increasing one’s share in the distribution of the commodities produced. While struggling against the revisionist line, which generated mercenary approach towards socialist labor, the revolutionary masses of workers subjected themselves to public scrutiny and criticism in order to trace and get rid of this bourgeois infection and effect their own proletarian revolutionary remolding. Through political education and their own experience of struggle against the revisionist line, the revolutionary masses of the working class came to realize that appeal to individual material interest had been a pernicious weapon in the hands of revisionists for vitiating the revolutionary consciousness and class solidarity of the masses and distracting them from their historical mission of building communism, that without purging their own thinking of such bourgeois poison they won’t be able to effectively combat revisionism; hence emerged their fighting slogan “fight self, combat revisionism”.

It was this awareness that prompted the Shanghai workers to spurn the offer of wage increase made by revisionist bosses for pacifying the revolutionary tide. In so many cases, the workers labored overtime to boost production or meet some urgent production requirements without extra remuneration. While on the whole, the socialist principle of “from each according to one’s capacity to each according to one’s work” was adhered to, some sprouts of the communist principle “from each according to one’s capacity to each according to one’s needs” blossomed in relations of distribution among members of work teams with unequal capacities and in mutual dealings among unevenly situated work teams of a commune and unevenly situated communes.

A notable fruit of the efforts of the proletariat to restrict “bourgeois right” in the sphere of exchange of commodities was the institution of Socialist Big Fair in the country side, the Socialist Big Fair came into being through socialist revolutionary transformation of the traditional village trade fair, the latter used to be a channel for the peasants to exchange the products of their small private plots and family sideline occupations, and a breeding ground for capitalist tendencies and practices. Grasping it as an issue of the struggle between two roads, proletarian revolutionaries resolved to block this channel leading small production to capitalism. Through persistent political education campaign on the basic line of the party and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, criticizing the capitalist tendencies existing in rural trade fair and relying on the revolutionary propensities of poor and lower middle peasants, they gradually succeeded in persuading a large mass of peasants to sell the produce of their private plots and family sideline occupations to the state. They helped the personnel of supply and marketing cooperatives to grasp the political significance of seizing this front from the bourgeoisie and organized the supply department so as to make it more responsive to the commercial needs of the peasants. On this basis, the Socialist Big fair was organized with no trace of bourgeois practices of shouting prices and striking bargains which were associated with the old rural trade fair. By organizing various revolutionary cultural activities at the fair and commandingly projecting the features of a new socialist man, the Socialist Big fair was made an instrument of socialist education of the peasants, which, in turn made great impact on their production activities. The emergence and proliferation of this “socialist new thing” curbed the growth of capitalist factors and fortified socialist positions in the rural areas.

Thus the Great PCR of China constituted a giant step forward

taken by the Chinese proletariat on its historical march towards the goal of communism by overthrowing the bourgeoisie from its remnant positions of power and influence and digging up the soil that generates it anew. It has been great source of inspiration and illumination for the world proletarian revolutionary movement. Naturally it has been cherished by Marxist-Leninist the world over and hated by all reactionaries and their revisionist servitors.

The GPCR manifested the intensified struggle in China between two classes, two lines, two roads, and two world outlooks; hence it caused a great division and realignment of social and political forces. The magnificent first round victory of China's proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the Cultural Revolution though badly mauled the latter, yet it increased manifold its counter revolutionary hatred and resolve to fight back and undo the revolutionary gains of the proletariat. The life and death struggle between the two classes was bound to erupt with increased frenzy, sooner or later. Whether or not to carry out the Cultural Revolution whether or not halt half way, whether or not to honor its verdicts on the revisionist line, practices and protagonists and nourish its tender fruits, the "socialist new things" has been, all along, a question demarcating genuine Marxists Leninists from revisionists scabs in China and throughout the world.

### ***EMERGENCE OF COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS***

History shows that every great revolutionary movement in class-society is invariably followed by frenzied attempts for restoration on the part of defeated reactionaries till that particular revolutionary leap taken by social development gets consolidated. This historical materialist law applies to the particular socialist revolutionary leap marked by the GPCR of China as well to the

overall phenomenon of socialist revolution of China.

The proletariat of China under the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninists, with Com. Mao Tse-Tung at the head had achieved splendid political victory in the first battle-round of the Cultural Revolution by the time of the holding of the 9<sup>th</sup> Party Congress. The bourgeois revisionist headquarters and line, associated with renegade Liu Shao-Chi, had been defeated. The "theory of productive forces", constituting the basic theoretical prop of Liu Shao-Chi's revisionism, as of all other right-revisionists platforms the world over, had received a good thrashing. At the same time, the proletarian revolutionary transformation effected in various fields during this period was still to be consolidated. For this consolidation to take place. It was most essential not to allow slackening of proletarian revolutionary vigilance and drive. Of course the tempestuous form of class struggle characteristic of the first round of the Cultural Revolution was bound to give way to relatively mild reforms for some time to come but in order to consolidate the gains of the first round and be better prepared for the eventual second round, it was imperative for the proletariat to persist in firmly grasping revolution. This point of attention was being repeatedly stressed by Com. Mao Tse-Tung and his close comrade-in-arms, at that time. Various bourgeois revisionist forces were exerting themselves in various manners to disorient the proletarian revolutionary movement, precisely in respect of this point.

In the subsequent period upto the passing away of Com. Mao Tse-Tung and the counter-revolutionary revisionist coup of year 1976, the proletarian revolutionary movement encountered successively two major counter-currents unleashed by the Lin Piao clique of political swindlers and the Teng Hsiao-Ping clique of arch capitalist-roaders, respectively. These bourgeois-revisionist platforms were identical in their class content with

formally different philosophical roots; the former being rooted in the metaphysical-idealist way of thinking or reasoning, and the latter being rooted in the eclectic-idealist way of thinking or reasoning, nevertheless, the bourgeois-revisionist platform of Teng and Co. posed a greater menace in ideological-political terms, because it possessed a full-fledged line, programme, and a whole set of policies for capitalist restoration and because of its sophistry. Nevertheless, both of these counter-currents were beaten back by proletarian revolutionary forces under the leadership of Com. Mao Tse-Tung and these political platforms were subjected to Marxist-Leninist criticism, exposure and denunciation. That the Lin Piao clique and the Teng Hsiao clique opted for counter revolutionary violent means for seizing political power and enforcing their respective programmes for capitalist restoration, betrayed self-acknowledgement on their part of the political-ideological bankruptcy of their revisionist platforms in squarely facing the challenge of Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The bourgeois-revisionist platform of arch-capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-Ping and his like was raised in the summer of year 1975. It was a refurbished and updated edition of Liu Shoa-Chi's discredited revisionist line and policies for capitalist restoration. It was designed to guide the process of regrouping of bourgeois forces and their counter offensive against the advanced positions of proletarian revolution established through the verdicts and transformation of the Cultural Revolution.

A look-back on the struggle, waged by Marxist-Leninists of China led by Com. Mao, against "the right-deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts", stirred up by Teng and Co. in the year 1975 is particularly important for all Marxist-Leninists in understanding and combating the words and actions of present day revisionist rulers of China because, essentially, the same

bourgeois-revisionist forces, platform and methodology, exposed and denounced, at that time, are now instrumental in developing that right deviationist wind, once beaten back into a counter-revolutionary revisionist typhoon inside and outside China.

The bourgeois revisionist platform of Teng and Co. found systematic expression in three documents prepared under the guidance of Teng, namely, "On the General Programme for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation", "Certain questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry", (also referred to as "20 articles") and "Outline Report on Work of the Academy of Sciences". These documents, known as "Three poisonous weeds" in China, came up under penetrating criticism by Marxist-Leninist and Revolutionary masses of working people and were exposed as having ultra-right essence, as a serious revisionist attempt to create public opinion and a plan of action to reverse correct verdicts of Cultural Revolution and restore capitalism. Of these three, the first one i.e. "On the General Programme...." provided the general orientation of the all-round bourgeois revisionist counter-offensive while the latter two delineated, on its basis, specific orientations for the same on the industrial front and on the scientific technological front respectively, so as to develop these fronts as bridge-heads for pushing the process of capitalist restoration on all fronts. The key-note of "On General Programme" as well as the "Outline Report" and the "20 Articles" was Teng's fraudulent thesis: "Chairman Mao's directive concerning the study of theory, combating and preventing revisionism, stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward constitute a general programme for all work of the whole party, the whole army and the whole nation. This key-link must be firmly grasped, if we are to accelerate the development of industry".

First, something about the three directives. These directives

were issued time to time by Com. Mao in the period around the convening of the fourth National People's Congress i.e. at the end of year 1974 and start of year 1975. The most significant of these directives was the one concerning the study of theory i.e. the Theory of exercising all round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and combating and preventing revisionism. Concentrating the experience of class struggle during the Cultural Revolution and keeping in view the latest trends of ongoing complex class struggle, Com. Mao called upon the whole party and revolutionary masses of Chinese people to have a clear grasp over the imperative need to exercise all round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, from the economic base to the superstructure, reiterated his thesis that danger of capitalist restoration still existed emanating mainly from the "bourgeois right inside the party" and sustaining on the operation of bourgeois rights in the socialist economic basis and thus further concretized the party's basic line of continuing revolution under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. He pointed out, "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole Nation". Underlining the importance of criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights in this connection, he pointed out, "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money and in all this, differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed". "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to

power, then it would be very easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."

Exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is a form of class struggle where in the proletariat makes use of its political power against the bourgeoisie. By focusing on the question of exercising dictatorship of proletariat over the bourgeoisie, Com. Mao was stressing that even after the smash up of the renegade cliques of Liu Shao-Chi and Lin Piao, the proletariat must persist in "grasping class struggle as the key-link" and handle other problems and tasks on this basis. The other two directives dealt with the specific tasks of promoting stability and unity and developing national economy.

With a sleight-of-hand, the arch capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-Ping sought to replace this revolutionary orientation of all work of the party and the masses of the Chinese people with a revisionist orientation, by dishing out the thesis of "taking the three directives as the key-link" By manipulating Com. Mao's own words, so as to strike at Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, he placed the study of theory of proletarian dictatorship at par with promoting stability and unity and developing national economy, raising the latter two specific tasks to the position of the key-link and negating, in this surreptitious manner the cornerstone of party's basic line i.e. "taking class struggle as the key-link".

Not that in the "three poisonous weeds" there were no phrases about class struggle, politics in command, political-ideological education, or even the directive on the study of theory being most important of the directives. If that were the case, then the two line struggle would have been a simpler phenomenon. None was going to swallow that kind of unadulterated revisionist poison without the sugar-coating of such revolutionary phrases and it would have promptly invited on itself the wrath of the party ranks

and the revolutionary masses, especially in the situation brought about by the Cultural Revolution. So these revolutionary phrases had to be incorporated to make the “three poisonous weeds” effective weapon of bourgeois-revisionist counter-offensive. But these revolutionary phrases had no function in determining the line of development of the theme of these documents. Once stated, these revolutionary phrases were destined, in the next breath to be undermined and contradicted with other phrases and gradually divested of all meaning. With the result that the analysis of the situation under consideration, the tasks to be accomplished, and the order of priorities of these tasks, the target to be hit, the objective sought, the alignment of forces and their relative significance, in short, the whole line and set of policies dished out in these documents ran counter to what was dictated by these revolutionary phrases.

For instance, “On General Programme” was adorned with the statement: “The study of theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby combating and preventing revisionism occupies the foremost position among the three important directives.” But the whole line of argument of the document was developed on the basis of thesis, “We must take these three important directives as the key link” because all the three were, “an interconnected and inseparable entity”. Now if all the three directives together constituted an “inseparable entity” and occupied the position of “key link” then how one of them could possibly occupy “the foremost position among the three important directives?” It could not. Obviously, the earlier statement was a mere formality and irrelevant to the main theme of the document.

The matter did not end with lumping together these tasks of different order and confusing their mutual relationship. Other statements turned this relationship topsy-turvy by making the former subservient to the latter: “The purpose of our studying

theory and grasping political line is to promote stability and unity” and “Revolution is promoting the development of productive forces.” Thus, promoting stability and unity and development of productive forces were projected as prime concerns which determined the handling of all other tasks, including the tasks relating to class-struggle, i.e. these two, particularly the latter one, came to be the “key-link”. So, through the jumble of disparate and contradictory phrases, the document took a turn of hundred and eighty degrees from its initial position that the tasks pertaining to the dictatorship of proletariat occupied the “foremost position”.

Wherein lies the mischief of such statements as, “The purpose of studying theory and grasping political line is to promote stability and unity” and “revolution is promoting the development of productive forces?” Isn’t it true that grasping of class struggle and political line promotes stability and unity, that revolution promotes the development of productive forces? Of Course, it is true, and it is the semblance of this truth exhibited by these statements that allows them to be passed over at a cursory glance. “The purpose” of grasping class-struggle and political line by the proletariat is not the promoting of stability and unity but promoting of its class power, at all levels, and weakening, overthrowing, and eliminating the bourgeoisie. The state of relative stability in social turmoil and unity among revolutionary ranks is sought and achieved by the proletariat on the basis of the resolution of class contradiction, class struggle in its favor, and promoted ***in so far as it is conducive to the consolidation and extension of its class power.***

“Revolution” is not the promoting of the development of productive forces but radically altering the superstructure and the mode of production in favor of the revolutionary class (in this case,

the proletariat). The promoting of the development of productive forces is sought and achieved by the proletariat on the basis of the revolutionized superstructure as well as the economic base and pursued ***in a manner conducive to consolidation and advancement of this process of revolutionary transformation.***

The promoting of stability and unity and the development of productive forces is subordinate to and qualified by the requirements of revolutionary class-struggle and not the vice-versa.

Again, in the specific context, "The purpose", of studying theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, as clearly stated in the concerned directive, was to acquire a better appreciation of the danger of capitalist restoration, the imperative need to exercise all round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and the significance, in this connection of the tasks of combating revisionism and restricting the bourgeois right. The statement under discussion was a deliberate attempt to divert the focus from the crucial tasks. The diversionary effect was reinforced by other statement of this nature, e.g. another statement read as follows:-

"Now that our country has become a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, conditions within the country permit us to carry out peaceful construction. We are, however, facing the threat of subversion and invasion by imperialism and social-imperialism. Should not we seize the time, redouble our efforts, develop the national economy as quickly as possible and strengthen the material basis?" (On General Programme)

The analysis of obtaining situation made in the above statement projected the external threat, the intensification of the contradiction between socialist China and imperialism, as the principal factor militating against socialist construction, otherwise, "conditions within the country", permitted China peacefully to

glide into communism through stepped up economic construction, internal class contradictions being either non-existent or at least, not so intensified as to have a decisive bearing on the development of socialist revolution and construction of China, "now that" it "has become" a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consequently the need of the hour was to develop the national economy and "strengthen the material basis" of already consolidated socialist system. In this fashion, with all the pretensions of discussing and upholding the three important directives of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung the above statement threw away the very analysis of the prevailing situation, which had prompted Mao to issue these directives i.e. the persisting danger of revisionist takeover of party and state power and restoration of capitalism.

The mischief of these statements lies in their plausible look but false and misleading essence. The essence being: the negation of the principal contradiction, the principal aspect of the contradiction and the primary issues by confusing these with the non-principal ones. The sophistry of these statements is intended to cover their eclectic essence.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion, that the basic premise of the "three poisonous weeds", i.e. "taking three directives as the key-link" was tantamount to advocating "not taking class struggle as the key-link". Once the actual content of this revisionist premise is seen through, it is not that difficult to figure out what this bunch of capitalist roaders was up to in saying "to implement these three important directives is to implement the party's basic line" and "we must take these three important directives as the key-link, sum up the experience gained since the GPCR, set up concrete policies in all fields and use this general programme and various policies to direct and rectify all areas of work". (On General Programme)



One, they proposed to reverse the party's basic line of continuing revolution under conditions of proletarian dictatorship to one of promoting stability and unity and development of productive forces, consigning revolutionary class struggle to oblivion (that being the actual context and purpose according to them, of implementing the three directives) Two, they proposed to reverse the positive verdict of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> party congresses, on the GPCR by summing up its experience on the basis of this bogus "key link" instead of the key-link of class struggle. Three, they proposed to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution on directing all areas of work through 'all round' rectification to be carried out on the basis of this revisionist general programme and various policies set up in its light. In order to draw all work in the orbit of capitalist restoration.

No wonder that this revisionist general programme of "taking the three directives as key link" for reversing the line and gains of socialist revolution of China, particularly that of the Cultural Revolution, was strongly, denounced, by Mao "What taking the three directives as the 'key-link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class-struggle is the key-link and everything else hinges on it".

Despite all the zig-zag routes taken by their arguments these invariably converged, essentially, on making the point that the proletariat should not 'unduly bother' about class struggle. But the capitalist roaders themselves were not oblivious of the demands of class struggle even for a single minute. The negation of class struggle was meant to ideologically disarm the proletariat, lull its revolutionary vigilance and push on under this cover, their own class struggle against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Politics, bourgeois politics, constituted the central core of all their schemes and deeds. While they tom-tommed the

issue of "stability and unity" and "four modernizations", pursuit of political power through grabbing leading positions in Party and state apparatus remained their central preoccupation.

In this connection "On General Programme" impressed on all the revisionist elements that "in the rectification of various areas, the rectification of the party and its work is the most important" and that "the key to implementing chairman Mao's three important directives and various concrete policies is the strengthening of the leadership bodies of the party committees at all levels".

Commenting on the situation that prevailed after the Cultural Revolution in respect of party leadership of enterprises, the "20 points" bewailed, "unreformed intellectuals and bold elements are in power. These people are politically ignorant and inexperienced in production, yet they make the most noise, pointing their fingers and calling the shots, accusing people and singing a high sounding tune but never working out concrete problems." So "those leadership bodies that contain unreformed intellectuals and 'bold elements' must be reshuffled" and these should be manned by hard core revisionist elements who "can stand a hard battle and will not crumble upon the first attack".

Who were those 'unreformed intellectuals' and 'bold elements' placed in positions of power by the Cultural Revolution? None, other than advanced elements from among the revolutionary masses of the working people and genuine Marxist-Leninists, upholding Mao Tse-Tung's proletarian revolutionary line and waging uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie. They were the targets of this counter-revolutionary campaign for "the rectification of the party". "On General Programme" coined another term for the leading group of genuine Marxist-Leninists in the CPC namely, "anti-Marxist class enemies", who hoist the banner of combating the "ultra-left". It characterized as "anti-

Marxist class enemies” those who “wave the banner of combating revisionism” and “opposing restoration” and “topple good party cadres and progressive model personalities”. It stated that “the contradiction between these Anti-Marxist class enemies and the masses of the people is an antagonistic one”, and struggle against them was “a concentrated expression of the current struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines”. In this manner, “three poisonous weeds” attempted the reversal of the Party Congresses’ assessment that revisionism was the main danger by shrieking about the wolf of “ultra-leftism” and the reversal of the respective positions of the leading forces of the socialist revolutionary movement, and the forces constituting the main target of this movement, namely, the party persons in power taking the capitalist road. It was an attempt to pass off the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat as proletariat’s struggle against the bourgeoisie, create public opinion for toppling leading proletarian revolutionary forces and bring back to power the capitalist roaders toppled during the Cultural Revolution i.e. for the seizure of political power by the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois revisionist general orientation, pushed through the general methodology of eclectic reasoning and sophistic phraseology of the “Three Poisonous Weeds”, found specific expression in various concrete policies for switching work on different fronts on to the revisionist track of capitalist restoration.

The “20 points” and “The Outline Report” formulated a set of concrete policies each for the work on the industrial front and the scientific research and technological front respectively and set the pattern for similar revisionist attempts in other fields. These policies were a polished rehash of what had been repudiated on these two fronts by the Cultural Revolution and were aimed at negating the revolutionary transformation brought about in these

fields by the Cultural Revolution.

Negating the significance of innumerable technical innovations made and astonishing technical feats accomplished by worker masses, and certain world-class scientific advances made by scientific workers under the guidance and inspiration of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought during the Cultural Revolution, the “outline report” painted a dismal picture of the existing state of affairs in this field. It bewailed that China was hopelessly lagging behind the Western countries in this respect: “our science and technology falls considerably short of world standards”. The way to “face up to the existing gap” was “to introduce foreign achievements”. After some ritualistic references to the policy of self-reliance, it stressed the aspect of “borrowing” “in order to gain time and speed, we must import some advanced technology and equipment”.

The Cultural Revolution had established the primacy of “open door research work” linked with the experiences of productive activities of the masses over “laboratory experimentation” and that of “applied research” linked with the specific requirements of China’s socialist industry and agriculture over the “theoretical research”. The “Outline Report” in typically Tengian style, ventured to undermine this policy: “a lot of research work calls for field experiments. However.... we must not demand that all research work ‘take the factory and the countryside as the base’, and indiscriminately shout the slogan ‘open the door to conduct scientific research’”. And “while we improve our applied research work, we must also emphasize and strengthen our theoretical research”. “Theoretical research often does not yield immediate results; it is therefore vulnerable to attack. Due to this, the support and concern of the leadership at all levels is required and relevant and concrete arrangements should be made...” research centers of the Academy of Sciences and some higher educational institutes

with the proper facilities should also share the responsibility for more theoretical research. This should all come under an overall plan.”

The Cultural Revolution had insisted on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and leadership of the party as an indispensable condition for properly developing the scientific work and making it serve the socialist cause. On this basis, it had brought about a new situation in this field. The “Outline Report” sought to bring about a change in the current situation of academic laxity and the settling of academic questions, simply by administrative methods, through encouraging “debate and discussion of different scholastic viewpoints.” It echoed the sentiments of the big-wigs of the Academy of sciences, who were not reconciled to work under the leadership of “ignorant” proletarian revolutionary cadres. Insinuating against the latter’s faithful adherence of the Cultural Revolutionary policy of promoting criticism of bourgeois revisionist theories in the realm of natural sciences and encouragement given by them to scientific workers with proletarian revolutionary consciousness it stated, “We must not simply force conclusions by administrative orders, by supporting one faction and suppressing another. We cannot moreover, judge on the basis of a majority vote, age or political performance, we cannot accuse all the academic viewpoints of the scientists in the capitalist and revisionist countries of being capitalist and revisionist, thereby negating everything at will”.

In this manner the “Outline Report” sought to reverse the whole orientation of the work in the field of science and technology, undo the changes brought therein by Cultural Revolution, oppose the proletarian policy of revolutionary remolding of the outlook of intellectuals contaminated by bourgeois revisionist influences and undermining the exercising of proletarian dictatorship over all fields of work including the field

of scientific research and technology.

Negating the significance of the “struggle-criticism-transformation” campaign launched by revolutionary masses of workers to do away with irrational rules and regulations, bourgeois principles and practices of enterprises-management, the bourgeois aspect of relations among the cadres, technicians and the workers, and strengthen thereby the socialist orientation of the enterprises and leading role of the working class; denying the fact that, as a result of all this there had occurred a great spurt in the revolutionary enthusiasm of masses of workers for socialist construction and in their productive activity, the “20 Points” portrayed the situation on the industrial front in dark colors. In “a substantial number of enterprises” it bemoaned “management is in chaos, work productivity is low, product quality is poor, maintenance is expensive, costs are high and breakdowns are frequent”. Imputing absurd motives to the “struggle-criticism-transformation” campaign the “20 Points” babbled, “Opposition to enterprise management and operational rules will inevitably lead to anarchy”. It offered a diagnosis of what ailed the enterprises, “management is in chaos, production has suffered prolonged stagnation” because one “bad people are in power, while good people suffer” and two a “strict system of regulations” was lacking in the functioning of enterprises. So “these enterprises while rectifying and strengthening the leadership must simultaneously rectify enterprises management practice and lay down rules of operation”.

The so-called rectification of enterprise management, demanded by the “20 points” obliterated the social class aspect of this problem. It made out enterprise management to be above class phenomenon. It echoed Teng’s bureaucratic capitalist view on enterprises management.

“To develop national economy, every enterprise,

department and work unit must set up and strengthen a strict system of regulations". "As production, science and technology become more developed, the required system of regulations which reflects such developments become more tightly knit. Also, the demand to strictly follow the system of regulations becomes greater.... Not only is this so in capitalist society, it is also the same in socialist society and will be the same in the future communist society" (On General Programme). Accordingly, "a system of responsibility is the core of the system of operational rules in an enterprise. Without a system of tight responsibility, production can only be a battle of chaos. Building a system of responsibility is a crucial aspect of rectifying enterprise management." Deliberately focusing on the aspect of man's relation with nature in the process of production and obliterating the crucial aspect of relations among men engaged in productive activity, the diehard revisionist Teng Hsiao-Ping blurred the distinctive features of a socialist enterprise that demarcate it from a capitalist enterprise. His, "system of tight responsibility" was a system of absolutising the division of labor, tying every worker to an exclusive job and work situation so as frustrating the political, technical and organizational development of workers, suppressing their innovative talent and introducing the bureaucratic practices of "control, restriction and repression" of the working masses which were repudiated by the Cultural Revolution.

Com. Mao Tse-Tung had long back refuted such reactionary fallacies of Liu Shao-Chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping. In his critique of economics, Comrade Mao observed, "There should be a basic distinction between the principles governing management of socialist and capitalist enterprises." (Unions and single leadership system note: 34). Concerning the management of socialist enterprises he put forward his celebrated thesis "management

itself is a matter of socialist education".

The 20 Points flouted Mao's directives on enterprise management and substituted "system of tight responsibility" for "socialist consciousness and socialist relations" as the "core of enterprise management in order to enforce bourgeois dictatorship over the worker masses and transform the socialist enterprises into bureaucratic capitalist enterprises.

While pretending to uphold Chairman Mao's directive on a study of theory of proletarian dictatorship, the "20 Points" negated its most essential direction in the field of socialist economy i.e. the cruciality of restricting the bourgeois rights. Negating the significance of criticizing the ideology of bourgeois right and restricting it step by step in the realm of distribution, the "20 Points" directed its sharp edge against "egalitarian distribution" as if that were the main tendency afflicting the distribution system. Projecting a static view of socialist relations of production, particularly of the basic distributary principle from each according to his capacity to each according to his work, it laid stress only on the aspect of its compatibility with the existing state of development of productive forces. "At the present stage, this is in accordance with the requirements of the productive forces, and must be implemented" but evaded the other aspect of its incompatibility with the requirements of further development of productive forces. In this manner, the 20 Points denies the very basis of seeking revolutionary transformation of the relations of production "at the present stage." The denial of the aspect of incompatibility of the relations of production, in particularly the relations of distribution with the requirements of development of the productive forces would imply either the non-existence of bourgeois rights or at least impermissibility of restricting these, and any attempt on the part of revolutionary masses of the proletariat under the

leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninists to curtail bourgeois rights in distribution could be beaten with the stick of “opposing egalitarianism”.

Commenting on the hostility shown by Teng and other capitalist roaders towards the deepening of socialist revolution in the economic base and curtailing of bourgeois rights, Com. Mao Tse-Tung summed up, “with the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the communist party – those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road”.

The most pernicious policy pushed forth by the “20 Points” was that of liberal import of advanced technology from Western countries. This policy undercut the accepted General line on economic development of socialist China worked out by Com. Mao Tse-Tung i.e. “going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism” by maintaining independence, retaining initiative and regeneration through self-reliance.

To begin with, it highlighted, “advanced technology” as the decisive factor in the industrial development of a country, obliterating the decisive role of the social system. It stated, “For an industrially backward country to catch up with an industrially advanced country, it must adopt advanced technology, we must do the same”, as if the course open to an under-developed capitalist country and under-developed socialist country for industrial development were the same one. In the case of the former the bourgeoisie is incapable of unleashing the enthusiasm and creative initiative of the broad masses of working people and

tapping the enormous native potential for economic development. Consequently, the bourgeoisie cannot but choose to rely on the technical assistance of advanced capitalist countries in the vain hope of arriving at the “take off” stage. The statement contains the veiled suggestion that socialist China would have to “do the same”. It emphasized the point that, “it is necessary to learn humbly from foreign experience and to selectively import advanced technologies from abroad for our purpose.” The ritualistic reference to the principle of independence and self-reliance, and opposition to the philosophy of slavishly learning from abroad and crawling slowly behind was immediately followed by the expected “but...” and the counter thrust : “But we must not be conceited and close our doors to everything and refuse to learn at all from abroad. All industrial ministries and science research units must firmly grasp the favorable opportunity that has been created by the success of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line in foreign policy, and try to learn as fast as possible the new technologies which we need”.

The “20 Points” would soon reveal the real purpose behind the incessant chant of “try to learn as fast as possible” the new technologies of the Western countries “to increase the importation of advanced foreign technologies exports must be increased.” So that was it, if China were to push forward her industrial development she must, “increase” the importation of advanced foreign technologies”. The “20 Points” gradually and cautiously unveiled the contours of this new “major policy”: “In certain areas of production, we may import from foreign countries entire sets of modern facilities, to be paid back by our production of oil and coal” (quite a way “to selectively import advanced technologies”!); “To speed up the development of coal and oil in our country, we may consider, the adoption of certain practices in international

transactions, like long-term credit and contracts under conditions of equality and mutual benefit.”

Thus, under the deceptive banner of ‘modernization’ of China’s industry, the “20 Points” sought to push socialist China on to the track of comprador capitalist development advertised by imperialism. Taking serious notice of Teng’s propensities for disregarding the fundamental conflict of interests, ideas and approaches to problems of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and projecting such economic practices as enterprise management, international trade etc. to be above class phenomena, Comrade Mao Tse-Tung remarked in disgust, “This person does not grasp class struggle, he has never referred to this key link, still his theme of “white cat, black cat making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism”.

Following the lead given by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung in exposing, through various directives, the revisionist eclectic nature of this new platform raised by Teng and company, genuine Marxist-Leninist leading cadres of the CPC took up the ideological battle to concretize the criticism of this platform, to help the revolutionary masses in grasping the vital issues involved and to raise their consciousness of the two line struggle and class struggle. As the struggle against the right deviationist wind to reverse the correct verdicts was increasingly gathering momentum and developing into a great revolutionary mass movement of study, exposure and criticism of the capitalist-roaders, the counter revolutionary incident at Tien-En-men Square took place.

This counter revolutionary incident staged by the bourgeoisie was an act of great defiance of the dictatorship of proletariat and leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. It was indicative of the nervousness and desperation of the clique of diehard capitalist roaders grouped around Teng Hsiao-Ping in view of the unfolding revolutionary mass movement of grand exposure and criticism

of their restorationist platform and activities. At the same time, it was indicative of the serious dimension of consolidation of their social base and hold on party and state apparatuses that had taken place in the aftermath of Lin Piao affair and on the basis of which they were emboldened to adopt a bellicose posture. It pushed the Teng Hsiao-Ping problem to the plane of antagonistic contradiction and force the hand of proletarian revolutionary HQs headed by Mao for an early resolution of this contradiction through organizational measures, before the process of political ideological exposure of his bourgeois revisionist platform at mass level, had been fully consummated. After the toppling of Teng Hsiao-Ping from positions of party and state power and subsiding of the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, the mass movement of study, exposure and criticism of capitalist roaders and their restorationist platform lost its earlier momentum notwithstanding persistent efforts of leading Marxist-Leninist cadres to maintain this momentum. Consequently although the poisonous weeds, nourished by Teng Hsiao-Ping, were moved down at the time, these could not be thoroughly uprooted. And now after the counter revolutionary revisionist takeover of party and state power in China, these poisonous weeds have sprouted with a vengeance, burying under their wild growth the red flowers of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Socialist Revolution and even the New Democratic Revolution of China.

### ***THE GREAT REVERSAL***

In order to dismantle the socialist system and restore capitalism, the renegade Ten-Hua clique was bound to bring about counter-revolutionary transformation first of all, in the socialist Superstructure of China. Having seized political power from the proletariat, the next step was that of eradicating the pervasive

influence of proletarian revolutionary ideology and culture. But new revisionist rulers wanted to buy off some time for achieving a relative consolidation of their counter revolutionary political power before they could launch a frontal attack on the established basic line of CPC and Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

They had usurped party and state power by pretending to be revolutionary successors of Com. Mao Tse-Tung and made use for this purpose of that despicable double dealer Hua Kuo-Feng. It did serve temporarily to cause confusion among a great number of people as to the nature of the political change that had taken place. This confusion was to their advantage as it ruled out any concerted opposition from revolutionary masses of the Chinese people, to their counter-revolutionary seizure of political power and provided them enough time to fortify their new position. An immediate frontal attack on the basic line of party and Mao Tse-Tung Thought would have prematurely exposed the sinister features of these renegades and invited trouble. That was one of the main reasons why they deliberately evaded theoretical debate during the period following the October coup upto the convening of the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and indulged, instead in mere personal slanders against the arrested four prominent leaders belonging to proletarian revolutionary HQs headed by Mao.

Even after the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, for a period covering most of the year 1978, the revisionist theoretical offensive was carried out, mainly on the pattern of the right deviationist wind of the year 1975 i.e. the writings and speeches, in the period, were generally exercises in eclecticism and sophistry. But the revisionist thrust of these writings and speeches was more pronounced. Thinly veiled, criticism of the post-1958 period and line was initiated through laudatory references to the earlier period and line and occasional comments were there to suggest

that some drastic and unprecedented change had occurred mainly to assure the bourgeois forces inside and outside China that the country had changed color for good, as also to let the Chinese people gradually know that things were no more the same as used to be. The propaganda material of this period was a prelude to the full-scale theoretical offensive of year 1979 and meant for preparing the ground for switching to this offensive.

So, one could, still, come across formal reiteration by the ruling Teng-Hua revisionist clique, of the revolutionary position on the key question of the principal contradiction in Chinese society, though it be a toothless presentation.

“During this new period of development, the principal contradiction in our country is still that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Some of the cases that come under this contradiction belong to the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, but most of the cases belong to the category of contradictions among the people. Enemies who fight against socialism are always only a small handful while the people who support and back socialism comprise over 95% of the population”.

*(Hua's speech at All Army Political Work Conference  
– Peking Review no. 24, 1978)*

The latter part of the above excerpts from Hua's speech following the first sentence, served to blunt the revolutionary edge of the former. The actual emphasis was on the point that “most of the cases” that come under the principal contradiction between the “proletariat and bourgeoisie belong to the category of contradictions among the people”. The sly attempt, on the one hand, was to confuse two different kinds of demarcations (One, among those who follow the capitalist road there should be a demarcation between the handful of diehard capitalist roaders as

the vanguard detachment of the bourgeoisie and the so many, genuinely, revolutionary cadres and working people who unwillingly fall prey to bourgeois-revisionist line and practices; two, there should be a demarcation between the social-political forces locked in mortal conflict as the two opposite aspects of the principal contradiction i.e. between Marxist-Leninists and the proletariat on one side and revisionists and the bourgeoisie on the other side) and on the other hand, to confuse two different stages of development of this principal contradiction corresponding to two different phases of development of the Socialist revolution of China mediated by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (The characteristic feature of the latter phase was the striving of the proletariat for exercising all round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and resolving the principal contradiction with the bourgeoisie through revolution). To say that the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie operated in most of the cases as contradiction among the people was tantamount to negating the new phase of development of socialist revolution of China as well as the new advances made by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung in the theory and line of carrying forward socialist revolutionary process.

But more often than not, the revisionist statements made in this period were bolder than the one in Hua's speech. The echoes of Liu Shao-Chi's revisionist thesis, of the Eighth Party Congress period, could be heard loud and distinct:

"To develop the social productive forces is one of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to bring about such developments, with technical innovations and technical revolution as the prime mover, constitutes an important aspect of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship". It was for this reason that the resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

in 1950 correctly pointed out."Since we are dedicated to the cause of communism, we must, first and foremost be enthusiastic about developing productive forces".

*(Is it Necessary to Develop the Productive Forces in Continuing the Revolution – Lin Kang. P.R. No. 4, 1978)*

In so many ways it was being suggested that Liu Shao-Chi's labor had not gone in vain and was bearing fruit after two decades. "We are now implementing the line of the 11<sup>th</sup> party congress. The making of this line had gone through a very long process of practice and development and can be traced back to the late 50's".

*("A Fundamental Principle of Marxism" Jiefang Jin Bao, Special Commentator, P.R. No. 28, 1978)*

And that the victory of this clique and this line was the outcome of a 'decisive battle' of "rare occurrence" and constituted a "turning point" in the history of CPC and socialist China: "Our struggle against the 'Gang of Four' is a decisive battle of historic importance. Both in depth and breadth, it is a battle of rare occurrence in the history of our party. The victories we have won in this battle have tremendously changed the balance of class forces in our country in favor of the proletariat and brought profound changes to the political, economic, military and cultural spheres". (New Year's Day Editorial by Renmin Ribao" - "Hongqi and Jie Fangginn Bao"- A Bright China, P.R. No. 1, 1978) "This was another great turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution; profound changes have now taken place in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres throughout the country." (A Major Move in Continuing the Long March- Joint Editorial-F.P. No. 9, 1978)

On the plane of ideology, the revisionist moves were still of



cautious and subtle nature aimed at corroding the certainty of the truth of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought through the use of double meaning phrases. Citing a quotation from Mao, "Thought must reflect objective reality and must be tested and verified in objective practice before it can be taken as truth; otherwise it cannot.", an impression was created as if Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought were not generalization, systematization of the experience of social practice, corroborated by the revolutionary practice of international proletariat over a period of hundred and more years but a theoretical proposition, 'a thought' yet to be tested in practice before it could be accepted as truth. "But Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought itself needs to be tested in practice". (A Fundamental Principle of Marxism)

The shift in the line and policies for the development of technology and economy was more tangible. The proletarian revolutionary principle of cadres' participation in productive labor was on the way out: "It has been reaffirmed that at least five-sixth of work-hours each week must be guaranteed to scientific and technical personnel to engage in professional work. Therefore, we must.... strictly control the time for other activities.

*(On the Situation in China's Science and Education  
- Fang Yi, member of Political Bureau - P.R. No. 2, 1978)*

"When we say that at least five sixth of their work time should be left free for their scientific and technical work, this is meant to be minimum demand. It is still better if even more time is available for this purpose. If some persons work seven days and evening on end to meet the needs of science or production, that show their lofty spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of socialism".

*(Speech at opening ceremony of National Science  
Conference: Teng Hsiao-Ping - March 18, 1978, P.R. No. 12)*

What about the directive policy of "being both red and expert"? To devote oneself to the socialist science and contribute to it is an important manifestation of being red, the integration of being red with being expert" (Ibid).

The hegemony of the proletariat on the front of science and technology exercised through firmly establishing the leadership of its political party over the professional work was to be renounced.

"It is impossible for Party committee to handle and solve all these matters. We must honestly admit that in scientific and technical work there are many things we don't know".

"We should give the directors and deputy directors of research institutes a free hand in the work of science and technology...." (Ibid)

The proletarian revolutionary policy of relying on the masses of working people for developing scientific and technical work and striving to raise proletarian contingents in this field was to be discarded as old convention and reliance was to be put on outstanding talent".

"On the question of talented people, we must particularly stress the need to break with convention in the discovery selection and training of those with outstanding talent... The history of science shows that great results can be produced in the field of science from the discovery of a genuinely talented person!" (Ibid)

Key colleges and universities can break with conventional practice and enroll exceptionally outstanding young people at any time".

*(Outline National Plan for the Development of Science and  
Technology, Relevant Policies and Measures.- Fangyi Minister  
Sc. and Tech. P.R. No. 14, 1978.)*

Such kind of scientific and technological work as was 'free'

from 'interference' of the party and obligations of proletarian remolding of professional intellectuals and relying on the masses of working people, could very well be guided by any bourgeois scientist or technical expert, native or foreign, hence:

"We will also invite foreign scientists, engineering and technical experts to China to give lectures, serve as advisors or join us in scientific research". (Ibid)

Advance technology from Western countries was to be made "the new starting point" of China's advance to modernization:

"While keeping to the principal of independence and self-reliance, we should strive to learn advanced science and technology from foreign countries .... and make it the new starting point of our advance".

*(On the Situation in China's Science and Education  
- Fengyi, Member of Political Bureau, P.R. No. 2, 1978)*

In order to fully appreciate the meaninglessness of such talk by the Teng Hua revisionist clique as "keeping to the principal of independence and self-reliance" one needed simply to listen to its unashamed eulogizing of imperialist economics based on sophisticated technology:

"There are many examples in the world where a country is developing its economy at a high speed by introducing advanced techniques and equipment from abroad..... One experience gained by Romania and Yugoslavia in rapidly transforming the backwardness of their national economy is also that of large scale introduction of advanced foreign techniques to all branches of the National economy so as to bring about sustained, high speed development of their industry and agriculture. Yugoslavia has now become a fairly developed country".

"Science and Technology has no class character".  
*(Why China Imports Tech. and Equipment P.R. No. 41, 1978)*

"History tells us that many less developed countries were pushed to the front ranks of the world by this method. After World War II, some capitalist countries successfully introduced technology from abroad to quickly resuscitate their war-ravaged economies and thus made huge strides forward. Some socialist countries have done the same".

*(P.R. No. 49, 1978)*

So, "keeping to the principal of independence and self-reliance" could come to mean, "long-scale-introduction of advanced foreign techniques to all branches of the national economy" and leaders of a 'Communist' party and a 'Socialist' country could come to rave like mean compradors dazzled with the technological and economic achievements of imperialist system. Did not Mao explain that under given conditions opposites change into each other!

In their pursuit of altering the character of Socialist production and carrying-out capitalist restoration, the revisionist rulers of China could be heard repeating the accusation, hurled..... by renegade Khrushchev at Com. Stalin, that Stalin underestimated the workings of the law of value in sphere of production (Stalin correctly asserted that in the sphere of Socialist production the law of value played no regulating role and that this role is played by the law of planned proportional development and state planned economy).

"Stalin was going too far when he said that the law of value had no regulating function in production under socialist system but at the most some influence on production...."

"In drawing up the state plan we can and must see to it that the law of value through price policies plays a definite part in regulating production.

*(P.R. No. 46, 1978)*

In his critical comments on Stalin's work "Economic problems of Socialism in the USSR" Mao Tse-Tung reiterated Stalin's position on this issue:

"Commodity exchange laws governing value play no regulating role in our production. This role is played by planning, by the great leap forward, under planning by politics in command".

*(A Critique of Soviet Economies pg. 130, Monthly Review Press, 1977 edition.)*

In his 'Reading Notes on the Soviet Text', he treated the issue in detail:

"The law of value serves as an instrument of planning. Good. But the law of value should not be made the main basis of planning. We did not carry through the Great Leap on the basis of the demands of the law of value but on the basis of the fundamental economic laws of socialism and the need to expand production. If things are narrowly regarded from the point of view of the law of value the Great Leap would have to be judged not worth the losses and last year's all-out effort to produce steel and iron as wasted labor.... In sum we put plans ahead of prices, of course, we cannot ignore prices". *(Ibid pg. 87/88)*

In utter disregard of the above basic orientation of the process of socialist production, prominent role was being assigned to the law of value. The November 17, 1978 issue of the Peeking Review juggled with statistical data to make the point that the progress of national economy up to the year 1958 (that is prior to the formulation and implementation of the General Line, under the guidance of Mao Tse-Tung, for socialist construction) was quite encouraging but "after 1958 wages did not increase regularly nor did labor productivity", progress was tardy, all because work thereafter, was not done fully in accordance with the demands of the law of value. "Now, that

we are doing things once again according to this law, we are bound to achieve good results".

Proletarian revolutionary consciousness and socialist enthusiasm of the workers for stepping up production, greatly heightened by the Cultural Revolution, were being corroded by reintroducing and inflating the significance of material incentives. Even the most retrogressive piece-work wage system, rejected and buried by the workers way back in 1958, was being resurrected.

"Another example is Whampoa Harbour in Kwang Chau. The introduction of piece-work wage system for teams of stevedores has effectively stimulated the enthusiasm of the dockers and staff. Loading and unloading are done promptly and efficiently. In some cities where an appropriate amount of material rewards are given to the barbers who do more work, efficiency has shot up and there is no more waiting."

*(Integrating Moral Encouragement with Material Reward, P.R. No. 16, 1978)*

This kind of propaganda for material interests will make capitalism unbeatable!"

*(Mao Tse-Tung "A Critique of Soviet Economics" pg. 79)*

Thus by close of year 1978, the shift to a frontal theoretical attack on all aspects of the basic line for socialist revolution and construction of China, and Mao Tse-Tung Thought as well as to full-scale operation-restoration had been accomplished. Ever since, the counter-revolutionary onslaught against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and socialist system of China has been going on at a gallop.

China's economy has been put on the course of comprador bureaucratic capitalist development relying on not only sophisticated Western technology but also foreign monopoly capital. Doors have been plunge open for massive inflow of foreign

monopoly capital in the form of big loans for buying sophisticated technology and equipment and collaboration enterprises. Under the compulsions of this bankrupt course of economic development, the process of reorganizing industrial and agricultural production on lines of export-oriented economy has been initiated with the prospect of integration of China's economy with international imperialist economic order.

“Our government decided last year to make use of foreign funds in an appropriate way and not tie ourselves down to any particular formula. Any internationally accepted practice will be adopted”.

“To improve our ability to repay we must expand our exports. As you know, we have accepted compensatory trade in foreign trade. We undertake to process and assemble for foreign firms that supply the raw material and parts. There are also other new forms in foreign trade we have adopted”.

*(On the Development of Modern Industry – Interview by Hua Guang, Vice-Minister in Charge of State Capital Construction Commission; P.R. No. 12, 1979)*

“We have adopted the method of adjusting production according to sales and integrating industry and trade. Adjusting production according to sales means, selling stocks on hand as well as future deliveries, that is, signing contracts with buyers to produce goods according to their designs and specifications and delivering the goods in the specified time”.

“We can adopt the methods of compensatory trade, processing buyers' material for production of export goods according to buyers' specifications”.

“... .. We accept joint ventures and foreign businessmen can take part in running and managing enterprises....”

*(Interview with Zon Sigi, a leading member of the*

*Export Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Trade; P.R. No. 17, 1979)*

To the discomfiture of certain apologists of Teng-Huacompradorism who attempt to whitewash it by saying that resorting to these economic measures a matter of expediency for socialist country in special circumstances of imminent threat of aggression by Soviet Social imperialism there is a categorical statement by the revisionist rulers of China:

“The introduction of foreign capital, technology and equipment is not a matter of expediency but a strategic policy decision”. *(Ibid)*

As an important symbol and instrument of China's comprador relationship with foreign monopoly capital, a powerful central capitalist institution has been floated under the name “The China International Trust and Investment Corporation”. “Rough Yiren, a former Shanghai industrialist” is the “Chairman of the Board of Directors and President of the Corporation.

“Most of the 44 directors are former industrialists and businessmen from various Chinese cities, and industrialists and businessmen from Hong-Kong and Maccau.”

“.... It shall employ its personnel according to their merit and try out a contract system.”

“Other business activities will include acting as agents under contract for foreign manufacturers and merchants in relation to advanced technology and equipment and engaging in joint ventures inside and outside China, or making investment itself”.

*(New China News, 17-10-1979)*

With the new capitalist orientation of China's economy, it cannot retain the feature of planned proportionate development that being a fundamental specific feature of socialist economy. It has to undergo a process of uneven development resulting in

sectoral and regional disparities under the dictates of considerations of quick and more profit and foreign exchange earnings. More so, because of its path of dependent capitalist development. Hence, the new guideline is:

“Develop those trades and branches of the economy that will produce quick results, earn more profits and foreign exchange and that can compete on international market so as to accumulate more funds, import advanced techniques and quicken the pace of construction.

The proportion of investments for iron and steel should be reduced”.

*(Guidelines for Economic Construction; Renmin Ribao Editorial Feb. 24, 1979)*

What about Mao’s directive slogan for industrial development that is, “Taking steel as the key-link”?

“In order to do a good job in readjustment it is necessary to emancipate the mind and make reassessment of those policies and principles which Lin Biao and the ‘gang of four’ sanctified and forbade others to discuss. The principle of ‘Taking steel as the key-link’ is a case in point”. *(Ibid)*

On the agricultural front, the policy of restricting and removing regional disparities through the intervention of state planning and financial allocations is to be discarded in favor of the new pattern of specialized production on regional footing.

“China is a vast country and natural and economic conditions differ in various areas. This calls for specialized production on a regional footing. The major share of the state agricultural investments should go into the construction of a number of marketable grain and cash crops production centers and livestock-breeding, fishery and forestry basis....”

“... These basis should have up-to-date machinery and be

scientifically managed to get the highest returns with the minimum of efforts”.

“Letting some major areas go ahead to build up modern agriculture and the people there improve their standard of living in a planned and systematic way to become examples for the rest of the country will spur others to follow suit.”

*(On Farm Mechanization; P.R. No. 11, 1979)*

This typically bourgeois logic, that the prosperity of the few spurs the many in adversity to follow suit leading to general prosperity, is similarly used to justify the policy of fostering polarization among various communes, the various brigades in a commune, various teams in a brigade working under different sets of natural and other conditions;

“The aim of allowing the peasants to get different incomes is not to enlarge the differences but to gradually narrow them”.

Fine, let us see how:

“There are two ways to achieve this; one is to go backwards as the ‘Gang of four’ advertised that is using restrictive methods to check the advance of well off communes and brigades. But this will not reduce the differences between those who are well off and those who are not, and even if such difference is reduced, the result will be ‘common poverty’ instead of common prosperity. The other way is to go forward, that is, acknowledge the difference, opposing absolute egalitarianism and allowing and encouraging members of some advanced units with higher collective incomes to earn more and have a higher living standard so as to inspire the less advanced to follow their example”.

*(Let Some Peasants Become Well off First; P.R. No. 9, 1979)*

So, in order to consolidate and develop the social-economic base of the bourgeois-revisionist rulers of China in the

countryside, "Agriculture will be modernized area by area, through concentrated use of farm machinery, first in areas where conditions are superior. In the first few years, efforts will be concentrated in areas with 5 percent rural population.

*(Measures for Agricultural Modernization; New China News, 17.10.1979)*

A similar line is being taken on the educational front aimed at creating an elite stratum, from among the educated young people, as successors of the bourgeois counter-revolutionary cause, who should be capable of coping with the demands of new bourgeois economy and administration. The emerging system is a dual-education system with special institutions for grooming academically bright students, mostly comprising of children of high Party and state cadres and other well-placed families.

"A number of universities and colleges, middle and primary schools have been selected as key schools throughout the country. These schools are provided with better teachers and better equipment and have the advantage of enrolling the best students."

"Many schools have divided student of the same year into 'quick' and 'slow' classes in accordance with their standard, and some schools have set up special classes for the very best".

*(Education: Apex and Base of a Pyramid; P.R. No. 20, 1979)*

To cap it all, hundreds of these privileged students are to be sent every year to imperialist countries for getting technical and other training.

So, even the resorting of capitalism is a huge joint-venture of the Chinese bourgeoisie and imperialist bourgeoisie of the West.

It would have been extremely difficult for the ruling Teng-Hua revisionist clique to adopt and effectively carry out the out

and out reactionary line, policies and measures for wrecking the socialist economic base of China and promoting comprador-bureaucrat capitalist development without setting scores with the basic theory and line of CPC headed by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung for the entire historical period of socialism, renouncing these, in more or less, categorical terms and displacing these with the basic revisionist theory and line of the arch-revisionist Liu Shao-Chi and his loyal successor renegade Teng Hsiao-Ping.

Casting away the formal posture of adherence to the chief postulate of the basic line, that firmly grasping the key-link of class struggle and persisting in socialist revolution is the central task or focus of all work of the party and dictatorship of the proletariat, it has been pronounced by this clique that production or "four modernizations" is the focus of all work of the party:

"1979, the first year of the shift of the focus of the country's work to modernization..."

*(The Decision on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development (Draft) Adopted by the Third Plenum of 11<sup>th</sup> C.C. of CPC).*

"The party Central Committee has now decided that, from now on, barring large-scale invasion by enemies from without, the work of the whole party will be centered on production".

*(On the Development of Modern Industry – Interview by Hang Gaung, Vice-Minister in-Charge of Capital Construction Commission; P.R. No. 12, 1979)*

"China has now entered a new historical period in which the central task is to bring about the four modernizations".

*(Deng Hxioping: Opening Speech at the Second Session of the CPC, Fifth National Committee P.R. No. 25, 1979)*

"Modernization is the pivot of the political life of the Chinese

people,” Ye Jian Ying said...

*(Ye Jian Ying; Speech at a Rally on the Occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of PRC; New China News, 3.10.1979)*

“... Class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society...”

*(Hua Guo-feng;- “Report on the Work of the Government” delivered at the second session of the Fifth National People’s Congress on June 18, 1979)*

(The words in the last quotation come from the same Hua Guo-feng who an year earlier on June 16, 1978 had said that the principle contradiction in China was still that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road!)

This chief postulate of the proletarian revolutionary basic line, as much as the whole basic line, rests on theoretical foundation of the general class analysis of socialist society made by Lenin and carried forward by Mao to the effect that politically overthrown and economically expropriated old exploiting classes do not vanish, for a fairly long period, from socialist society, that material and spiritual conditions still remain under socialism which give rise to new bourgeois elements, that after one generation of the bourgeoisie ceases to exist new bourgeois generation will appear on the same scene so long as the conditions for their subsistence and regeneration continue to exist, and that these circumstances does give rise to the danger of capitalist restoration and the necessity of taking class struggle as the key-link. The revisionist negation of the chief postulate of the proletarian revolutionary basic line, in effect the whole basic line, can acquire some teeth only if these analysis of Lenin and Mao too are negated and displaced by theory of dying out

of class struggle under conditions of socialism:

“Class struggle still exists to a certain extent after the exploiters of our country no longer exist as classes.”

*(Ye Jian Ying speech)*

“Chinese intellectuals including the overwhelming majority of those elderly ones who experienced the old society, have become a sector of the working class and are consciously working hard for the cause of socialism.”

“The over-whelming majority of the capitalists who can work have transformed themselves into working people earning their own living in the socialist society... .. As working people, they are now contributing their share to the socialist modernization programme.

*(Deng Xiao-Ping: Opening speech.....)*

“As classes, the rich peasants have ceased to exist..... the capitalists no longer exist as a class.

*(Hua Guo-feng: Report)*

“The economic system of Socialism, including the principal “To each according to his work” cannot in any way be the base giving rise to the bourgeoisie.

*(To Each According to His Work, Socialist Principle in Distribution – Li Hunglin P.R. No. 7, 1978)*

In such an almost ‘classless’ and immune-to-bourgeoisie society as China of Ye’s and Deng’s and Hua’s description, it would be ridiculous to have designations indicating the existence of classes and class antagonism! So,

“China has decided to remove the designations of those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have remolded themselves and to treat them as regular member of rural communes. They account for the great

majority of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements...”

*(New China News, 1.2.1979)*

Thus the Teng-Hua revisionist clique claims that China is no more a class-society, that class contradictions and class-struggle are no more the motive-force for its social development, hence, continuing the socialist revolution for restricting and eliminating bourgeois rights in the economy and the super structure and the “three major differences” is no more the basic line of the CPC which now is that of pursuing the ‘four modernization’ through grasping production as the key-link (since any further improvement in the relations of production can only be made on the basis of the greatly developed productive forces and “Following the change in the economic base, the super structure will also undergo changes sooner or later.” *(Wu Chiang; P.R. No. 3 1978)*). The concept and task of exercising all round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie makes no sense to this clique as no bourgeoisie as a class is around or can arise anew. Of course “there are still counter-revolutionary elements, elements engaged in corruption, theft and speculation and criminals over whom the dictatorship still has to be exercised”. *(Renmin Ribao, Editorial April 11, 1979)* but it comes under the category of law and order enforcement which is different from the political function of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But there is more to it. The above stated stand of the Teng-Hua revisionist clique of the class situation in China and the basic political line resting upon this analysis of Chinese society is applicable not merely to the current period but to the whole period since the transition from New Democratic Chinese society to Socialist society was in the main, realized in the year 1956. According to this clique, the shift of the focus of all work of the

party, the state and the people from socialist revolution to production was due to the time the Eighth Party Congress was held in 1956 but “for various reasons especially the interference and sabotage by Lin Biao and the ‘gang of four’ this shift was not completed” *(Ibid)*. With the result, that the ‘wrong’ basic line evolved on the basis of ‘wrong’ analysis of Chinese society remained in force from the year 1958 up to the year 1976 i.e. the year of usurpation of political power by this clique. Obviously, the practice of class struggle and the two line struggle during this period, guided by a ‘wrong basic line’ (the proletarian revolutionary basic line worked out by Com Mao Tse-Tung) could not but be like-wise ‘wrong’.

The Great Leap Forward and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were the two major events in the revolutionary practice of class-struggle, of this period and the exposure and smashing of Peng Teh-Hui in 1959, the bourgeois revisionist Headquarters of Liu Shao-Chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping in the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, the bourgeois revisionist HQs of Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta in the latter phase of the Cultural Revolution, the campaign to criticize Teng and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts in 1975-76, constituting the major events in the two-line struggle. Quite understandably, all of these (with the omission of the one concerning Lin Piao, for certain tactical reasons) come under the revisionist guillotine:

“Ye Jian Ying enumerated the major ‘leftist’ mistakes:

“... Although it was necessary in 1957 to counter the attack of a handful of bourgeois Rightists, a mistake was made in broadening the scope of the struggle” (In other words, the mistake was in extending the struggle against representatives of the bourgeoisie outside the Party to those within it);



“... Guidance in economic work in 1958” (The Great Leap Forward)” “departed from the objective law and principles of carrying out thorough-going investigation and study and of testing all innovations before popularizing them. There were mistakes in giving arbitrary directions, being boastful and stirring up a ‘Communist Wind’ “;

“... in 1959, an inner Party struggle was improperly carried out against so-called Right opportunism” (Peng Teh-Hui and his like for their Right opportunism – “so called” by Mao Tse-Tung)

“These ‘leftist’ errors plus the 3 years of natural calamities and the scrapping of contracts and withdrawal of specialists by the Soviet government led to serious reverses in the economy in the late 50’s and early 60’s”, Ye said.

“But the point is that, “he added” at the time when Cultural Revolution was launched, the estimate made of the situation within the party and the country ran counter to reality, no accurate definition was given of revisionism and an erroneous policy and method of struggle were adopted, deviating from the principle of democratic centralism”

*(New China News, 3.10.1979)*

“Through their so-called campaign to ‘criticize Deng Hsiao-Ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts ..... The ‘gang of four’ tried their utmost to topple the older generation who, with Comrade Deng Hsiao-Ping as the exponent, firmly advocated the ‘four modernization’.

*(Zhon Yang, Vice-President of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; P.R. No. 21, 1979)*

The Cultural Revolution being the most extensive and profound revolutionary practice of the proletarian revolutionary line of Com. Mao Tse-Tung, and hitting the revisionists where

and the way it hurt most, the period of ten years of the Cultural Revolution is particularly resented and vilified by them:

“Interferences and damage done to agriculture were especially serious during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution when Lin Piao and the ‘gang of four’ pushed an ultra-left counter-revolutionary revisionist line...”

*(The Decision.....Third of C.C. CPC)*

“The havoc which the counter-revolutionary gang wrought for 10 long years spelt calamity for our people and constituted the most severe reversal to our socialist cause, since the founding of the People’s Republic”.

*(Ye Jian Ying N.C. No. 3.10.1979)*

“Our line has been correct for the greater part of the last 30 years”. *(Ibid)*

And the smaller part of the last 30 years when “our line” has been incorrect is constituted by the ten years of Cultural Revolution.

Political-ideological line is the decisive factor. Once the line is reversed, reversal in other matters inevitably follows. Given the official revisionist appraisal of the revolutionary line and practice of the Party in the period following the Eighth Party Congress (that it was quite wrong during the ten years of Cultural Revolution causing, “the most serious reversal to our socialist cause, since the founding of the people’s republic” and defective earlier resulting in “major leftist mistakes”), the measures taken by them to ‘rectify’ the mistakes and political-organizational effects of the ‘wrong’ line and practice should not be surprising. On rehabilitating Teng Hsiao-Ping, Peng Teh-Hui, Liu Shao-Chi and thousands of small fry, they have only carried ‘things to their logical conclusion.’

This revisionist tribe of Liu Shao-Chi had fought and failed against the same revolutionary line and practice which has now been judged and declared 'wrong' by the Teng-Hua clique on the strength of usurped political power and the former had fought for the same cause and from the same political-ideological positions as those of the latter. These rehabilitations are quite in line with and symbolic of the counter-revolutionary triumph of revisionism in China. It is immaterial whether rehabilitated ones are alive or dead. The person is not important, the rehabilitation is that of the political-ideological line represented by the person as much as it is the damnation of that ideological-political line and its representatives fighting against which the person had earlier gone down.

(This kind of rehabilitation has nothing in common with such rehabilitations as are done on the basis of the rectifications of either the person concerned or the error of judgment committed by some Party body proceeding against the person. In the case of rectification of the person, he repudiates the wrong political ideological line and practice that led to his downfall and the line or position of the Party, on the basis of which the person concerned was proceeded against, stands vindicated. In the case of rectification of error of judgment in dealing with the person concerned, the question of line is not involved and the error is rectified in the usual way as other functional errors are rectified. It is on the part of certain apologists of Teng-Hua revisionism to sell the idea that the rehabilitation of Teng, Peng and Liu etc. do not involve the question of line.)

While the Teng-Hua revisionist clique pronounces negative verdict on the proletarian revolutionary basic line and its practice developed under the leadership of Com. Mao Tse-Tung, its posture of reverting to the political line and the cause of economic

development in force at the time of the Eighth Party Congress is not genuine either. It falls back upon the positions of the Eighth Party Congress just to be able to wield Liu's revisionist theory of dying out of class struggle under socialism and theory of productive forces as sticks for striking at the revolutionary basic theory, line and practice which matured during the period following the Eighth Congress. Despite the inadequacies of revolutionary theory and practice at the time of the Eighth Party Congress, these cannot be adopted by this clique as instruments of restoring capitalism in China. For this purpose it has to look somewhere else; may be the experience of Khrushchev's Russia or Tito's Yugoslavia. Having discarded the specific experience and form of socialism in China (with which Mao's revolutionary line, the practice of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution are inseparably linked), this clique is in quest of some other form of 'socialism' which may provide a deceptive shell for concealment and nourishment of the comprador bureaucratic capitalism that is being rigged up by it.

"There must be no vacillation over the principle of socialism and the socialist road, but the specific form of socialism must be studied."

*(Emancipate Our Minds and Blaze Our Own Road; PR.  
No. 20, 1979)*

"... Socialism, to a large extent is still something to be studied, explored and put into practice. Let us.... through a comparative study of the various forms of socialism, find out the best road to socialism".

*(Zihon Yeng: The Third Movement.....)*

Com. Mao Tse-Tung critically assimilated and further developed the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the fundamental

problems of socialism. The basic theory and line for carrying out socialist revolution and construction developed by him i.e. the theory of continuing revolution under conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat is his most important contribution to scientific socialism and is a vital component of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

In its “new long march” in quest for the “best road to socialism” the Teng-Hua revisionist clique could hardly afford not to reject and cast away this vital component of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, in more or less categorical terms. Neither could it afford plainly to say that Mao Tse-Tung Thought is all humbug. It has been marshaling all its revisionist wits and tricks to wriggle out of this awkward situation. Mere distortion of Mao Tse-Tung Thought does not work to justify this clique’s clean break with the revolutionary past and socialism. So, it as well attempts to pruning and diminution of Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought. This purpose is sought to be achieved as a result of the cumulative effect of multi-pronged attack.

There can be seemingly innocent phrases which are soundless bullets fired at Mao:

“It is impermissible to belittle the collective or the masses or to exaggerate the role of individual leaders”.

*(Ye Jian Ying speech...)*

There is damnation with faint praise:

“Mao Tse-Tung Thought is a valuable part of the spiritual treasure house of our party and the Chinese people. It plays an important guiding role for our cause not only today but for a long time to come”.

*(PR. No. 25, 1979)*

So Mao Tse-Tung Thought is not the embodiment of the essence of the spiritual treasure house of the party and the people of China, it is just “a part” of it, though valuable! It is no more the **guiding ideology** of the party in pursuing the revolutionary cause, it plays only “an important guiding role”.

Moreover, even this “an important guiding role” is played by “Mao Tse-Tung Thought” contained in just two of his works, namely “On the Ten Major Relationships” and “On the Correct Handling...” and rest of the guiding role is played by Liu Shao-Chi’s Thought expressed in the documents of the Eighth Party Congress:

“Ye Jiang today stated that Mao Zedong’s important works “On the Ten Major Relationship” and “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People” and the major documents of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956 contain the guiding principles for China’s socialist revolution and socialist construction”.

*(NCN 3.10.1979)*

Still Mao Tse-Tung Thought, deeply embedded in the minds of the vast masses of Party ranks as well as lower and middle level cadres and the working people of China, goes on haunting the Teng-Hua revisionist clique. In order to erase thoroughly this powerful revolutionary influence of Mao Tse-Tung Thought over the masses, this clique has launched the ‘Movement to Emancipate the Mind’.

In this huge campaign for brain-washing, the main ideological weapon used by this clique is pragmatism. This pragmatism is wrapped up in the catch phrase, “Seeking truth from facts”. Actually, it used to be a revolutionary motto of the CPC for promoting Marxist-Leninist style of work. It was a popular way of

saying that communist work methods must be based on the Marxist theory of knowledge, establishing the dialectical unity of theory and practice, the latter aspect being determinant.

This clique grossly distorts the meaning of “Seeking truth from facts” in order to snap the dialectical connection between theory and practice and negate, in the name of upholding the primary role of practice, the great role of revolutionary theory in influencing practice. The objective of this clique in undermining the significance of theory, in general, is to undermine the significance of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought which is a summing up of revolutionary practice at theoretical level. It seeks to ideologically disarm proletarian revolutionaries of China who oppose and resist on the strength of their grasp of Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought, its counter-revolutionary wrecking of socialism in China.

For these pragmatists everything is open to question and revision, on the strength of the revisionist practice and conclusions:

“... all theories, Marxist theories included, come from practice and have to be tested in practice. We adhere to anything that has been proved to be correct in practice; we will also revise anything that has been proved wrong in practice”.

*(Emancipate Our Minds and Blaze Our Own Road P.R. No. 20-1979)*

Any discerning eye can get at the meaning of such seemingly general phrases as the following:

“The spirit of seeking truth from facts is the spirit of opposing blind faith, opposing the practice of blindly following others and ideological rigidity”.

*(Zhaon Yang – The Third Movement to Emancipate the Mind. PR. No. 21. 1979)*

Here “blind faith” denotes Mao Tse-Tung Thought; “others” are Mao Tse-Tung and other leading proletarian revolutionaries of China; “ideological rigidity” denotes the firm commitment of communists of China to the revolutionary legacy of Mao.

“This fore tradition was wantonly wrecked by Lin Piao and the ‘gang of four’ with their ultra-left slogans and their all-out advocacy for contemporary blind faith”. *(Ibid)*

Lest someone should think that “blind faith” refers to some cult in ancient China, it is made explicit by adding the adjective “contemporary”. What could be the “contemporary blind faith” advocated by the “gang of four”? Unmistakably, Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

“They took advantage of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung’s high prestige inside the Party and among the people at large, of the rigid thinking of some of the comrades in our ranks, and of the naiveté of some of the young people”. *(Ibid)*

What advantage had been taken of “Com. Mao Zedong’s high prestige” by the proletarian revolutionary leaders? The advantage of popularizing revolutionary basic line and policies formulated by Mao and Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought for criticizing and combating revisionism.

“Through their so called campaign to ‘criticize’ Deng Xiao-Ping and reverse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts and through continuing to use their contemporary blind faith, the ‘gang of four’ tried their utmost to topple the revolutionaries of the older generation... with Com. Deng Xiao-Ping as the exponent... *(Ibid)*

The counter revolutionary character of the present

'Movement to Emancipate the Minds' is betrayed through linking it with counter-revolutionary disturbance at the Tien-En-Men square in April 1976. At that time also the counter-revolutionary elements cried out that minds should be emancipated from the hold of "Chin Shia Huang (the historical allusion for referring to Mao Tse-Tung) and Mao Tse-Tung Thought and demanded "genuine Marxism-Leninism".

"This mammoth mass movement at Tien-En-Men square presaged the advent of another great movement to emancipate the mind in the history of our revolution. (*Ibid*)

This "Another Great Movement to Emancipate the Mind" has been whipped up to break the ideological resistance of proletarian revolutionary masses to the restorationist policies and acts of the Teng-Hua revisionist clique:

"... The erroneous tendency of failing to come out of the state of ossified thinking, or even still being mentally fettered by the contemporary blind faith created by Lin Piao and the 'gang of four' and thus being unhappy with or opposing the strategic shift of the focus of the whole Party's work.... ... this tendency is opposed to emancipating the mind and doing away with blind faith and even regard the creative new principles and policies drawn up by our party in the height of the new conditions as grave mistakes and regard it as a breaking away from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought". (*Ibid*)

Hence,

"Emancipating the minds is more than to meet the needs of socialist modernization, it is also the pre-requisite to socialist modernization. Ideological changes have always preceded vast social changes". (*Ibid*)

How true are these words! In these words, the revisionists

give themselves away, "Ideological changes have always preceded vast social changes".

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought must be displaced by revisionism as the dominant ideology in China before 'vast' social changes i.e., through transformation of socialist system into capitalist system, can be brought about; as it turns out the principle task of Teng-Hua revisionist clique too is not the developing of production but carrying out the great bourgeois cultural counter revolution.

What if some people refuse to 'emancipate' their minds from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought? These incorrigible proletarian revolutionaries of China are being flushed out of the Party and State apparatuses, persecuted and suppressed. Whatever is left of the once great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China is being systematically stamped out of existence. Coming first in the line of fire is about one third of Party membership which has been the product of the Cultural Revolution. In order to thoroughly transform the composition of the CPC in favor of bourgeois intellectuals and professionals and refashion it on the lines of a bourgeois fascist party, the earlier basis and method of recruiting party members and promoting cadres is being changed.

"He stressed the necessity of transforming the current cadres system. He said that it had serious shortcomings and was not conducive to the discovery, selection and training of bright minds. He said, "We should command and assign for responsible posts those fine cadres who devote themselves to the four modernizations, who have liberated their minds and are ready to study and explore and constantly improve their professional knowledge...."

*(NCN 3.10.1979 Ye Jian Ying, speech....)*

This is the sum and substance of developments in China since the October, 1976 coup. The Teng-Hua ruling clique has discarded Mao's basic theory and line for China's socialist revolution, reversed the course of China's economic development, cast away the experience and achievements of China's socialist revolution, especially those of the period of cultural revolution, restored those revisionist theories, line and policies and individuals, that had been exposed and rejected by revolutionary means by Chinese people under the leadership of Mao, denigrated the revolutionary leading role of Mao, particularly in the period of socialist revolution of China, launched a concerted attack on the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, unleashed various obscurantist, religious forces in China, opened the flood gates of decadent Western bourgeois culture to inundate China, changed the political complexion of the Communist Party of China by purging it of genuine proletarian revolutionaries and stuffing it with cast-away revisionist elements, initiated the process of altering its class composition, so as to succeed in rigging up the capitalist system in China without obstruction and delay.

The fundamental reversal of the character of China's guiding ideology, political line, state, Party and course of economic development gets reflected in its external relationships that is, economic relations with other countries, state relations and Party to Party relations.

The state to state relations exhibit China's new orientation of capitulation to imperialist state, in particular, imperialist USA, and support to reactionary regimes everywhere (excepting social-imperialist USSR and its lackey regimes because of the

clash of reactionary nationalist interests of China, with those of the former at this time), and hostility towards all genuine revolutionary movements of the people of the world. (Excepting the sham support to movements directed against Soviet-Social-imperialist, with selfish motives.)

The party to party relation too are being readjusted on the new ideological basis of revisionism, resulting in forging of fraternal bonds with arch-revisionist parties such as Tito's 'Communist League of Yugoslavia' and Togliatti's 'Communist Party of Italy' (the only obstacle in fraternizing with the revisionist CPSU being the hostile behavior of soviet states), Patronizing all opportunist Parties and groups who are ready to swallow the Teng-Hua's general line of renouncing proletarian revolution, ganging up with their respective reactionary ruling classes in the name of fighting against soviet social imperialism and hostility towards all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups.

The new orientation of China's external relationship based on revisionism cannot but be diametrically opposed to revolutionary line of Lenin and Mao Tse-Tung for external dealings:

"We advocate unity with all Marxist-Leninist, with all revolutionary people, with the people in general. In no case, do we want unity with anti-communist and anti-people imperialists and reactionaries. Whenever possible we shall establish diplomatic relations with them too and strive for peaceful co-existence with them on the basis of the 'Five Principles'. But this is in a category different from our unity with the people of all countries".

*(Mao Tse-Tung: Tasks at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the C.C. of CPC; Jan 30, 1962)*

Covering internal affairs as well as external affairs, the reversal

is total and all-round.

Yet there is no dearth of such so called Marxists in our country and elsewhere who maintain closing their eyes to this overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that CPC under the leadership of Teng-Hua revisionist clique is still Marxist-Leninist Party and China is still a socialist state. Some of them go to the whole hog in defense of Teng-Hua revisionism, willing to concede that Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought were not necessarily correct and hail the recent developments in China as a turn for the better, thereby showing themselves up as an utterly rotten lot. But most of them prevaricate. With a view to evade a clear cut stand on this fundamental question of ideology and line, and deceive Communist revolutionary ranks, they pretend to have serious reservations on some of the policies or acts of Teng-Hua clique. Genuine Communists cannot afford to have 'reservations' on questions related to Ideology and line. They must take unequivocal stand in relations to these developments in China and the CPC under Teng-Hua leadership. And that stand can be none other than the one advised by Com. Mao Tse-Tung for such eventuality:

“If China’s leadership is usurped by revisionists in future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and masses of China to combat revisionism”.

## **SAFEGUARD MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT AGAINST “LEFT” REVISIONIST PICK-POCKETS**

*An Expose of the Ideological Hinges of 'Party Programme' of the Renegade Trio alias R.C.P. (India)*

An English translation from the original Punjabi text.

A few arch-irresponsible and disruptionist elements, renegades to our revolutionary line and organization, have played a cruel joke with the communist revolutionary movement by renaming themselves as the 'Revolutionary Communist Party (India)'. This 'party' has projected afresh a draft program and line for the Indian revolution. This trio of political-lumpens (Surinder, Joginder and Jagsir) has demonstrated through this feat that they have bid farewell to Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-Tung Thought and communist revolutionary movement and become a trumpeter of neo-Trotskyism.

To ascertain and examine the current forms of stands adopted by this opportunist trio is just like undertaking an ordeal of describing the contours of floating clouds. This trio hardly commands any serious political standing and is worthy of little attention by the communist revolutionary forces. In the context of our organization, for a certain period, these political minikins had come to enjoy undue importance, owing to the especially negative role played by this trio in the process of ideo-political confusion and organizational disintegration which brewed up in our organization. Keeping in mind the specific requirement of that certain period, we have sufficiently unmasked their political character and hypocritical nature through our various writings.

As a result of its exhausted potential for misleading the ranks about its claim as a genuine representative of our organization i.e. UCCRI (ML) "Nagi Reddy Group", and its political and organizational exposure among the ranks temporarily swayed by it, it had to face extreme discreditedness rather too soon. In order

to somewhat prolong its political existence, now in the process of extinction, it has now staged a big somersault and has tied itself to the garbage-wagon of "left" crypto-revisionism. Hence arises, the necessity to expose and defeat the revisionist thrust of the line being projected by this lumpen-trio these days. Because, no-doubt, this trio in itself is of no special political significance but the revisionist deviation, in whose hands it is serving currently as a tool, poses a serious danger. Because, although due to its irresponsible and unreliable political character, it can, at the most, serve as a worthless tool, yet to the extent, there prevails objective ground for the "left" crypto-revisionist deviation to flourish and to the extent, it will take time to expose and blunt the effectiveness of this deviation, to that extent, this deviation will lend some vitality to the decadent existence of this trio.

Much like with other different variants of revisionist deviations, in this variant of revisionist deviation as well, the setback suffered by the proletarian revolution in China has played the role of a midwife. With the victory of counter-revolution in China, a giant-pillar of the world proletarian revolution has crumbled down and with the shock-waves thus caused, many unsteady sections of the Communist revolutionary camp have lost their bearings. They have been swept off the feet by one or the other variant of revisionism. Being the most effective ideological mainstay of the contemporary communist revolutionary movement, Mao Tse-Tung Thought has become the select-target of various hues of revisionist onslaught. That is why the struggle to defend Mao Tse-Tung Thought happens to be the main content of the struggle against modern revisionism.

Communist revolutionary forces were, as yet, in the initial stages of recovering from and countering the onslaught of right revisionism of Teng variety and dogmato-revisionism of Hoxha variety when "left" crypto-revisionism launched its attack from



within. In the absence of a high-caliber leadership to guide the communist revolutionary forces in their struggle against revisionism and to defend Mao Tse-Tung Thought, under the very cover of the banner of this struggle, "left" crypto-revisionism has succeeded in raising its head and launching an attack.

The "left" crypto-revisionism has utilized as a handle the problem of investigating the causes of the reversal of proletarian revolution in China for its rise. This issue had significance for the communist revolutionary forces as a part of fighting more effectively the onslaught of Teng as well as Hoxha type revisionism because both these counter-revolutionary currents were utilizing the developments in China in their favor and preparing a ground for repudiating the revolutionary authority and teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. What was required from the communist revolutionary forces was that they, while delving to the extent possible into this phenomenon, should pinpoint that the victory of Teng-clique at this juncture in the development of class struggle in China is neither an indicator of the fact that this clique is an adherent of correct socialist revolutionary line nor the defeat of proletarian revolutionary forces indicates that Mao Tse-Tung Thought has been proved incorrect as a whole or in part; rather, this negative development has, in a way, corroborated the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Mao about the basic problems of transitional period of socialism and the orientation to tackle them and thus *it has affirmed the revolutionary authority of the integrated whole of Mao Tse-Tung Thought.*

But by twisting the problem of probing the setback to Chinese revolution by diverting it from the real issue, the protagonists of "left" crypto-revisionism have forged it into a weapon to strike a covert blow on Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Apparently opposing all those who have launched frontal attack on Mao Tse-Tung Thought or those who have openly rejected it, they have opted for subtle

means to achieve the same counter-revolutionary objectives. Under the garb of pinpointing certain errors and shortcomings of a "secondary nature" in the thinking and practice of Comrade Mao, they are, in essence, dittoing, albeit in a subdued tone, all those charges which have been hurled at Mao by other revisionist renegades.

Basing on their so-called "preliminary summation" concerning the setback to socialist revolution in China, the sort of conclusions they want to project, when shorn of all verbiage, in its bare explicit form, run as follows:

During the People's Democratic stage of Chinese revolution, it was led by the Chinese Communist Party not as a Communist organization with proletarian socialist revolutionary consciousness but basically as an organization with bourgeois democratic revolutionary consciousness. Up-till sixties, even Mao remained under the sway of revolutionary bourgeois democratic consciousness. Though in later period, he developed himself as a Communist revolutionary whereas his associates, in the main, remained confined within the realm of bourgeois-democracy. But even in later period, his thinking continued to be somewhat marked with remnant influences of democratic stage of Chinese revolution. Consequently, he fell prey to the tendency of approaching problems with a nationalist angle and could not come up to the mark as a consistent upholder of proletarian internationalism.

In the contemporary era, when imperialism has developed into a world-wide system, he created an artificial division between internal and external contradictions and attributed a decisive role to the development of internal contradictions. This paves the way for flourishing of a narrow nationalist concept as against the proletarian internationalist concept of world revolution. The Communist parties struggling for seizing state power make the

requirements of their 'own' revolutions, and victorious parties, the task of construction and defense of socialism in their respective countries, as their prime concern and relegate the requirements of world proletarian revolution to a secondary place. Thus, the seeds are sown for their degeneration and defeats.

Implementing the specific experience of Chinese revolution in a mechanical way, he raised the tactic of identifying the principal enemy, for the given period and of building a broad united front against it from being a suitable tactic at a certain time to the level of a general principle. In so doing, the comprehensiveness of the revolutionary blow of proletarian revolution is curtailed, a part of the enemy, imperialism, remains secure from the onslaught of revolution and great revolutionary possibilities are lost (as it happened during the second world war). While assessing the present international situation and chalking out the current orientation for the international Communist movement, adhering to the same tactical principle, the erroneous tactic adopted by Mao of identifying the two imperialist super powers as the main enemy and building a broad united front against these, served later on as a stepping-stone for the emergence of revisionist "Three World Theory".

Thus, these crypto-revisionist charlatans, revising the so-called errors and shortcomings of a secondary nature (!) committed by Comrade Mao are pretending to defend Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Where is the need to reject Mao thought lock, stock and barrel, when the device of throwing away, under the pretext of errors and shortcomings of a "secondary" nature, all those basic revolutionary teachings of Comrade Mao which have special relevance and significance in the present context, does click?

Thus, all this loud orchestration about proletarian internationalism by the adherents of "left" crypto-revisionism,

propping up its head on an international scale, is not merely an expression of romantic revolutionism. Being churned out through this is the insidious insinuation that, in the past, Comrade Mao and the international Communist movement under his stewardship had failed to uphold the revolutionary spirit of proletarian internationalism. (This blatant insinuation is being hurled at Comrade Stalin and the Third International quite openly).

In fact, through all their rhetoric about proletarian internationalism, they are out to cover their retreat from the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Mao on one of the fundamental problems of world proletarian revolution viz. national question. Under the pretext of the need of special emphasis on proletarian internationalism to curb the evil of reactionary nationalism in the context of developed capitalist countries, they are out to negate the national question in general. Even anti-imperialist revolutionary nationalism is a taboo to them. They are out to negate this theoretical proposition of Comrade Mao that in the countries under imperialist domination, the history has entrusted the flag of nationalism in the hands of Communists and that this nationalism in the hands of the Communists is an applied version of proletarian internationalism (i.e. the Communists approach their national tasks from their internationalist class standpoint). In this way, they put the proletariat on a track which detracts it from one of the basic historical currents of world proletarian revolution, a very powerful current in the present world situation i.e. the national democratic revolutionary movement. They are attempting to muddle this ideological understanding of the proletariat that to achieve its world historical mission, it has not only to support national democratic revolutionary movement but also endeavor to attain its leadership. And for the proletariat of the countries under

imperialist domination, all talk of establishing the hegemony of the proletariat over the national democratic revolutionary movement, without emerging, through their program and practice, as a most consistent and resolute nationalist force in the eyes of broad masses of the people, is nothing but a mere fantasy.

Under the rhetoric of proletarian internationalism, the negative approach towards, the national question being promoted by these "left" crypto-revisionists, on the one hand, is an approach of derailing the proletariat of developed Capitalist countries from the path of proletarian internationalism because it calls upon the proletariat to turn its face away from the most important demand of the times emanating from proletarian internationalism. This demand is: while intensifying their class-struggles in the face of developing revolutionary situations in these countries and making all-round preparations for utilizing the revolutionary opportunities which may develop in the future, they should contribute to the maximum extent possible for revolutionary advance on the most active front of world proletarian revolution (i.e. the front of national liberation and national democratic revolutionary movements). On the other hand, this negative approach leads the proletariat astray on the peasant question in the context of countries under neo-colonial domination because in these countries, national question is, in essence, a peasant question, national liberation becomes the liberation of peasant masses and the striking force of the national liberation movement is, in the main, based on the organized and armed strength of peasant masses.

The sharp edge of the ideological thrust of this "left" crypto-revisionism can be stated as follows: In the struggle to topple world imperialism, lack of faith in the revolutionary potential of all the class forces struggling for national liberation, in general and in the peasantry, in particular; lack of faith in the capacity of the

proletariat to establish its leadership successfully over its strategic allies; thus, lack of faith in the revolutionary affectivity of the basic tactic of the proletariat of building united front of struggle with its long-term as well as possible temporary allies; and as a concomitant of it, lack of faith in the related basic revolutionary teachings of Comrade Mao. (This is the essence of modern Trotskyism as well). This lack of faith in the revolutionary potential and alliance of non-proletarian allies of the proletariat i.e. this lack of faith in the combined potential of motive forces of world proletarian revolution is the fountain-head of lack of faith about the possibility of any big advance of revolution in normal times, it makes the revolution dependent upon the mutual confrontation and destruction within the enemy camp and in the absence of such a situation, nullifies the revolutionary initiative of the proletariat. This defeatist thinking, expressing lack of faith in the possibility of any big revolutionary advance, without a situation of mutual confrontation within the enemy camp, is the generator of defeatist politics being projected by this "left" crypto-revisionism in a veiled manner.

This chanting by the adherents of "left" crypto-revisionism about world-wide revolutionary onslaught by the proletariat, when inter-imperialist war actually breaks out, is not merely an expression of "left" adventurist revolutionism; enclosed in the glittering shell of this "left" phraseology is the rusty kernel of their present defeatist politics. Their shrieking-pointed references to the great challenges of great revolutionary possibilities and dangers to be really faced by the world proletarian revolutionary movement in the days to come, in fact, is a conspiracy of diverting its attention from the challenges of revolutionary possibilities and dangers confronting the world proletarian revolutionary movement right these days. Rather, it would be more correct to say that through

their slogan-mongering about the future challenges, they want to divert attention from the challenges of the present and their flight from the revolutionary struggle required to face these challenges.

To-day, when the entire imperialist system is engulfed neck deep in great crisis, and when in a bid to tide over this crisis, the imperialist powers, especially the two super-powers, have launched a massive attack on the livelihood and earnings of the toiling masses of the world, particularly the toiling masses of the backward countries; when repression is being enhanced every day to stem and crush their retaliatory struggles, then, the task of successfully leading the struggle of the toiling masses launched for giving a fitting resistance to this reactionary economic political onslaught and molding these struggles in a revolutionary fashion becomes a great challenge to the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

To-day, when the present all-pervasive economic crisis has further spurred the already sharpening general crisis of the capitalist system, when the last resort to cushion the blow of this general crisis i.e. the neo-colonial system, is itself engulfed in a great political instability; and when imperialist powers, especially the two super-powers, have launched an offensive of political-military intervention, instigating of local wars and establishing and extending war bases in the underdeveloped countries in order to tighten their grip over the source of raw materials, markets, usurious regions and recruiting-centers for the mercenary forces, then, the task of organizing national resistance against this imperialistic political-military offensive of the imperialists and their local henchmen becomes a great challenge to the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

To-day when the lava of class-tensions is raging high in the

socio-political life of semi-slave backward countries, and imperialist emperors are feeling awfully terrified at the prospect of crumbling of their neo-colonial empires with the outbursts, possible at any time, of the down-trodden masses; when both the imperialist superpowers are straining their every nerve to crush the armed forces of national liberation and national democratic revolution in order to blunt the edge of rebellions looming large over their heads, but before they can free their hands at one place, a liberation front erupts at another place, then, the task of defending from this counter-revolutionary attack, the armed struggles for national liberation and national democratic revolution and pooling energies to extend these, becomes the greatest political challenge to the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

To-day, when the two super-emperors of the decadent world imperialist system, bent upon pushing the whole world into a catastrophic world imperialist war due to their inordinate lust and sharpened contention, are making war preparations, extending the network of their military bases to every nook and corner of the world, building up war blocks of their supporters and hirelings, sinking millions and billions of dollars into the race for stockpiling highly destructive weapons and organizing false-propaganda on a vast scale to build public opinion in favor of their belligerent aggressive moves, then, the task of making the world people aware and conscious of the war designs and moves of these imperialist giants, building a mass resistance movement to oppose all their war-preparations and war-provoking and aggressive moves and giving a revolutionary guidance to this mass movement, becomes an important challenge to the world proletarian revolutionary movement.

To-day, when cashing-in upon the set-back to revolution in China and cashing-in upon the complexities of development of

national liberation struggles, revisionist renegades of various hues have launched an all-out offensive on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought; when ideological confusion and organizational disintegration is being fostered; when the revolutionary perspective for the present phase of the world proletarian revolution (in which national democratic revolutionary movement becomes the main-axis and both the imperialist super-powers become the bulls-eye for the revolutionary onslaught) projected by Comrade Mao has become a select-target of all overt and covert revisionist attacks, then, the task of unswervingly defending Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought, especially, the task of upholding this revolutionary perspective of Comrade Mao and restoring the unity of national and international communist movement on this ideo-political basis, becomes the biggest ideological political challenge for the communist revolutionary forces.

By refusing to accept the great at-hand challenges of dangers and revolutionary possibilities, by shunning the responsibility of revolutionary struggles emanating from them, all talk about frantic preparations for meeting the great challenges of dangers and revolutionary possibilities to be provided in the situation of world imperialist war could not be anything but mere empty talk. These preparations, which need to be urgently undertaken, can acquire flesh and guts, and can become meaningful preparations only by means of active struggle, only in the process of struggle, with the challenges of the present. The “left” crypto-revisionist politics of avoiding to face the challenges of the present is a counter-revolutionary prescription for capitulation-in-advance before the challenges of the future.

In short, the protagonists of “left” crypto-revisionism, due to their defeatist thinking and politics, attempt at platonically compensating the lost revolutionary content, lost in concrete

terms, through their high-sounding “left” phraseology.

To-day, the task of unmasking and defeating this crypto-revisionist deviation constitutes as one of our significant ideological tasks. However, we need not forget that at the present stage of their development, the protagonists of this crypto-revisionist deviation have ***not as yet been transformed into a counter-revolutionary political force***; although with their persistence in the present drift, it is bound to be so ultimately. Therefore, remaining the target of ideological attack by communist revolutionaries, they should not be considered to be a target for political attack.<sup>1</sup>

The essential substance of the entire current thinking and practice of this lumpen-trio is revealed clearly when placed in the context of the portrait sketched out above about the breeding ground of this “left” crypto-revisionist deviation, propping up its head on an international scale, about the issues serving as a spring-board for it and about its basic ideological and political thrust.

It stands revealed why today, after ‘wandering for years in the wilderness’ this revelation has suddenly dawned upon it that Marxism is a living science and not a basket of dogmas and why suddenly ‘creativity’ is itching them so severely. It stands revealed why for them “the main problem in the international communist movement as well as and especially in the communist revolutionary movement of our country” is not this that Marxism, compared with any time in the past, is under much more and all-out major attack from revisionism wherein powerful campaigns have been launched to question, revise or altogether reverse many established Marxist concepts, theses, and principles, but instead, is the “dogmatic tendency of blindly clinging”, to these established concepts, theses and principles by the “fanatic followers” of Marxism! Why the need of resisting these revisionist attacks and

defending Marxism–Leninism–Mao Thought is not of an immediate and utmost importance to them but instead, it is of utmost importance to get rid immediately of old dogmatic and inflexible thinking and practice.<sup>2</sup>

It stands revealed why it finds that issue of “analyzing the setback to proletarian revolution in China” and “solving these problems of the socialist revolution” have become “the prime issue of the present-day situation” and that “without confronting this important task straightway.....it is impossible to build any genuine revolutionary movement...” Why the summation of set-back in China to revolutionary line and forces under Mao’s leadership has become a problem of problems and a solution of solutions for this trio, without which even building a new-democratic revolutionary movement “is just beating about the bush”!

It stands revealed why they are parading such a strange-sounding claim that measuring up to the challenge of the times “the Communist revolutionaries..... have picked up the red flag from where it had fallen .....” Why it has made it a fundamental question “to analyze and eradicate the omissions and commissions and erroneous practices of the past international communist movement.”

And it stands revealed why it has been impelled towards drafting a new program that incorporates “the preliminary summing up of the past mistakes and their rectifications”!

Then it becomes easy to discern that when the ‘new draft program’ speaks out that during the transitional period of proletarian dictatorship i.e. socialism, “the vanguard detachment of the proletariat – **Communist Party** – should not lose sight, even for a second, of the final destination – Communism – and its every step should be directed towards this destination” then, how it becomes not a mere routine restatement of Marxist approach, but a “rectification” based on “the preliminary

summation” of the errors of past historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this, a so-called lapse on the part of the past triumphant socialist revolutions has been pointed out and a different course of action has been suggested so as to remain loyal to the cause of communism.

Then, it becomes easy to discern that when the draft of this ‘new program’ vociferously projects the concept that the revolutionary struggle to wrest state power or to maintain it should be “made a part of the international proletarian revolution” then, it is a “rectification” based on “the preliminary summation” of a so-called flaw in the past revolutionary struggles of the international communist movement, wherein this established Marxist concept has been revised according to which in the present imperialist era, every genuine revolutionary movement, which is directed against imperialism on an objective plane, is bound to be a part of the world proletarian revolution (whether the hegemony of proletarian class has been established over it or not)<sup>3</sup>, wherein, this orientation is suggested that only by building a revolutionary movement around the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it can be made a part of the world proletarian revolution; the basis for this orientation is provided by this erroneous logic and conceptional distortion that to make it a part of the world revolution, it is necessary to run it along proletarian internationalist lines and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the key-link of proletarian internationalism.

Taken as a whole, it stands revealed how no program for the people’s democratic revolution in India could suit this lumpen-trio; how the present program of this lumpen-trio is neither a program for the people’s democratic revolution, nor for any other revolution in India; how it is hard pressed to undertake a ludicrous exercise of dedicating to the Indian people the maximum program – establishment of a Communist society – of a Communist

party.<sup>4</sup>

Even without getting familiar with the “left” crypto-revisionist deviation, under the umbrella of which this lumpen-trio is strutting these days, even without getting acquainted with the main ideological source and considerations of this trio, Communist revolutionary ranks will, generally, sense the political bankruptcy and detrimental nature of its program. But, with the comprehension of these revisionist-orientated considerations of this trio, the contours and nature of which have earlier been brought into bold relief, under the constraint and to the requirement of which this trio had to knock into shape a new-program on an emergency-footing, that main thread is picked up by means of which not only all the knots of its professed politics can be untangled but some measure can also be had of the forms that this politics may assume later on.

Lastly, a few excerpts are being quoted to further corroborate our view that the new program of this lumpen-trio has taken shape under the constraint of above-cited revisionist-ideological considerations. These excerpts are being reproduced from such an editorial of the “JAIKARA” which has been written to highlight “those points of this program which constitute its specificity” and in which the real face of this trio has got unveiled a bit.

Prior to highlighting “those points” the editorial sheds light on that “historical background” which necessitated and lent significance to this new program:

“.....After the communist revolutionaries of India organized themselves around a new program in CPI (ML), the Communist movement in India has been a victim of the tendency of continuous disintegration, **the causes of which** can be traced in the **lapses** of Indian Communists in **waging the fight against**

**international revisionism** and **as a result of it** in the flaws of that program.” (Emphasis added) (If the readers themselves try a bit to further unveil it, then they will further see through the meaning of underlined words, i.e. if it is recollected that these pointers are towards “the lapses in waging the fight against international revisionism” during “The Great Debate” conducted under the guidance of Comrade Mao (wherein the Indian Communists participated in the debate with little difference of standpoint) then it is clearly revealed that these are the lapses committed by Comrade Mao in his fight against international revisionism, these are the lapses in general line drafted by him for the international communist movement, “as a result of which” flaws crept in the previous program, and a new program was necessitated to remove these lapses and programmatic flaws!)

Further, highlighting “those points which constitute the **specificity** of this draft” (Emphasis added) the editorial, putting forward “the preliminary summation” of the reversals of revolutions in Soviet Russia and Red China, speaks out “on the very first consideration, it is clearly revealed that **national tendencies have been coming to the fore and gaining ground** in the international communist movement, at its various turns. **These deviations from internationalism** – the basic standpoint of the proletariat – **have played an important role in these reversals..... consequently**, the draft program can be seen repeatedly **emphasizing the aspect of making the Indian revolution a part of the international revolution of the proletariat.**” (Emphasis added)

“**As a lesson of these reversals**, it is even more necessary to-day to grasp and uphold the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and it constitutes the key-link to promote internationalism.” (Emphasis added)

At the present stage of the degeneration of this lumpen-

trio, one need not expect more plain-talking than this from it. And these are but the lesson drawn from a mere "preliminary summation". The task of making this summation comprehensive is on with full gusto and the lumpen-trio entertains great expectations that very soon some chieftain of the "left" crypto-revisionist flock is going to develop the 'International communist movement' to a qualitatively higher stage by getting rid of those parts of Mao Tse-Tung Thought which have been 'proved incorrect in the process of social practice' or are 'historically obsolete' and by developing those parts related with the "Theory of Continuing the Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

And this message, to be carried to every dark nook and corner, where the toiling masses live, of that chunk of the globe called India, has been recorded in the new program in following words:

"Thus, by deeply analyzing its past, particularly, the last phase of the third International and drawing correct conclusions and lessons and defeating each and every variant of revisionism, the international communist movement **can attain a qualitatively higher stage as compared with the previous one .....**" (Emphasis added)

It seems, laboring under the illusion of becoming the great teacher of the world proletariat, after the revisionist renegade Enver Hoxha, now someone else is dancing the peacock.

April 24, 1983

(Footnotes)

<sup>1</sup> A political force while opposing Marxism on the ideological plane may not essentially be, at the same time, opposing the revolution on the political plane. Whosoever donning the garb of Marxism, attacks it overtly or covertly, becomes the target of ideological attack by Communist revolutionaries. Whosoever, by

virtue of his political stand or action, plays a counter-revolutionary role in the fight between revolution and counter-revolution of the day, becomes a target of political attack by Communist revolutionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Within the communist movement of a country, dogmatism can emerge as the main danger only in that case when all the vital constituents of Marxism at its developed stage enjoy unchallenged authority and there exists no serious challenge to it from revisionism on the ideological plane. In another case, dogmatism, as a variant of revisionism, can become the main danger when old form of Marxism is contra-posed in order to repudiate the truth of developed stage of Marxism. Except these cases, all hullabaloo, about dogmatism being the main danger, has been a patent tactic of all sorts of revisionists to attack the genuine Marxists.

<sup>3</sup> Proletarian hegemony over a revolutionary movement directed against imperialism does not play the role of "making" it a part of the world proletarian revolution. Rather, the proletariat undertakes the task of establishing its hegemony over it only because this revolutionary movement is a part of the world proletarian revolution. The significance of the established hegemony of the proletariat lies in fully realizing the revolutionary potential of a revolutionary movement so that the way may be paved for passing on to the next stage of revolutionary development. On another plane, its significance lies in lending more certainty to the process of actually realizing the existing objective basis for the alliance of this movement and all other revolutionary movements directed against imperialism, particularly the socialist revolutionary movement.

<sup>4</sup> Ever since the national democratic revolutions of the new phase, of the people of the East under colonial yoke, have gained momentum and the organized communist parties have undertaken the task of leading them, especially ever since Comrade Mao Tse-Tung has developed the theory of People's Democracy, delineating



the course of development of these revolutions, from then onwards, it has been the practice of all Communist parties that they place their minimum program – for People’s Democratic Revolution – before the people, so that on the basis of this, at this stage, the motive forces of the revolution be put into gear and organized, and record the gist of their maximum program – for proletarian socialist revolution, final aim of which is the establishment of a Communist society – in a preamble to the party constitution so that organizing the communist forces on its basis, the party be built up.

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