



PEOPLE'S WAR

Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee
(Special Issue on Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution)

March 2017

(11)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

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Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution)**

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Both for the production on a mass scale of... communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is, necessarily, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.

– *Marx, The German Ideology*

Just as the peasants and manufacturing workers of the last century changed their whole way of life and became quite different people when they were drawn into big industry, in the same way, communal control over production by society as a whole, and the resulting new development, will both require an entirely different kind of human material.

– *Engels, Principles of Communism*

To belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.

– *Lenin, What is to be Done?*

The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes it not to its own merits, but to the fact that the proletariat has still not enough faith in the possibility of its victory.

– *Stalin, 'Report on the work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU(B)', March 10, 1939*

In proceeding through the transitional era from capitalism to socialism the main (or fundamental) contradiction is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism

– *Mao, 'Speech at the Enlarged Third Plenary Session of the Eighth CC of the CPC'*



Comrade Mao

- **Keep Politics in Command!**
- **Never Forget the Class Struggle!**
- **Class Struggle is the Key Link!**
- **It is Right to Rebel Against the Reactionaries!**
- **Bombard the Bourgeois Headquarters!**
- **Distinguish Fragrant flowers from Poisonous weeds!**
- **Fight Self, Repudiate Revisionism!**
- **Practise Marxism, and Not Revisionism; Unite, and Don't Split; Be Open and Aboveboard, and Don't Intrigue and Conspire!**
- **Unite to Win Still Greater Victories!**
- **Grasp Revolution, Promote Production!**
- **The Working Class must Exercise Leadership in Everything!**
- **High Hold the Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**
- **Down with Imperialism and All Reactionaries!**
- **Victory to World Socialist Revolution!**
- **Hold High the Banner of Proletarian Internationalism!**

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Homage

In a bid to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement the exploitive ruling classes are unleashing the offensive in the third phase of Green Hunt in a much more severe manner. Especially in 2016, in the name of Mission 2016 they unleashed massacres and attacks in a seriousmanner. Brave comrades of PLGA, People's Militia and revolutionary masses laid their warm blood and took up the war of resistance to defeat this offensive, in the leadership of our Party. This People's war is inspiring not only the oppressed people of our country but of the world too. It is instilling the masses with confidence in our Party. Democrats across the country are agitating against the fascist suppression of the Indian exploitive classes under the direction of the Imperialists, mainly the American imperialists.

In this path of People's War/Struggle, nearly 180 comrades became martyrs all over the country in a period of nine months from 2016 July to 2017 March. Our comradesheroically resisted the attack of the AP Greyhounds in Ramaguda of the Andhra-Odisha border area, laid their lives and protected the leadership. Thirty-one comrades have been martyred in this incident. On the whole in this period, one CC member, 120 comrades in DK, 14 in BJ, 34 in AOB, 3 in West Bung and a CC member and an SZCM in the Western Ghats were martyred. Ninety of themartyrs were murdered in fake encounters by the government mercenary armed forces. Member of BJSAC, Comrade Ashish was killed in a covert action. Seven comrades were martyred in enemy ambushes. Comrade Ajith Yadav, a member of Zonal Committee was killed along with three comrades in the attack of the counter revolutionary TPC gang in Palamu district of Jharkhand. Nearly 70 comrades out of the total martyrs laid their lives in encounters with the enemy forces putting up a heroic fight. The police forces murdered 4 in Jharkhand and five in Odisha in the attacks on the activists of anti displacement.

Member of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Kuppu Devaraj (Yogesh), SAC/SZC/SC members Comrades Himadri Roy (Vidhanda, Somen of West Bung), Vijendra Yadav (Ashish, BJ), Bakuri Venkataramana Raju (Ganesh, AOB), Chamala Kishtayya (Daya, AOB),

Ajitha (Kaveri, Western Ghats) are among the martyrs. In the DvC/ZC level, there are Comrades Prabhakar (Gangadhar, AOB), Suvarnaraju (Kiran, AOB), Jagath (Kursam Ramamurthy, West Bastar, DK), Pali (Darbha, DK), Ajith Yadav (Palamu, Jharkhand). There are 30 AC/PPC comrades, 60 PMs/PLGA warriors, 6 RPC leaders and activists, 8 leaders of mass organisations, 21 people's militia commanders and fighters and 40 revolutionary sympathisers and masses. The leader of civil rights Comrade Bojja Tharakam and the founder president of RYL and RWA member of the first generation Comrade Vardhana Rao died out of old age. Their martyrdom illuminated the path of New Democratic Revolution. Let us pay a humble homage to all the martyrs. Let us pledge to dedicate ourselves to achieve their aim.

A leader of Indian Revolution and Member of CC Comrade Devraj was murdered in fake encounter along with Comrade Ajitha, SZC member in WG on the 24th of November 2016 in Neelambur forest area of Keralam. Comrade Devaraj was 62 and Comrade Ajitha 45.

Comrade Devaraj was working in a factory in Bangalore when he came into contact with the party in the ending of 1970. He belongs to an urban poor family. He has a wife, children, brothers and sisters. Even before he came into contact with the Party, Comrade Devaraj started revolutionary political work among the workers together with a few others. In the leadership of Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad), Devaraj soon became a Professional Revolutionary. After he joined the party his house became a center of party activities. He worked as an activist of the party among students, workers and youth in political and organizational effort. The committee including Comrades Devaraj, Saketh Rajan and another comrade worked among the workers, students and youth in Bangalore, Mysore and Kolar cities and took up struggles on various issues. It also formed a cultural organization. Comrade Devaraj joined AILRC. In the process a politically united leadership team was formed in the leadership of Comrade Azad in 1985. Devaraj was an important person in this.

In the crisis in the Party in 1985, this state leadership team in Karnataka strongly fought with the disruptor clique in the CC. Comrade Devaraj played a vital role in this internal struggle.

In the First State Conference of Karnataka in 1987 Kuppu Devaraj, Saketh Rajan and one more person were elected into the State Committee with Comrade Azad as the secretary. This Conference decided to build peasant movement in the rural area. Thus movement was initiated in the plain area in Raichur-Bidar in the border of Andhra Pradesh. Party built agricultural labour organization and took up anti feudal, anti imperialist and anti state struggles. During this time it led the struggle against the Kaiga nuclear plant. It formed student organisations in Bangalore, Sivamogga, Mysore, Dharwad, Bidar, Raichur and Chithradurga.

Due to the crisis in the CC in 1985-87, there was no coordination between the movements in the states. During this time Azad and Devraj made a lot of efforts to keepup the cadres of Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Comrade Devraj played an important role in keeping up the morale of Tamilnadu cadres. He played an important role in overcoming the state of confusion created out of a crisis in Tamilnadu Party in 1985. He took up the responsibility to guide the party and played an important role in the reorganization of the state committee and the movement.

When Nationality problem came forth in Karnataka the state committee realized the importance of the problem and formed an organization Karnataka Vimochana Ranga. Comrade Devraj had a role in this and in building a movement on this issue.

In 1990 the Second State Conference of the Party was held. This Conference reviewed the movement in the state and learnt lessons from the shortcomings in the development of the revolutionary movement.

There was a second crisis in the CC. In this crisis the state committee of Karnataka formulated a document to expose the wrong tendencies of the opportunist minority clique in the CC. It called upon to fight against this clique.

The state committee of Karnataka held state plenum in 1993 to rectify the alien class tendencies in the party. This plenum took up the task of advancing the movements on people's problems. In 1999 when police surrounded him Devraj escaped with great courage.

In the Third State Conference held before the All India Special

Conference in 1995 Devraj was elected as the secretary of the State Committee. In the All India Special Conference he was elected as an alternate member of the CC. In 1997 he was coopted into the CC as a full time member. When CPI (Maoist) emerged on the 21st September 2004 and in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the Party, he was elected into the CC. He was thus elected into the South West Regional Bureau. When the minority opportunist disruptor clique of the state committee tried to liquidate the movement in the Malnad perspective area of the Western Ghats in 2002, Comrades Devraj and Saketh Rajan stood firm and stopped their moves. During this time Comrade Saketh Rajan was martyred fighting with the enemy heroically in the Malnad area. After his martyrdom, Comrade Devraj continued the fight against the right opportunist clique in the guidance of the CC and RB and united majority of the comrades in the Party line. The opportunist revisionist clique left the Party in the State Conference in 2006. The CC released a polemical document with the name, 'Opportunists never understand the Revolutionary dialectics'. Comrade Devraj was the main person in writing this document.

In 2002 the perspective area to develop the movement in Tamilnadu was decided and a military camp was being conducted as a part of preparation for the armed struggle. At this time the enemy attacked the camp and many comrades including the secretary of the state were arrested. So Com.Devraj had to take up the responsibility of the secretary of Tamilnadu state too in 2003. In this period, he also conducted discussion with the genuine revolutionary elements that left Janasakthi and other right parties on behalf of the CC and led to their unity with the party. With this, the Party continued in the right path in Kerala. He formed, guided and strengthened the leadership team. In 2006-2007 the secretary of the RB and a member were arrested and two comrades were martyred. In such a difficult situation he stood firm and made the cadres of Tamilnadu and Kerala stand firm.

In the leadership of Com.Devraj the state committee adopted the perspective for Madurai and Dindigal areas with the aim of building agrarian revolutionary movement in Tamilnadu. There was an encounter with the police within a short time after starting the activities in this area and an

armed guerilla squad was arrested. In an attack on another squad the commander was martyred. So the strategic plan and the guerilla squads were temporarily withdrawn.

Operation Green Hunt that the ruling classes took up to suppress the revolutionary movement across the country was unleashed in a serious way in the Western Ghats too. In the leadership of Com. Devraj the comrades of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu completed theoretical, political and organizational preparations and initiated the movement in the strategic area of Trijunction (Kerala-Tamilnadu-Karnataka). Comrades went to the masses of that area, conducted class investigation (survey) and wrote a document in the leadership of Com. Devraj. Com. Devaraj formed the SZC and took up the responsibility of the secretary of the committee. The People's Liberation Guerilla Squads widely propagated the politics of protracted people's war among the people of the tribes in the area. PLGA successfully conducted the Politico-Military campaign in the leadership of the Party. In this campaign PLGA destroyed the properties of a few Big Bourgeois, Multi National Companies and the Government. The squads integrated much more with the masses. Since the movement in Trijunction aimed at revisionism it turned to be a big blow to the ruling revisionists of Kerala. Com. Devraj played leadership role in this campaign.

Comrade Devraj made efforts for unity with Revolutionary Communist groups. He had an important role in the merger of CPI (ML) Naxalbari Party with our Party in 2013 December. He brought out the magazines of the Party and the Mass Organisations. He wrote to Central magazines Vanguard and People's March. He wrote analytical articles to People's March about the reasons for the failure of LTTE.

Com. Devraj played a key role in the production and supply of Arms and ammunition and other things such as grenades, as a part of the aim to make success the plan of the central leadership to develop armed struggle.

Whatever the CC decided Com. Devraj took it up as his responsibility and put efforts to implement it. He studied in depth the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the history of our country and the world revolution, the basic documents of our party. He was theoretically and politically firm. He

stuck to the party's line of protracted people's war. He was steeled in the severe internal struggles in the party. Though with limited subjective forces, he courageously and with a strong will made efforts to build armed struggle in the strategic areas. Though he lost contact with the CC, though the region faced a lot of difficulties he dealt with unwavering confidence. He was friendly with each and every comrade. He developed a democratic atmosphere among the cadres. He gained the confidence of the masses. His sacrificing nature, dedication, strong will, hard labour, courage and everything in him are ideal for the comrades in the party. Swimming against the tide is one great characteristic of Comrade Devraj. One could learn from his ideals and become a good Communist activist.

Comrade Devraj was fluent in Tamil, English and Kannada languages. He learnt Telugu, Hindi and Malayali languages for the sake of revolution. He was skilled in writing polemical documents against the opportunists, in making efforts to develop the party activists theoretically and politically, in writing circulars and in teaching. He conducted Leadership Training Program (LTP) to take up rectification in the party and to develop new leadership.

With the martyrdom of Comrade Devraj our Party and Indian Revolution lost a great leader. This is a heavy loss to the development of the movement in Trijunction. His services to the development of Indian Revolutionary movement for more than three and a half decades stay embedded in the present movement. The CC calls upon the comrades of the whole party, especially the comrades in the three states of the South West region to learn from his ideals and to advance with his great spirit in a firm manner. It conveys deep condolences to his family, comrades and friends who had a lot of love and respect towards him. The Central Committee pledges to achieve the aim of our beloved martyr Comrade Devraj. This would be the actual homage to the great martyr.

Comrade Himadri Roy (Somen) is a most senior comrade in the revolutionary movement of West Bung state. In 2002 he took up the responsibility of the secretary of the state committee of the erstwhile PW party. After the formation of united party he continued to be a member of the state committee and served the revolutionary movement. He was

arrested and spent a long time in the jail. His health deteriorated in jail and he passed away soon after release. His martyrdom is a big loss to the movement in the state in the present condition. Let us pay humble homage to the martyr Somen. Let us pledge to take forward his aspiration.

A member of the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee (SAC) Comrade Vijendra Yadav (Ashish) was injured in a heroic fight with the enemy in a covert operation (ambush) in the Gogadih forest area in the limits of Raidih police station in Gumla district of Jharkhand on the 11th of September. He was caught, severely tortured and murdered. Comrade Vijendra was born in a lower middle class family in Bigaha village of Jehanabad district where there was a spate of anti feudal struggles. The landlords killed his father and this created the wish in him to join the anti feudal, anti state struggle right from his childhood. He joined the party through the Revolutionary Student's movement. Step by step he developed as a member of BJSAC in 2013. He was working in Koel-Sankh zone in BRC. Comrade Vijendra was a good communist worker, an exemplary leader for the cadres. He is a good communication person and doctor too. He was one among all helping each and everyone. Though the movement was in a difficult condition, though many were leaving the movement and some turning traitors, he stuck to the Party, the Party line and the movement. His martyrdom is a big loss to BJSAC. Let us pay humble homage to martyr Vijendra. Let us pledge to fight to fulfill his aim to the end.

Comrade Bakuri Venkataramana raju (Ganesh, Prasad) was born in a middle class tribal family in Bakuru village of Hukumpet mandal of Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. He was born, brought up and studied when 'tribal revolts were raising high' in Manyam (the area where Alluri Seetharamaraju fought with the British, the struggle known as 'Manyam Pithuri' (pithuri means struggle). Manyam is the forest area of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh where the erstwhile PW and the present CPI (Maoist) continues Armed Struggle). With the inspiration of the struggles Comrade Prasad joined RSU and actively participated in its activities. When he completed graduation he was one of the founders of 'Organisation for Protection of Girijan Rights' (OPGR) in the beginning of 1990s. When government

banned the party and the mass organisations it banned the activities of OPRG too. Then Girijana Vidyarthi Sangham (GSU-Girijan Students Union) was formed in which Comrade Prasad had a key role in organizing students and others.

Comrade Prasad joined the guerilla squad as a member and developed as a member of SZC in the Third Conference of AOB in 2006. When the East division was divided into the Visakhapatnam and the East divisions in 2002 and when in 2008 both the divisions were reunited as the East division Comrade Prasad was the secretary. Thus Comrade Prasad's life was intertwined with the movement of the East Division. He guided various struggles and gained the confidence of the people. Until 2013 he looked after the responsibility of the joint division in the status of SZCM. Later he took the responsibility of guiding mass organisations. With his military skill he worked as a member of SMC for some time and led many armed attacks. He also looked after the cultural field for a while. Thus he took up many responsibilities according to the necessity. As the division secretary he coordinated the United Front struggles. He guided the other comrades working in UF. Comrade Prasad wrote articles on government repression, bauxite struggle and other issues with the pen names of Marri Kamayya, Nagamani and others in various social magazines. He also wrote to the organ of AOB, 'Bolshevik'.

Comrade Prasad is a revolutionary leader who rose from the ground level. Enemy pressurized him and his family to surrender, playing many tricks. But he never thought otherwise. He hold aloft the politics of class struggle and fulfilled his responsibilities until his last breath. He faced many difficulties in the process of advancing the revolutionary movement but marched forward. He was exemplary in sharing love, fondness, freedom and assurance with his fellow comrades. AOB movement lost a great leader and a big support with his martyrdom. Let us pay homage to Comrade Prasad and pledge to fulfill his aspiration.

Comrade Chamala Kishayya (Daya) was born in a very poor family as the son of Chamala Chandramma and Ramayya in the village of Dasireddygudem of Valigonda mandal in Nalgonda district in the state of Telangana. This was the place that played a heroic role in the past Telangana

armed struggle, in the Maoist movement in the South Telangana and in the separate democratic Telangana struggle. He was 45. When Daya was in graduation he was attracted to the activities of Radical Student's Union (RSU). He joined the revolutionary movement as a full time activist in 1990. He worked in South Telangana for four years. In 1994 Party transferred Comrade Kishtayya with the objective to reorganize the Srikakulam movement. Sincethen Comrade Daya's life was entwined with Srikakulam-Vijayanagaram-Koraput movement.

Comrade Kishtayya worked as the Deputy Commander of the Uddanam (the area of the past Srikakulam Armed Peasant Struggle) squad of Srikakulam district with the name of Daya. He played an important role in organizing thousands of people in the struggle to occupy the Coconut plantation of 100 acres of the landlord Punjab Singh of Uddanam area, in the struggles to seize the Cashew plantations of hundreds of acres of the government in Rettikonda and Metti, with the demand for remunerative prices for the peasants and so on. After the heavy loss to the Party in 1998 Koperdang encounter, he was transferred to Nagavali area. In this area he played a vital role in the land struggles in Gotta, Mukundapuram, Pandrathala and other such villages, in the land seizure struggle of a 600 acre landlord Viswa, in the struggle for remunerative prices for tamarind, organizing Kuvvi people in Koraput, Raigarh and Vijayanagaram districts (Koraput and Raigarh are in Orissa while Vijayanagaram is a district of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh).

The Sondi (a trader caste of Orissa origin and seen mostly in the tribal areas of Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts) hierarchs and landlords habituated the people to liquor and illegally occupied their lands in illusive methods. They indulged in many kinds of deception and deprived the people of food, clothing and shelter. In this process the people initially organized against liquor and stopped the preparation by the Sondies. Later the well known Narayanapatna land struggle broke out. The vast masses of the area were armed and a people's militia, Ghenua Bahini was established. Due to the severe enemy offensive in Operation Green Hunt the land struggle temporarily stepped back since the last of 2012. Anyhow it is on the rise again since 2015. Comrade Daya led this movement.

Comrade Daya had an important role in raising the consciousness of the people of Mali, Devamali, Rakthakhandi and other areas on the problem of displacement and lead the struggle through various United Fronts. He had an important role in organizing agricultural labour, peasantry and women widely in liquor struggles, struggles for remunerative prices, in struggles against displacement. He was active in establishing mass organisations, militia, solving the people's problems in the people's courts and other such things.

Comrade Daya also played a prominent role in the military field. He had direct and indirect participation in many attacks.

Wherever Daya worked he learnt the local language. He had the initiative to mingle with the local masses and was one among them. Wherever he went he gained good command on the terrain. He was exemplary in loving the masses and in maintaining lively relations with them. Not only the people and the cadres but he too wished his presence in any meeting. He inspired the masses with his speeches and songs. When the police arrested the people, he met their families, consoled them, gave them the courage and explained them politically. He took care that they stood with revolution. He paid attention to comrades released from jail and sustain them in the revolutionary practice. He had as much hatred towards the class enemy as his love towards the masses.

He helped the woman comrades who were lagging behind. He helped those who lost their partners. He was good in developing the new comrades. He was close with comrades facing problems and extended cooperation for their political development. Comrade Daya was exemplary in his marriage too. He constantly struggled against himself to rectify his shortcomings. He put forth his self-criticism and strived to overcome them. The loss of Comrade Daya who had the Communist ideals and experience in mass movements is a serious loss to the AOB movement. Let us pledge to struggle till our last breath for New Democratic Revolution and later Socialism-Communism that Comrade Daya dreamt.

Comrade Ajitha (Kaveri, 45) was born in a poor family in Chennai, the state capital of Tamilnadu. She entered the revolutionary student's movement in the end of 1980. As a student she joined a woman's

organization, 'Tamilnadu Pennurimai Kajagam' and developed into its leader with her active, militant work. She led many struggles against violence on women and tried to bring the women into the path of revolution. She worked as an advocate in Chennai for some years as a part of urban movement. Since the state repression in Tamilnadu became intense she went underground and led the urban movement and the mass organisations. She also led Trade Union struggles as a part of the urban movement.

She firmly stood in the Party line in the fight against the rightist opportunist line in the Tamilnadu party in mid-2000 decade. Her life partner adopted opportunist line, left the party and formed a small clique. But she stood firmly with the revolutionary line. She fought against male domination in the society and also in the Party with a Marxist understanding. She was elected into the SZC in 2012. After the Coimbatore arrests in 2014 May the police tried to arrest Com.Ajitha many times. As per the decision of SZC she joined the guerilla squads and led the movement in Trijunction. Comrade Ajitha was keenly interested in study and class struggle. She had a Marxist perspective towards the woman's question. She emphasized the importance of women's participation for the success of revolution and worked with great will for more than two and a half decades. She suffered with ill-health right from the beginning. But she was enough active, dynamic and strong willed to lead the movement relentlessly. She was a daring communist fighter. Comrade Ajitha is a great communist of the Indian revolution. Let us pledge to make the NDR success with the aim of establishing Communism as Comrade Ajitha aspired.

The exploiting ruling classes of India are day dreaming of eliminating revolution by murdering the revolutionaries. They are adopting many schemes. In the people's revolutionary war against the enemy's reactionary war, in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt many comrades starting from the revolutionary masses to the leaders of the village, area, division, state and the central leadership and being martyred. The martyrdom of all these comrades is a serious loss to the mass movements and the party. But they stay forever among us and the masses. Let us instill their revolutionary spirit in our hearts and advance. Let us work with dedication to achieve the aims of the martyrs. Let us fulfill the ideals of the martyrs.*

EDITORIAL

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of socialist China (1966-76) was an earth-shaking event of world-historic importance. It was the result of the summing up of all the positive and negative experiences of the world working class movement for establishing socialism and communism. Under the leadership of Mao, it developed the revolutionary theory and practice of the international proletariat to a new and higher level. It was a unique and unprecedented revolution led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie under the conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a revolution to bring the superstructure in conformity with the socialist economic base. It was a revolution of the period of transition from capitalism to communism through the intermediate stage of socialism by defeating the attempts of domestic and foreign revisionists and reactionaries to restore capitalism. It was a revolution by millions upon millions of people who rose up like stormy waves to smash the enemy strongholds. In the process, they also transformed their own world outlook, which was essential for carrying forward the socialist revolution. It was a revolution to continue the revolution to till its final victory – the establishment of communism by carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

GPCR was the result of the further development of the Marxist theoretical concept of continuous revolution. Led by Mao, new theoretical principles related to class struggle under socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat were developed which were necessary to guarantee the victory of socialism. Not only that, these theories were tested and proven in the crucible of practice during the GPCR. This was a unique, new and higher level experience for the world proletariat and the international communist movement.

Apart from changing the entire Chinese society, the GPCR also had a worldwide impact. It was a catalyst for a new wave of communist and national liberation movements across the world. It provided the impetus for a decisive ideological and political break with revisionism. It provided the backdrop of the beginning of a new type of working class movements in the capitalist countries and protracted people's wars in several oppressed countries including India which upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as their guiding ideology.

In the communist movement of our country, an ideological struggle was already going on under the leadership of revolutionary forerunners

like comrades CM and KC. This ideological struggle led to the historic Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary upsurge of 1967. Thus, it was in the international backdrop of the GPCR that the people's war was initiated in India under the leadership of comrades CM and KC. This glorious people's war has continued on a tortuous path for the last five decades and is going to complete its fiftieth anniversary.

The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been continuing since the GPCR came to an end four decades back. Many of the genuine revolutionary communist parties that were built or reorganised during the GPCR are still in existence and are leading the class struggle in several countries. Wherever the leadership of these parties have been able to creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – particularly the lessons of GPCR – they could sustain or strengthen the parties even amidst victories and defeats, ups and downs and twists and turns of the revolutionary movement. Wherever the leadership could not do this, the parties disintegrated and the movement was lost.

By creatively applying MLM in the concrete conditions of a country, by bringing the vast masses of the people into the arena of class struggle under its guidance and by fighting with tremendous courage and sacrifice, a strong party can be built where there is no such party, a strong army can be built where there is no such army and political power can be seized where there is no political power. Our task ahead is to firmly grasp MLM and the spirit of GPCR in order to achieve our immediate and ultimate goals. It is only in this way that the working-class can meet the challenge of effectively fighting and finally burying imperialism, which, though in its deathbed, will not leave the stage of history on its own.

All our comrades should deeply study the experiences of GPCR to grasp its tremendous significance, learn from its wide-ranging lessons and apply them creatively in their revolutionary practice. With the hope that it may be of help in this endeavour, we are bringing out this issue of *People's War* as a special issue on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the initiation of GPCR and as a part of the anniversary celebrations by our Party. This issue includes two articles written on this occasion and a selection of two historic documents, excerpts and quotations on the GPCR. Our Central Committee is also releasing a separate commemorative volume *The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will Shine For Ever* which is a compilation of several historic documents, articles, excerpts and quotations.*

CPI(Maoist) on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Importance of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Successes – Lessons

CC, CPI (Maoist), February 26, 2017

(On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China)

It is fifty years to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China by the 16th of May 2016. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China started on the 16th of May, 1966 and continued until October 1976. The Communist Party of China took up Great Debate under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung against modern revisionism (1956-1966) that stood as a symbol of this new beginning. During the Great Debate, a few capitalist roaders among the key persons in the Central Committee of the CPC like Li Shao-chi and Deng Hsiao-ping took up shelter in the modern revisionist theory of ‘forces of production’. The Great Debate much more intensified and lastly led to the GPCR that shook the world. The internal struggle that began between the capitalist roader Li Shao-chi and his revisionist clique, and the genuine revolutionaries in the CPC since 1956 gradually led to antagonistic contradiction due to the traitorous actions of Liu Shao-chi. So the CPC under the leadership of Mao gave the call for GPCR, “bombard the bourgeois headquarters”. This was a theoretical, political struggle and a great upsurge of revolutionary masses. Through the new forms of organization like Cultural Revolution Groups, Revolutionary Committees, Congresses and the Plenaries, workers, peasants, soldiers, students-youth, red guards, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary cadres and leadership rose to make the Cultural Revolution a success.

The objective of GPCR was – to continue revolution in all the fields of superstructure in order to advance the Socialist Economic system under the proletarian dictatorship towards the construction of Communist society; to absolutely eliminate the possibilities of the restoration of the classes overthrown in the New Democratic Revolution (the big landlord, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois classes serving imperialism) and to continue revolution in the dictatorship of the proletariat to fail their attempts for capitalist restoration. GPCR also had the immediate aim to end revisionism, employ the mass strength in a struggle form based on mass line to remove the capitalist roaders settled in the Party leadership and Party organization. This was a tortuous class struggle against the capitalist roaders and the continuation in China of the world wide struggle against modern revisionism. It was the signal of a new phase in the advancement of Chinese revolution. Regarding GPCR the constitution of our Party said – ‘Socialist society covers a considerable long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there will be classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle between Socialist road and Capitalist road will also continue to exist. Only depending on and carrying forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can correctly resolve all these contradictions. In this context the GPCR initiated and led by Mao Tse-tung was a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of Socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and there by fighting against the danger of capitalist restoration’.

GPCR proved Mao’s teaching that ‘many cultural revolutions are needed to achieve Communism’. This would be possible only through the construction and consolidation of Socialist society. GPCR contributed to a break from the revisionist trends in the Communist movements of various countries across the globe, by fighting with them and choose the revolutionary line in the direction of MLM. Maoist Parties were formed in almost all the countries. Proletarian Parties of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Philippines, Turkey, India, Peru) took up and are continuing armed agrarian revolutionary struggles and protracted people’s war.

Inspired with the GPCR and as a continuation of Great Debate, the forces representing the struggle against the revisionism of CPI and later

CPI(M) supported MLM and started digesting it theoretically and mainly in their revolutionary practice. Thus, condemning the program of the 7th Congress of CPI(M) as revisionist, the first rank great leaders like Comrade CM, Comrade KC and many other Maoist forces in large numbers came to the fore. The Great Naxalbari Uprising Comrade Charu Mazumdar led and started on the 23rd of May, 1967 initiated the ‘Spring Thunder’ in India. Since then the history of the Communist movement took a qualitative new turn.

On the eve of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the GPCR we need to know the prominence, the greatness and the theoretical understanding of the revolution. We must secure this theory and creatively apply it in the future revolutionary struggles. We must synthesize the good and the bad of this great struggle in the light of dialectical materialist theory. By eliminating the bad we would be able to implement the theory of GPCR with a genuine revolutionary spirit. Imperialists, modern revisionists of Russia and China, the reactionaries, the capitalist roaders of Western Europe made ill propaganda on the GPCR then and also now. We must expose this among the world proletariat, peasantry and other broad oppressed masses. Workers, peasants and all the oppressed masses will be liberated only with the attainment of Socialism and Communism. In order to understand the GPCR in this perspective, we must briefly understand the historical experience of the International Communist Movement (ICM), study the background, the process, the mistakes, the successes and the lessons of the GPCR.

The historical experience of the ICM in brief

The bourgeois revolution that started in England in the 17th century continued till the end of the 19th century. With this the Capitalist system gained irrevocable success over the reactionary feudal system in North West Europe and North America. However this world bourgeois revolution succeeded, lost, again succeeded and finally succeeded in a protracted process. The new capitalist system that emerged in this process itself gave birth to a militant proletariat class. The analysis of social, economic, political conditions and the emergence of proletarian ideology became inevitable. Marxism embedded the best of all the sciences the human race created, in the form of the German philosophy of the 18th century, the English economics (that sprouted from the British centered Industrial revolution), and French

Socialism (that grew from the French Revolution of 1789). This acted as the material basis for it as a Revolutionary, Socialist and Communist ideology. By 1848 this hypothesized in the best way as Communist Manifesto.

The creators of Marxism, Marx and Engels participated in the severe class struggle that took place during the free trade stage of Capitalism. Proletarian leaders Marx and Engels spent their whole lives to abstract and develop Marxist theory, from the three great revolutionary practices – the class struggle, the struggle for production and the scientific experiment that happened and was happening in the society. With great study, and in the process of struggle against the wrong tendencies in all the fields, Marx and Engels brought forward the three parts of Marxism – Philosophy, Political Economy and Scientific Socialism, the fundamental concepts of class struggle.

In Europe, when Marxism emerged initially and proletarian class was embedding the theory for its sake, the enemies of Marxism immediately realized that there was a severe danger from it. They said that a spectre was haunting Europe and all the ruling classes of old Europe formed a ‘holy alliance’ to eliminate it. Marxism developed and advanced amidst these severe counter attacks.

Proletarian organisations and struggles developed in this period under the guidance of Marxism. Marxism embraced the proletarian masses and advanced. Independent proletarian parties – First International and German Social Democratic Party – were formed for the first time in Marxist leadership. In this process Marx foresaw the possibility of revolution in all the West European capitalist countries simultaneously. And Marxism led a big proletarian class movement that started challenging the bourgeois class.

Marxism fought and defeated the wrong trends in the proletarian class movement in the Communist League and the First International, especially Bakunin anarchism, Blanquist trend and Lasallianism (bourgeoisie opportunist trend). The theory of Marx drew a clear line of demarcation between Scientific Socialism and all types of fake socialisms including Utopian Socialism.

History has proved during the time of Marx and Engels itself that the tactics formulated to develop the International Proletarian class movement by synthesizing its experiences are totally correct. Especially Paris

Commune ascertained without doubt that the Marxist understanding about the issues like Party, State and Proletarian dictatorship is totally correct.

Though the 1871 Paris Commune was a success, it collapsed within a short period. But the value of the theory regarding class struggle and proletarian dictatorship did not come down. It rather increased. Forty-six years after this the Great October Socialist Revolution was a success. The defeat of a revolution does not mean that it ended permanently.

After the demise of Marx and Engels, Marxism extended organizationally. With the emergence of capitalist monopoly organisations and with the emergence of imperialism, in addition to the repression from outside, the main enemy of Marxism attacked the Socialist parties from inside too. So opportunism and revisionism rose in the proletarian class leadership and its Parties and organisations. The Second International turned to be the main danger to the International proletarian class movement. Except for the Bolshevik Party in the leadership of Lenin all the Parties in the Second International deceived Marxism, or became opportunist. In the struggle against revisionism in the Second International, Lenin creatively applied Marxism to the revolutionary practice in Russia and defended it. He developed it into another stage, the higher stage, Marxism-Leninism.

During the emergence of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, great Marxist teachers Lenin and Stalin continued the revolutionary legacy of Marx and Engels. The series of struggles against the wrong trends in the Russian revolutionary movement [(Narodniks, Economists, Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinists, (narrow) Nationalists and other such petty bourgeois parties)] formed a strong foundation for Leninist Party. Capitalism that was in the phase of free trade developed into a new phase, Imperialism. Lenin said imperialism is 'the moribund capitalism'. Lenin reached to this important conclusion by studying the concrete forms and rules of the special characteristics of imperialism. He said, 'Due to the unequal economic and political development, Imperialism must be destroyed in its weakest link; Proletarian revolution would be successful first in one or more countries'. During the First World War period, Russia was one main centre for all kinds of contradictions in imperialism. So Lenin transformed the war between the imperialists as civil war and led the Russian proletariat to overthrow the Russian bourgeois dictatorship with revolutionary violence. Thus they utilized

the revolutionary spate during the First World War, mobilized and organized the proletariat and the peasantry, made the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia a success and established the first Socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the World.

On the contrary, the leader of the Second International Kautsky defined imperialism as 'Ultra Imperialism', as a system establishing an organized, stable capitalist world, as imperialism without contradictions and a phase of capitalism without the possibility of wars. He said thus we could attain socialism through peaceful path and brought the revisionist theory that protects imperialism. Thus he divorced from class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. The Second International brought forward the dogmatic theory that 'revolution would come at a time across Europe, there is no other way' for which it quoted what Marx said about capitalism in the phase of free trade. During the initial period of the bourgeois democratic revolutions against the reactionary feudal system, in view of the progressive character of the revolutions, Marx gave a call to 'Defend the Mother land'. This was implemented in the imperialist phase in a dogmatic manner by the Second International. Thus, after the First World War the Second International quashed the possibilities to make the Socialist revolutions of various countries of Europe a success.

The imperialists, the revisionist 'heroes' of the Second International who served them and all anti-revolutionaries and traitors came together to form a 'holy alliance' against Marxism-Leninism and intensified attacks from all sides. On the other hand, the Trotskyist clique talked about permanent revolution in the guise of leftist jargon and brought forth a theory that though revolution wins in a country, it can never sustain. This clique rejected the Brest-Litovsk accord and deceived the revolution.

Lenin and Stalin made it clear that the proletarian dictatorship formed in Russia must be consolidated, that this country should be utilized as a revolutionary base of the world and the elimination of the imperialism spread over the rest of the world be speeded up. So they expressed their view that all National Democratic, Socialist Revolutions in the respective countries of the world in the imperialist era were the inevitable part of World Socialist Revolution. They also clearly said that if revolution is successful in a country it would not be absolutely self-completed and that its ultimate victory depends on the completion of World Socialist Revolution.

With the exposure of the traitorous leadership of the Second International, the revolutionary forces of the old Parties in many capitalist countries consolidated to form Communist Parties. All these forces integrated and the Third International formed in March 1919 in the leadership of Lenin. It held the First Congress and elected the Committee for Communist International. 'It gave a call to the workers of all countries to fight for proletarian dictatorship and for the victory of Soviets across the world. It adopted a Manifesto for the workers of all countries'.

The Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevik) (CPSU (B)) properly implemented the 'War Communism' policy. It started the process of building Socialism in a relatively backward country. In the leadership of Stalin it followed proper tactics in the Imperialist (Second World) war and turned the war favourable for the proletariat. It guided the outbreak of National Liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It adopted a suitable strategy and tactics for those countries. It achieved success in many countries and thus formed a Socialist camp constituting one third of the humanity. Marxist-Leninist theory stepped forward and achieved a historic progress.

Immediately after the demise of Lenin, Stalin summarized the main additions Lenin made to Marxism. He researched the historic origins of Leninism and explained the main characteristics of Leninism regarding method, theory, party, proletarian dictatorship, peasant problem, nationality problem, strategy-tactics and party method of work.

In the period of Socialism in Soviet Union, collectivization of agricultural sector and the tasks of Socialist industrialization were basically achieved. The government of Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin adopted basically proper tactics as per the specific situation of the Second World War. When non fascist imperialist forces were instigating Germany on Soviet Union, Stalin came to a ceasefire agreement with Germany in August 1939. Thus the Second World War first started as the War between imperialists. In June 1941, fascist Germany attacked Soviet Union, the Socialist base. With this the character of war turned to be anti-fascist. The tactics the Third International adopted in the earlier period were applied. These tactics worked towards the protection of Soviet Union, towards the defeat of fascist war mongers, towards the success of the National Liberation struggles and towards the establishment of Soviet power in

possible number of countries. Thus history proved that the strategy and tactics the Third International adopted were basically correct.

However the Third International was dogmatic in thinking that the revolutionary path in all the countries would be an insurrection like in Russia. Also, in the United Front against fascism, it saw only unity and left struggle. Thus few communist Parties of Europe and the Communist Party of India fell in reformism and turned out to be the tails of ruling classes. In the later period all these parties took up revisionist line. The Third International could not fight against these revisionist trends. The various member countries faced much varied conditions and it was incapable to guide them. So the Third International (Comintern) dissolved on the 10th of June 1943.

The great Marxist teacher Mao applied the concept of unequal development in imperialism to the specific (semi-feudal, semi-colonial, colonial) conditions of China. He said that country wide liberation is not possible at a time and found out the path of Protracted People's War in which, country wide success would be achieved by extending from a base area in the vast backward rural area where the enemy is weak to many base areas, extending from small areas to extended areas thus liberating the rural areas first and finally encircle and seize the cities. Mao said that the New Democratic Revolution going on in China is an inseparable part of the advancing World Socialist Revolution. The CPC faced defeat, victories, many ups and downs, difficulties for 28 years, did protracted people's war and finally seized country-wide state power in October 1949. This is exemplary path for all the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. Mao protected and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory by taking up struggles against the rightist, leftist opportunistic and many alien trends that arose in various phases in the CPC and by creatively applying the theory to the specific conditions of Chinese revolution and to the various fields in revolution. Thus the Chinese revolutionary class struggle became a main centre for the development of Marxism-Leninism.

After the Second World War there were major changes in the world. The National revolutions in China and other Asian and European countries achieved great success. Imperialists became very weak. The World Capitalist market diminished. The imperialist political, economic and social crisis intensified more. Anyhow the imperialist phase continued. In such conditions, Mao said thus - 'We are still in the imperialist phase, the proletarian

revolutionary phase. Lenin's scientific analysis of imperialism basing on the basic concepts of Marxism is totally correct. The basic concept of Leninism is not outdated'. Mao also made it clear that the revolutionary centre changed to Asian, African and Latin American areas.

Few wrong trends arose in the understanding of CPSU (B) and Stalin. It was mainly about the existence of classes in socialism, their role and class struggle. In the report to the 18th Congress of the Party in March 1939 Stalin said thus: 'Antagonistic classes and enemy classes no more exist in Soviet society'. So they were dogmatic and felt that class struggle is no more necessary and that revolution in the economic base and the development of forces of production would automatically advance to Communism.

Khrushchev clique that took up new kind of capitalist class leadership after the demise of Stalin in 1953 consolidated the counter revolutionary rebellion. This clique killed or chased the revolutionaries in the party. The domination of this new class took birth and grew internally in CPSU (B) basing on the revisionist political line. This grew without any hurdles. By 1956 the Soviet traitorous clique seized the party and the state power. Since then the Russian bourgeois privileged stratum widened its own political and economic power in a big scale. This privileged stratum came to a dominant place in the party, government and army, economic and cultural fields. In the 20th Congress of the CPSU (B) it started spreading its revisionist poison into the other Communist Parties. At the same time this clique started attack on the so called cult of the individual of Stalin and brought forth its revisionist three 'peace' theory - peaceful transformation, peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition.

The leaderships of majority 'Communist' parties in the world accepted the revisionist line that the revisionist Khrushchev proposed (since by that time they turned revisionist). By 1948 Socialist state Yugoslavia degenerated into a capitalist country due to traitorous Tito clique. Thorez, the leader of France in the Third International took up bourgeois national chauvinist attitude. He turned to be a class agent of the French imperialist bourgeoisie. Togliatti of Italy brought forth the theory 'to reform Capitalism as Socialism with structural reforms' through bourgeois parliament. The leadership of CPI changed its tactical line so as to take up peaceful path. The Parties that sincerely tried to implement 'peaceful transformation' through bourgeois

parliamentary electoral system – Brazil (1964), Indonesia (1965), Chile (1975) - were eliminated with the military actions and barbaric white terror of the fascist, exploitive ruling class governments.

China Communist Party in the leadership of Mao stood in the forefront of the struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism. It recognized Stalin as the greatest Marxist-Leninist. Since 1956, CPC fought internally in the Party forums for seven long years to defeat Khrushchev's revisionism. This effort continued in the meeting of 60 fraternal parties in 1957, in the meeting of 80 fraternal parties in 1960 and in the meetings of the CPC with the leadership of CPSU (B). This struggle became open in 1963 and continued through out 1964. This open struggle came to be known as the Great Debate. The Great Debate is a conceptual, comprehensive struggle against modern revisionism. It became a central point to mobilise all the proletarian revolutionaries of the world. Through this Great Debate Mao formulated policies for important problems of the International proletariat – basic contradictions in the world, who were friends and who were enemies, the objectives of the movement, the path to achieve World Socialist Revolution –the policies to solve these and enriched Marxism-Leninism. CPC wrote a famous letter to CPSU (B) on 14th June, 1963 suggesting the general line of ICM. Later it published nine comments detailing about neo colonialism, war and peace, peaceful co-existence, the revisionism of Yugoslavia, Khrushchev and the lessons from it and other such problems. These became famous as the documents of Great Debate. Many revolutionary forces mobilized on the revolutionary line of CPC under the leadership of Mao during the period of Great Debate. During this time revolutionary Communist Parties were formed on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology in almost all the countries of the world.

Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution – The Background

Mao's revolutionary policy was to advance the process of Socialist transformation by utilizing the National bourgeois (Private) industries, controlling and changing it, after the New Democratic Revolution accomplished in China in 1949. On the contrary Liu Shao-chi brought forth a bourgeois opportunistic policy. He said, 'Capitalism in China is still in the beginning stage. It must have an unlimited expansion. In such a situation capitalist exploitation would be a characteristic of development but not a

crime'. There were large scale revolutionary land reforms in 1950. [Liu Shao-chi] group opposed these land reforms. In 1951 a movement of criticism took place against narrow views regarding five kinds of personal relationships. There was a movement against Economism and Bureaucracy of the leaders in the Trade Unions. There was a movement against the three evils of corruption, waste and bureaucracy in the government. In 1952 there were movements against the five evils and to implement a few rules on private companies.

In the guidance of Mao the CPC took up the policy of 'three years of preparation, ten years of planned economic construction' and achieved remarkable successes in the initial period. So by 1956 individual ownership basically ended in agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industries, trade and means of production. Collective method in agriculture came into practice all over the country. The New Democratic Revolution became the Socialist Revolution. Primary Socialist society formed. The Eighth Congress of CPC in September 1956 synthesized this success.

When revisionism arose in CPSU (B) revisionist trends started gaining influence in the topmost levels in CPC. In the Eighth Congress the revisionist understanding of the General Secretary Liu Shao-chi was dominant. The resolution of the Congress on the Political Report said thus – 'The major contradiction in our country...is in essence that between the advanced Socialist society and the backward forces of production in the society'. This Congress could not provide a clear understanding about the class contradictions of the Socialist society. Taking chance of this weakness the bourgeois opportunism of Liu Shao-chi strengthened much more. He brought forward the revisionist theory of 'forces of production'. He argued that since there were no classes in China, there was no need for class struggle and that there would not be a two line struggle in the party as its reflection. After the Eighth Congress of the CPC, Liu Shao-chi took up capitalist restoration more nakedly in the foot steps of Khrushchev, the traitor of revolution. He brought many bourgeois representatives favourable to him in a subtle manner into important positions in the Party and the government and conspired to establish his control.

After the campaign 'Let hundred flowers blossom and hundred schools of thought contend' for two months in 1956 (from April to June), Liu Shao-chi clique stopped it intentionally. In 1957 Mao wrote the great article, 'On

the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People'. In this writing he explained that although dictatorship of the proletariat is under the leadership of the Communist Party, contradictions, classes and class struggle would continue to exist. In Socialist society there are two different kinds of contradictions – between the masses and the enemy and those among the masses. In the same article Mao brought forth six standards to help the masses distinguish 'flagrant flowers' from 'poisonous weeds'. In the Third Plenum of the Eighth CC in 1957 October, Mao said that the contradiction between the bourgeois class and the proletariat would be the major one in Socialist society. He also said that it would express in the politics and ideological fields. He challenged the concepts of Liu Shao-chi and Deng that the major contradiction would be between the backward forces of production and the advanced Socialist society.

In 1957 the movement for Great Leap Forward took place depending on the concept of self-reliance. It brought forth the understanding that we have to advance through class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, in coordination with and depending upon agriculture and industries. There were revolutionary changes in the development of agricultural and industrial sectors. In 1957 there was a fight against the bourgeois rightists. The anti-Party clique of Peng Te-huai was exposed in Lushan meeting in 1959.

In the Movement for Socialist Education that started in the beginning of 1962, there were ten points like the importance of class struggle, four clean-ups, participation of Party activists and leadership in production and so on. In order to achieve unity in the party, Mao formulated the basic line for the whole period of Socialist society, in the Tenth plenum of the Eighth Congress in 1962. This stood as the guideline for CPC until the demise of Mao. Supporting the capitalist roaders hid in the Party Liu Shao-chi got down to repressive measures on the Movement for Socialist Education. He directly pounced upon the worker-peasant-soldier and oppressed masses. In the beginning of 1964 Mao formulated two slogans, 'In agriculture learn from Tachai, in industry learn from Taching'. In the end of 1964 CPC reviewed the movement for Socialist Education in Mao's leadership and formulated a twenty-three point document with the name of 'Immediate problems that arose in the Movement for Socialist Education that took place in the rural areas', for solving the immediate problems. For

the first time this movement aimed at the capitalist roaders hid in the Party. The internal struggle between the capitalist and socialist lines took a much intense form and a mass form in the end of 1964. In the CC meeting in 1966 October, Liu Shao-chi and Deng Hsiao Ping tried to escape with a self-criticism. But the CC rejected it. Finally this clique conspired to seize power on the 7th September 1968. Finally the Twelfth Extended Plenary meeting of the Eighth Congress of the CPC in October 1968 announced Liu Shao-chi as a traitor, disrupter of revolution in the guise of Party and the leader of capitalist roaders. He was expelled from all the positions inside and outside the Party.

Since the establishment of Chinese People's Republic, all main theoretical struggles in the political and ideological fields were related to either highlighting or opposing the basic line of the Party in the direction of Socialism. Criticism on a reactionary cinema, 'the life of Wu Hsun', criticizing bourgeois idealism in studying the Dream of Red Chamber, criticizing reactionary Hu Feng clique, fighting against the rightists, criticizing the reactionary metaphysical theory of Yang Hsian Chen, 'Two combine one', against the revolutionary dialectical concept of 'One divides into two' of Mao are part of this movement.

So the CPC in the leadership of Mao faced the problem of solving the main problems that arose in Socialist construction. The first was in the transformation of the whole people having ownership of the means of production to Socialist ownership. If this is achieved the forces of production would develop. But there arose a gap between these advanced forces of production and backward relations of production. If the relations of production were not revolutionized much more, they would come in the way of further development of the forces of production. If the relations of production are to be revolutionized, if the people are to accept Socialist relations in the Communes, Factories, Universities, Government, Army and Homes, it is necessary to revolutionise the superstructure constantly. For this, it is necessary to eradicate the strongly rooted influence and remains of the old exploitive classes; to solve the contradictions between the proletariat and peasantry, between the urban and the rural areas, between mental and physical labour; to deal properly with the bourgeois class that develops coincidentally from the production of small scale products; to change the old habits and customs. To do this, the bourgeois rights must be

restricted; ‘value concept’ must be stopped. In the process of solving these problems the great Marxist teacher Mao made many experiments and finally found the form of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Process of GPCR

Though the Tenth Plenary meeting of the Eighth CC in 1962 accepted the Socialist Cultural Revolution officially, its implementation was half hearted and in the opposite direction of Mao’s line. Finally the CC in the guidance of Mao dissolved the leading ‘Group of Five’ that was back stabbing the Cultural Revolution, in 1966 May. It formed a new ‘Cultural Revolution Group’ in the direct supervision of the Standing Committee of the Polit Bureau. With this the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in the actual way. The 1966 May 16th circular formulated the theory, line, concepts and policies for GPCR. It called upon the whole Party and the whole masses of the country to aim and fight against the representatives of the bourgeois class. On the 5th of August, 1966 Mao personally put up a poster with big characters, ‘Bombard the bourgeois headquarters’.

In 1966 Mao called for the Eleventh Plenary meeting of the Eighth CC on the 8th of August and presided over it. This meeting released the policy document for GPCR. This historically came to be known as the 16 point policy document [circular]. This selected the form of struggle basing on mass line. It requested the cadres of various levels to courageously announce each and every thing, to support putting up big character posters, to conduct great debate, to confide in the masses, to depend on them, to realize and respect their initiative, to encourage them to criticize the weaknesses and shortcomings of those in responsible posts. In this 16 point policy document the Party suggested thus – ‘Presently our aim is to fight against the capitalist roaders in power, to overthrow them, to criticize and reject the reactionary, bourgeois education officers, the ideology of the bourgeois class and all exploitive classes, to transform education, art, literature and all other things of the super structure that are unfavourable to the Socialist economic base and thus to facilitate the way to consolidate and develop the Socialist system’.

After taking this decision, the CC withdrew the ‘work teams’ to investigate, observe and study the problems and to conduct movement for Socialist Education. It gave the initiative to the local level democratically

elected Cultural Revolution Committees. In response to the call of the CC broad revolutionary masses came into the struggle. Lakhs of workers, peasants, students, youth, intellectuals, revolutionary activists and Red Guards came forth like a great wave. They stepped into the Cultural Revolution with courage and daring. The slogan of right to rebel against reactionaries resounded across the world. Within three months two crores of youth organized in the Red Guard squads in the Educational institutions. Mao reviewed these squads in a big rally in Peking. Since then the Red Guards became the main pillars of revolution. They paid attention towards the affairs of the government. They criticized those in power. They propagated Cultural Revolution among the broad masses. They destroyed the old ideas, culture and customs and strived to bring new ones in that place. They became one among the peasants and workers. They tried to avoid violence. They distributed the 16 point policy document among the crores of masses across the country for study. The masses read and discussed it with great attention.

Though Mao passed the policies of Cultural Revolution with his immense prestige, he was in minority in the CC by 1966. Three of the Standing Committee of Seven in the CC – Mao, Lin Piao and Chou En Lai stood for the proletarian revolutionary line. The control of the press in Peking and the propaganda department of the CC were in the hands of the rightists under the leadership of the President of the People's Republic Liu Shao-chi and the General Secretary of the Party Deng Hsiao Ping. By the time of CC meeting in October 1966, Lin Piao (then Deputy Prime Minister), Chen Po-ta (Editor of the Party organ Red Flag) came forth as the main leaders of Cultural Revolution.

In 1966 the city of Peking became the centre of Cultural Revolution. Lakhs of students and red guards led the mass wave against the capitalist roaders. In a short time the main working class city of Shanghai became the centre of the Cultural Revolution. The movement took a new form with the call to destroy the main bourgeois headquarters (Shanghai Municipal Party Committee) and to establish power organs in the cities and provinces like the Paris Commune. The rightists tried to fight back the revolution by mobilizing thousands of people, by suddenly paying bonuses, hiking wages and trying to attract the workers with gifts. After Liu Shao-chi was overthrown, his revisionist clique and agents started changing their tactics

timely. They affected many to protect a few of their supporters; they doubted all, overthrew all and did other such things. They brought rightist slogans with weighty leftist jargon. They split the revolutionary masses. In order to protect themselves they diverted a section of the masses and deceived them. When proletarian revolutionaries nullified these schemes they fanatically started another counter attack. The leaders of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Chen and Chao organized Red Militia in the adverse wind that blew from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967. They started violence against proletarian revolutionaries. They disrupted production. They went to the extent to cut electricity, water supply and transport facilities to the city to create confusion and to bring down the prestige of Cultural Revolution. But through these actions the workers disrespected them. The workers in the Ports and Railways started realizing the necessity to seize power. Mao timely summarized the experience of 1967 January storm and gave the call – ‘Proletarian revolutionaries, unite. Seize power from the few capitalist roaders in power in the Party’. He later directed the People’s Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the proletarian revolutionaries.

The attack to seize power in Shanghai started in 1967 January. The proletarian revolutionaries initially achieved control on two main daily papers. Later they brought the Railway, Water, supply of Electricity and Banks under their control. Revolutionaries took over the Municipal government. A Revolutionary Committee constituting three forces formed. The cadres of revolutionary leadership, representatives of People’s Liberation Army and representatives of revolutionary masses were in this committee. Later they took forth the country wide struggle for the seizure of power. Anyhow, there was a little gap in ‘grasping revolution and promoting production in the factories’, according to the 16 points.

The Central Revolutionary group gave a call to ‘fight self, repudiate revisionism from our own brains’. Thus a new situation developed from October 1967. A new outlook means an attempt to mould their outlook as proletarian world outlook to abolish selfishness. By the end of 1967, revolutionary committees gained ninety per cent of the power in the factories of Shanghai. Situation changed in the same way in many parts of the country.

The New Year 1968 started with the widening of the revolutionary

committees. By April, 23 out of the 27 Regional governments came into the hands of proletarian revolutionaries in the leadership of Mao. 'Moral incentives', 'people's mobilisations' were taken up to make a deep influence on perspectives, incentives, organization and the capacity for production and to run the economy in a stable manner. Above all, these cultural revolutionaries overthrew the power of a special group comprising of bureaucrats, managers, technocrats and the 'bureaucratic education officers'. 'grasp revolution, promote production', giving moral incentives in the place of material incentives, study classes for the workers became part of the factory life so that the proletarian cultural revolutionary committees as new organs of power fulfil the declared schemes as fast as possible.

They paid much attention to education from July 1968. Mao said thus – 'It is necessary to reduce the length of the lessons. We must keep proletarian politics in command. We must follow the path of Shanghai Tool Plant to make technicians from workers. Workers and peasants must select the students of practical experience. After few years they must participate in production'.

In mid 1968, the movement of 'struggle-criticism-transformation' started. The role of workers in political units and ownership of production increased. The aim of the movement for 'struggle-criticism-transformation' is two phased. The first is to bring forth the method of study classes that would help to 'fight self and repudiate revisionism'. As Mao said it means five necessities for the successors of revolution. They are to fight selfishness, fight against oneself, criticize revisionism, and carefully mould one's world outlook according to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (Maoism). The second is the one that Mao released in the beginning of 1968 – 'The most important rule to reform the organs of government power is that they are in contact with the masses'. The directions to 'grasp revolution, promote production' released earlier is to be implemented totally. This is the fundamental principle of 'struggle-criticism-transformation' that facilitates the superstructure to help Socialist economic base better. Commanders and fighters actively participated in large numbers in the efforts of three supports, two militaries (meaning support to industry, agriculture and broad proletarian revolutionary masses; military control, political-military training) in this Cultural Revolution.

Though there is historical importance to the main objective of GPCR few negative trends too came forth in the process. The first being factionalism the anarchists created and the second is the destruction the leftists did. An example of this is the May 16th conspiracy group. This group put up big character posters, ‘overthrow Prime Minister Chou En Lai’ on the eve of the first anniversary of the poster of Mao, ‘Bombard the bourgeois headquarters’. This collapsed only after there was an open opposition from the central cultural group.

GPCR was successful in its immediate aim in four years. In April 1969 the Ninth Congress of the Party was successful. It hailed the great achievements of the CPC in the leadership of Mao, consolidated Socialist achievements with the aim to step forward towards the formation of Communist society. It reviewed the new experience of GPCR. The Ninth Congress accepted the removal of hidden traitor, renegade and scum Liu Shao-chi from all the posts and expulsion from the Party. It declared Lin Piao as the new Vice-Chairman of CPC and the heir of Mao. Forty per cent of the Congress elected CC members was in CC since earlier. The rest were elected from the peasants, soldiers and workers. At this time a few ‘leftists’ in the top positions in the Party and Army were exposed and removed.

The Ninth Congress decided to continue Cultural Revolution in the party against leftist trends, Commandism and bureaucracy. This task was fulfilled by introducing rotation system in the revolutionary committees. In the rotation system one third of the members of the revolutionary committees would be active in the leadership responsibilities. One third would continue their classical profession. Another one third would stay home and continue study in the May 7 Cadre School. The Ninth Congress also instructed that they should pay attention to re consolidate the Party in the basic level and establish its leadership on the Revolutionary Committees and Army.

The Second Plenum of the Ninth CC in September 1970 exposed the secret schemes of the ‘leftists’. Lin Piao was appointed in the post of the president of the Republic of China. Though Lin Piao and the Military Generals of his clique were not exposed, Chen Po-ta was exposed. His grand leftist jargon was criticized. He was removed from the Party. There was a campaign against such ‘political deceivers’. Then Mao released a declaration ‘waving the red flag to oppose the red flag’. After this plenum

there was a campaign against the grand leftist jargon and the excessive individual worship of Mao. In this campaign there was a fight against Lin Piao who played the main role in encouraging individual worship of Mao and formulated the 'genius' theory. At this time another wider campaign took place against the May 16th conspirators and the leftists who were responsible for destruction in many places. In addition to this a few leftists were removed from vital positions in the army and thus the influence of Lin Piao too was controlled. The people's militia stopped by Lin Piao during the Cultural Revolution started to be trained again.

In 1971 August Party was reconstituted. Firstly the lower level Party cells (in agricultural work teams, factories, workshops, villages and districts) were reconstituted. The bad elements were removed. New members were recruited. Committees were elected in Communes, Districts, Provinces and High level Party Conferences. The same process was implemented in the government, military organisations and the old and the new mass organisations.

Since he could find no opportunity to fulfil his aspiration to seize the leadership of China Lin Piao finally planned to murder Mao and seize power through military coup. This was exposed. He died in a plane accident in Mongolia while he was fleeing to Social Imperialist Soviet Union. Party, Army and the worker-peasant, student-intellectual classes and sections of all kinds of nationalities discussed and criticized the issue in a serious manner. Later the anti Party clique of renegade Lin Piao was destroyed with mass strength. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the work style took roots among the masses.

The Tenth Congress of the Party took place in August 1973. The conspiracy of bourgeois careerist, traitor Lin Piao was reviewed. The movement to criticize Lin Piao, to rectify work style, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius became part of the struggle in the theoretical field. The Congress directed so, to strengthen revolutionary unity. By reviewing all this, it made the total ranks of the party realize the importance to enhance the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought. All the top leaders who played an active role in the GPCR were elected into the Polit Bureau in this Congress.

Deng Hsiao Ping came into the CC in the campaign against leftist

trend in 1975. However he continued his revisionist theory. He said, 'I am not bothered whether the cat is black or white as long as it catches the rat'. His reactionary bourgeois theory was that increase of production is important and it does not matter whether it is Capitalism or Socialism. Five months before the demise of Mao he was once again removed from all the posts.

Before Mao's demise rightist trend came up once more. The basic level Revolutionary Committees started becoming defunct. They stopped working. They discarded the process of calling back the elected members of the Committee through the people and re-electing them after the fixed time period. Thus the worker's management groups and other organs became defunct. This back step is not 'coincidental'. Counter revolutionary activities spread in a secret manner. Bourgeois influence increased. American imperialists and Soviet Social Imperialist, the domestic and foreign enemies all came together and formed 'a sacred alliance' and aimed their attack on the revolutionary forces. With the help of this 'sacred alliance' all the bourgeois forces hid in the government, party, army and other mechanisms tried to strengthen their power and to escape from vigilance by deceiving the people. Thus there was a back step. Lin Piao who came forth as a leader of the struggle against rightist trend in the period of Cultural Revolution and as an heir of Mao turned out to be a traitor in a short time. This showed negative affect on the Chinese society and the Communist revolutionary forces to some extent. The revolutionary forces did not make effective efforts like before, as per Comrade Mao's teaching to continue revolution to the end. Five prominent Communist leaders – Mao, Chou En Lai, Chu Te, Kang Shen, Tung Pi-vu (one of the founders of the Party) died in 1976. This was a big blow to the Cultural Revolution that was going on against bad trends.

After the death of Chou En Lai, Hua Kuo-feng became the Acting Prime Minister and Minister for Public Security. Though he claimed to be a strong follower of Mao he was in fact a capitalist roader. Hua was on both the sides. He was a double dealer. He gradually seized top most power in the State, Party and the Army. Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down his life in September 1976. Hua-Deng clique took chance of this situation and suppressed all the followers of Mao to destroy any kind of opposition to capitalist roaders. Within one month of Mao's demise, Hua-Deng clique

declared Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, Wan Hung-wen as 'Gang of four' and arrested them alleging that they conspired to seize power. This clique tried to deceive the people that the 'Gang of Four' was opposing the policies of Mao. However the masses did not agree these allegations. They came on to the streets and resisted these capitalist tricks. There were armed clashes in many states including Fukien, Hopei, Hunan and Shansi. These struggles of retaliation were suppressed mercilessly. Proletarian dictatorship was destroyed and on the contrary bourgeois dictatorship was imposed in a bureaucratic manner.

Successes of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Cultural Revolution is the first revolution in the political and ideological superstructure of the Chinese society. After capitalist restoration in the leadership of Khrushchev in Soviet Union in 1956, avoiding this, protecting Socialism and advancing towards Communism was an unsolvable complex problem in the International Revolutionary camp. The history of GPCR ascertained - that through continuing proletarian dictatorship, it was possible to totally eliminate the remains of capitalism, to avoid the attempts of capitalist restoration and to build powerful Socialist society on the stable basis of the aim to build Communist society is a powerful new weapon the great Marxist teacher Mao handed over to the Marxist-Leninist theoretical Armoury.

GPCR destroyed two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. It criticized their revisionist line. It developed an understanding in the people towards revolutionary Socialist line developing in an independent and self-reliant manner. It encouraged a successful process of development to advance the aim of Socialism. Thus it avoided capitalist restoration in China for ten years.

Revolutionary changes had occurred in the superstructure with the great turbulent success of GPCR. However classes, class struggle, bourgeois forces and its influence continued to exist. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (now Maoism) and revisionism continued in the theoretical field in a sharp and complex manner.

'New socialist things' came forth in the fields of Education, Democratization, Industries, Agriculture, in fighting patriarchal domination, inequality between women and men, Health care, Culture and Military.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution firstly revolutionized Education system

The aim of Cultural Revolutionary system of Education is the making of students Red and Expert and developing their knowledge and skills so as to solve the severe inequalities in the society and to be useful for the same. The second aim is to provide much more educational opportunities to the children of workers and peasants. The third is to develop collective system of education so that primary and middle students could have life long education. The most important aim is to provide proletarian political education.

Before the Cultural Revolution very less number of school going children had upper primary and high school education. Very few went to the College and most of them were from the rich families. Most of the children in the rural areas could not even have primary education. Education was not available to all in the broad country side of China until 17 years after the CPC came to power. The education system after the seizure of power was not much different from the heredity of the exploitive ruling government. Colleges were not only not available for the children of worker-peasant classes but also remained to be bourgeois Universities moulding the future of the rich classes.

As a part of the Cultural Revolution there was a severe change in the Primary, Middle and High schools in China's Educational system. Before the Cultural Revolution, experts of the Education field dealt with the Education system of China. Instead of expanding the education system allowing possible number of children to schools, they put unbearable burden on the students in the name of Educational standards. Cultural Revolution liberated the Educational system from their control. It gave importance to the opinions of workers and peasants in providing education to their children. Every village built a school with the local material, appointed teachers and put all the children of the village in the school. Thus every village built a Primary school during the Cultural Revolution. All the children of the rural areas could go to school without any expenditure. There was a Middle school for every four villages. All the children who passed Primary education could go to the Middle schools without any examination or fees. There were three high schools for each commune during the Cultural Revolution. All the students who passed the Middle education could go to the High

school. Girls and boys had military training in the Middle school. After passing out from the Middle school they joined the People's Militia in a big number.

As a result of the demand of the Beijing students during the GPCR the government of China started to change the education system. Due to this change the system of entrance examination for college studies was abolished. Workers and peasants selected the students depending upon their talent in work. Another important change is that Graduates returned to their areas to serve the people of their areas. Since the new system came into practice to select students, the feeling that colleges were the forums to mould the future of rich classes no more existed in the period of Cultural Revolution in China. Students did not try for better employment but identified their education with the worker-peasant masses. In the place of personal enlightenment and development, graduation bore a new perspective to dedicatedly serve the masses. They worked hard to develop their talent for the development of the Socialist society. For the first time in China, worker, peasant and military college students came to be known as the best students.

Mao issued a direction regarding reforms in the education system in 1966 May – “The main aim of the students is to study, but at the same time they must learn other things too. For example, they have to study literature. They have to know about industries, agriculture and military science. They must also criticize the bourgeois class. The time to study must be less. We must revolutionize education. Bourgeois intellectuals must no more govern our schools”. According to this direction, lakhs of students and teachers moved to rural areas and factories to unite with the peasantry and workers, to gain practical experience and to learn from the people by participating in production activities. The discrimination towards physical labour and the feeling that mental labour is greater than physical labour was transformed.

Education in China developed in an unprecedented manner during GPCR. This brought major changes in the Chinese masses and the society. As the masses were educated, they became increasing empowered in political and economic activities. Thus GPCR in the field of education is a Socialist revolution with a deeply developing collective mentality.

The system of selecting college students from workers, peasants and

soldiers suddenly came to a stop in 1977. The capitalist leaders of the Chinese government after Mao's demise had nothing to do with the New Education Policy that came forth during the Cultural Revolution. They again revived the old education system for bourgeois necessities.

GPCR – Democratisation of Chinese society

One of the important achievements of GPCR was the empowerment of ordinary masses and the democratization of the Chinese society. Many speak of democracy in the world as a complex issue. But democracy is a straight and simple thing. Democracy provides partnership to the ordinary masses in decision making. It is different from the old society that allows the rich classes deal with political affairs. Democracy allows the ordinary masses to participate in governing their society. In order to implement democracy all the ordinary masses (worker, peasant, soldier, student, intellectual, and woman, masses of various nationalities, tribes and sections) should be provided equal empowerment. There would not be any classes with additional facilities or rich classes in a democratic society. Each and everyone are politically and economically equal. This is the pre-condition for democracy.

In the so-called democratic systems of Western countries (of West Europe, North America continents) and backward countries like India almost all the property accumulated in the hands of the one per cent rich people. Due to this variation in property the handful rich people gain power, influence and control. They have clear monopoly. That is not at all true democracy. That democracy is name sake and a sham. GPCR tried to establish genuine democracy. It empowered ordinary masses to put up big character posters to criticize their leaders. Their leaders participated in physical labor like all. This is a great leap forward in the development of the Chinese society. During the Cultural Revolution, the life style of many of the Chinese officers was like that of the ordinary masses. Their homes were like that of the masses. Their children went to the same schools that all the children went. They went to work on bicycles like everyone. The peasants elected leaders of production teams' everyday in the fields and they worked with the peasants. Since the village leaders had to attend meetings and prepare schemes for the village, they worked for 300 days a year with the farmers in the fields. The leaders of the commune worked for 250 days. The officers

of the county government worked for 200 days.

Chen Yang Guyi worked like a farmer all through his life. When the Communist Party came to power he became the secretary of the Party of Da Zhai village in Gjiang county of Shangsi province. He led the masses of the village efficiently for the construction of beautiful future. During the Cultural Revolution he was promoted as the Vice-President of the People's Republic of China. He was a member of the Polit Bureau of the CC of the CPC and worked as the in-charge of the agricultural field of China. He spent one third of his time working with the peasants in the fields. He clothed like a peasant when he met foreign officials. He stood exemplary for the peasants, workers and military officers emerged during GPCR. Though they were government officers they spent their lives like peasants, workers and soldiers. This is the democracy – the proletarian democracy that was planned/built during GPCR under the leadership of Mao. This democracy provided empowerment to 99 per cent of the masses on the one per cent rich classes.

There are many national leaders like Chen Yang Guyi. Wang Jingsi was an ordinary worker in an oil industry at Nizhivu. He found out very effective drill bits. Ho Jiansi was a capable textile worker from Quing Dao of Shan Dang province. They did not stop working in their work places even after becoming National leaders. Many workers and peasants served in this manner under the local government. They simultaneously continued their work among the workers and peasants.

Proletarian dictatorship was implemented in its genuine spirit during Cultural Revolution. As Lenin said, 'proletarian dictatorship is nothing but proletariat transforming into a ruling class'. It provides wide democracy and proletarian democracy to the masses. In the process of Cultural Revolution, the masses directly governed the cities and the villages. The organ of the CC of the CPC, 'Red Flag' wrote thus – 'The masses had the right to criticize the Party, the policies of the government and the relations in the government mechanism and the right to suggest'. The people had the right to criticize the leadership cadres, however great their service might have been however much their level would have been and however seniors they might have been. Like in the Paris Commune it became necessary to structure the general electoral system of all the organs of power leading the Cultural Revolution without any exception. People had

the right to recall any elected member at any time and elect another in their place. People implemented broad democracy to unite the understandings and thought of the masses, to enhance their political consciousness and to achieve command in MLM. This kind of broad democracy is the best method for the self enlightenment of the masses’.

‘Without such broad democracy, without the attention of the crores of masses towards the affairs of the government, without the supervision of the organs of the Party and the government, without supervising the leadership cadres in all the levels, it is impossible to avoid the counter-revolutionary revisionist forces seize Party leadership and government power. It is impossible to avoid the transformation of proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship’.

So the concept of ‘mass line’ developed with the aim to adopt proper policies to – serve the masses; avoid the increase of wrong trends in the Party; to let the masses have direct political power; to supervise the government mechanism and the party; criticize those in the power, expel the degenerated elements; avoid restoration of capitalism and the transformation of proletarian dictatorship to bourgeois dictatorship.

Thus GPCR created a strong Socialist social atmosphere in China. It increased respect towards labour. This led to an unprecedented economic growth in the history of the world. During the Cultural Revolution, those in the management participated in physical labour. Workers participated in the process of decision making in the Management. Workers, Engineers and the Management solved technical and management problems with mutual cooperation. With the help of the workers they reformed the rules and regulations not useful for the workers. The theory and style of revolutionary management developed the Workers, Engineers and the Management to work together. This led to large scale productivity.

Impact of Cultural Revolution on Industries and Agriculture

At the time of establishment of the People’s Republic of China, its industrial base was smaller than that of Belgium, a small country. Its gross industrial production was one fifth of that of Belgium. During Mao’s time Industrial production of China increased by 13.5 per cent per annum. The growth of industrialization in this period was much more than in any other country. It was above the industrial development in Germany, Japan and

Soviet Union. During the Cultural Revolution workers rejected material incentives. They followed the policy of Mao – grasp revolution, promote production and political work is the life line of all the economic work.

In the Third, Fourth and the Fifth Five Year Plans of this period, the Chinese government invested 316,642 billion Yuan for infrastructure. Industrial properties increased to 215,740 billion Yuan. By 1979, there were 355,000 industries. This was 2.25 fold when compared to 1965. These industries went under the government ownership all over the country. There were nearly 4,500 large and medium scale industries. Between 1967 and 1976, production in the oil sector increased by 18.6 per cent per annum. By 1978 the annual oil production reached 100 million tons. This was five times more than that of 1965. Growth rate of 9.2 per cent per annum continued in coal, chemicals and electricity during the ten years of Cultural Revolution.

From 1965 to mid 1970 China invested 205 billion Yuan in the third line (public sector) industries. Steel Plants, Industries manufacturing machine equipment, Aeroplane manufacturing industries, Space programs and Electronic Plants were established in the Middle and the Western areas. By the end of 1970, the industrial properties of the third line reached one third of the total industrial properties of China. Industrial production increased 3.92 times. Industrial production in the Middle and the Western areas became strategically very important to the National Security of China as either a Nation or a Country. It improved the gross industrial growth of China. Production plans were formulated not for high profits but to fulfil the necessities of the society.

Especially, dependence on foreign technology of the Soviet or the Western countries in the factories in the government sector was criticized. The Taching oil fields of North East China were opened with the Chinese resources and engineering and work was initiated. They highlighted them as a national example for new methods of production and products that suit the conditions of China. This policy helped to protect the political independence of China.

Mao emphasized self-reliance and also said technology should be imported if necessary. In 1972 Mao and Chou En-lai together accepted a scheme to import 26 foreign industrial plants and an investment of 5 billion dollars. With the construction of a big group of Oil and Chemical plants the

production of fertilisers, chemicals and artificial textiles increased. In this period 13 big fertilizer factories were constructed. The production of these factories was equal to one fifth of the production in the Chinese chemical fertilizers. In 1970s, China constructed many small scale chemical fertilizer factories. By 1978 there were 1,534 small chemical fertilizer factories in China. These small fertilizer factories played an important role in the agricultural growth of the country.

In 1960s and 1970s America and other Western countries spread 'green revolution' technical know how to backward countries like India, Mexico, Brazil, Philippines and others. The spread of 'green revolution' technology had a destructive impact on the agriculture in these backward countries. Chemical fertilisers, pesticides and heavy machinery enhanced agricultural production. But with the growth of production crop prices fell. Moreover, the price of productivity gradually went up. Many small peasants could not cope up with the ups and downs in the market. A large number of small peasants became bankrupt. They lost their lands. They had to migrate to the towns for livelihood. The emergence of large scale slums and excessive increase in homeless people in the backward countries is the consequence of the technical spread of 'green revolution' of the Western countries. This intensified the crisis in agriculture, rural areas and the peasantry by three times. It is difficult to assess the impact of this crisis now.

China was the only country that could avoid this agrarian crisis. This was the result of its collective agricultural methods. Organized Chinese peasants developed indigenous agricultural (green) revolution in their own style. Chinese peasants had collective ownership on land. They distributed the results of agricultural (green) revolution technique equally. They avoided the destructive ill effects and thus benefited from it. The indigenous (self-reliant) agricultural revolutionary technique reduced the intensity of agricultural labour. In addition to this, it helped for the emergence of many rural agricultural industries. Due to the emergence of these rural agricultural industries the peasants had to leave their fields to participate in the industrial work. But they did not have to leave their villages. During the Cultural Revolution, the development of this agricultural revolutionary technique, the utilization of the locally made agricultural machinery and the emergence of rural industries increased the level of the living standards of Chinese farmers.

Two contradictory slogans in agriculture – one was ‘Learn from Tachai’ of Mao and another ‘Learn from Tao Yuvan’ of Liu Shao-chi stood as the symbols of two lines in agriculture. Tachai, which was in Shansi province an area full of stones and rocks with diminished fertility of land. A brigade of Tachai commune worked with the spirit of self-reliance. It removed rocks, built walls like partitions, dug the soil and levelled the land and turned the hills and the streams into fertile lands without support from the government. This change was possible because of the long term political education, through collective efforts and the firm struggle against individualism and the feeling of private property. Tachai stood first in implementing the new basis to develop the capacity to work of every member of the brigade in a year, in the place of applying work point system. This reflected in the collective consciousness, in the capacity to work and in leading others in the collective projects. Due to the direct material incentives, it left the aspect of how much productive capacity the brigade members could bring about.

Tao Yuvan was a brigade formed in a commune in East Hopei plains. The natural conditions are favorable for large scale production and excess results. Liu Shao-chi’s followers selected this brigade and provided special help with the feeling that they could gain considerable results through investment. But this brigade did less in a long time. It could not maintain the excess results gained initially. So it lost morale and political consciousness. When they faced difficulties the brigade members demanded the help of the government instead of organizing themselves to spend their whole power. The party cadres of Tao Yuvan gave importance to machines and techniques instead of humans and their consciousness thus being a negative example. The dependence on material incentives led to disunity and clashes among the peasantry.

The difference between the ‘Tachai line’ and the ‘Tao Yuvan line’ was in essence that between ‘putting politics in command’ and ‘putting technique in command’. This reflects the main difference in the lines of Mao and Liu Shao-chi. While Mao suggested that cooperation was important than mechanization, Liu Shao-chi said the opposite. As Mao suggested, ‘keeping politics in command’ means one must depend on the poor and the middle peasantry to build Socialism. The forces of production in agriculture would develop depending on continuing revolution in the relations of production

and consciousness. The meaning of ‘keeping technique in command’ of Liu Shao-chi is to put bourgeois politics in command upon proletarian politics. His emphasis on technique dismisses class struggle and transformation of forces of production. It does not pay attention to develop forces of production and to raise the consciousness. It only strengthens bourgeois relations of production. Keeping technique in command is not an alternate line to the building of Socialism. On the contrary it is the way for capitalist restoration. This is an attempt to destroy the People’s Communes that are working as the organs of People’s power and as the units of production. It is an attempt to destroy the cooperative basis of land and other means of production. It is leaving the farmers on their own in production and market. It is weakening the most important worker-peasant unity in building Socialism and separating the close relation between agriculture and industry.

Cultural Revolution united all the revolutionary forces in the rural area by overcoming narrow self interest in them through study, self-criticism and mutual criticism. It strengthened the ownership of these forces, their collective production and collective social services in the path of mutual unity. It defeated the conspiracies of bourgeois class forces.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution – Women’s Emancipation

Before the CPC came to power women in China had a very limited political power in the Chinese society. Women could not choose spouse of their choice. Their parents (if they die, their brothers) would decide. After marriage they were under the control of their husbands (if they die, their sons). Women did not have right to property. Only fathers or husbands had this right. Men brought another woman as a keep as per their status. In old China rich old people frequently brought young women as keeps. Chinese writer Ba Jin explained this situation in his novel ‘Family’. In this novel an eighty year old man buys a sixteen year old girl as a servant.

The official policy, especially the two declarations Mao issued with a far sighted view lent support to the active movement of women. These taught ‘women hold up half the sky’, ‘Situation changed, now men and women are equal’, ‘Women comrades can achieve whatever the men comrades achieve’.

The first law the Communist Party passed after coming to power was that regarding marriage. This law came into implementation on the 13th

April, 1950. The government of the People's Republic of China provided protection to women and children. It said that wife and husband are equal in marriage. In a marriage there is one husband and one wife. Men were not allowed to get keeps. Women were provided the freedom to select their partners. In case of divorce court took care that the women and children are provided security.

The government of the People's Republic of China not only passed this law but also took up a social movement through media and arts (plays, cinemas) in an unprecedented manner to raise the consciousness of the masses about it. With this new marriage law there was a considerable growth in the social and political status of the Chinese women. Freedom to women in Socialist China meant freedom to work outside their home without fear, freedom to participate in politics and class struggles, freedom from being treated as sex objects, but not sexual freedom.

People's Republic of China also implemented equal wages for equal work in the public sector. Women in the public sector got equal wages. Government industries provided maternity leave for three months. This could be extended upto six months. There were facilities to take care of the children in the mother's work places. Mothers were allotted time to feed their babies.

People's Republic of China arranged women's federation committees for the protection of women's rights. During the Cultural Revolution every Chinese village, factory, school, government office had women's federation committees. If the husband did not look after his wife properly, the women's federation of the village organized women and took up with the husband and made him apologise to his wife. If the husband once again behaved in the same way, the women's federation committee got down to work again. Women of urban areas complained to the women's federation committee. The committee took action on them on their behalf. Apart from the Chinese women's federation committees there were woman representatives in the committees in all levels of the public sector. As per the laws and regulations of the government the exclusive necessities of women's living had to be considered. Women had the right to change their work during their menstrual period. There was encouragement for socialization in the commune life. Thus women were liberated from the drudgery of house work. There was increased social security for the old and children.

The People's Republic of China took the question of women's rights in a serious manner. As a part of this it paid attention to children, family and the welfare of all the nationalities and the country. If women's rights are not protected the influence would not be limited to women alone. Children would fall in difficulty and the families too would fall in difficulty. The People's Republic of China eliminated social evils like the habit of consuming narcotics, prostitution, illegal trafficking of women and children, organized crimes and loot and other such things in a very efficient manner. Due to the empowerment of women they became part of the forces of production of the Chinese society. This helped to provide equal participation in social and political life for women. In 1952 the average life time of a human being in China was 35 years. By 1976, in a period of less than thirty years it went up to 69 years, two times the earlier. In India it was 50 years in 1976. This is 19 years lesser to that of China.

During the Cultural Revolution many women came to top positions. There was a Polit Bureau member in the CC. There was a Minister in the government. They developed to the position of serving the Army, Navy, Air force, government machinery, industries, agriculture, communication, transport, health and other ordinary services. Women did all kinds of works that men did. Many women achieved self-reliance. Equal wages for equal work was implemented. Transformation began in family relations with women being made part of production, with the eradication of the ideology of family centeredness and with a change in the role of women as housewives.

Due to the GPCR the revolutionaries across the world were equipped with a new understanding about patriarchy in practice. Especially there was development in the women's fight against all kinds of suppression, in working as political activists and in conducting their responsibilities as leaders of revolutionary organisations. This development in theory and practice helps to break all kinds of shackles regarding women's oppression in the Socialist societies in future.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution – Medical field

Decentralized medical and health policy was introduced in a creative manner in the medical field. The wrong understanding attributing specialty to this field was removed and 'barefoot doctor' policy was developed.

Thousands and thousands of 'barefoot doctors' came forward during the GPCR and this policy became well-known throughout the world. By 1976 there were 15 lakhs of doctors in the rural area. There was considerable decrease in diseases due to general cleanliness programs and nutritious food. In this method that was developed in the GPCR, doctors for primary health care of the masses were prepared with training of less duration instead of the idealist Western medical method of seven to fifteen years of study of medical sciences. They studied, researched and explored the medical and health care developed from the experience of masses of various countries in the world for thousands of years and from the specific experience of the Chinese masses. This method was not only adopted in the medical field but to all the fields of life.

Knowledge develops from creative synthesis of the labour, experience and many experiments of the broad masses for a long time. This is the technical knowledge of the masses. The health policy that tribes and peasants developed from the trees, leaves, roots and other herbs was creatively implemented in the medical field. China is a very old peasant country and so it has a vast knowledge about these things. The native raw material was applied scientifically from which the wide spread method of Acupuncture developed. During GPCR doctors left the cities and went to villages to serve the masses.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution – Art and Literature and PLA

Many new creative issues representing the proletariat were introduced in the field of art and literature. Music, theatre, ballet, painting, short stories and poetry developed in a big scale in multimedia with the call of Cultural Revolution to criticize Confucius, bourgeois ideology, culture, customs and habits. They served to build Socialism. This new cultural work depended on the many great experiences of workers and peasants and the great effort for collective interests.

People were allowed to propagate widely through wall magazines during the Cultural Revolution. Thousands and lakhs of people mobilized to conduct great debates. They struggled against the reactionary ideology. They punished the corrupt officers. They fought for the freedom of press and for democratic rights. The masses enjoyed four freedoms - the right to

speak, to express their ideas, to participate in the great debate and to publish wall magazines big character posters.

The People's Liberation Army of China stood in support of the masses as a Revolutionary Democratic Army during the GPCR. The PLA obeyed the call of Mao that they have to be humble towards the masses regarding supporting the revolutionary line. PLA participated in production, in various constructions, in precautionary measures for storms and floods, in digging canals, and helped, served the peasants and workers during earthquakes and in natural calamities. The differentiation of big and small positional status was removed in PLA. They provided MLM theoretical understanding to PLA as like they gave to peasants and workers. PLA was given the consciousness to be more alert to prepare for any kind of sacrifices to protect the country.

In the leadership of the great Marxist teacher Mao, CPC built a society without considerable differences within three decades through Socialism. Many top level Chinese leaders like Mao and Chou En-lai worked hard for the masses of China and the world. But they took a salary equal to that of a Professor. They never accumulated private property in their life. The masses of China took such leaders as ideal, worked hard and transformed their motherland as a modern industrial country and the most advanced political and social system of free medicine and free education to each and everyone. Especially, genuine [revolutionary] workers, peasants and soldiers became part of the government and governed. These worker, peasant and soldier government leaders worked together with the peasants and workers even after coming to high positions. The directive principle for these government officers is to serve the people. This is the true democracy. This is the government of the people, for the people and by the people. These peasant-worker government officers not only represented the interests of the peasants and workers in the government but they themselves were peasants and workers. They lived like peasants and workers.

On the whole, the GPCR is unique. It was an experiment that shook the world. It handed over a proper form and method for the world proletariat to advance in the Socialist path. Cultural Revolution became an effective force. It is because crores of masses mobilized under the CPC and proletarian leadership and leapt into practice. The MLM revolutionary

understanding of the Chinese masses made a severe impact. Though temporarily, Cultural Revolution continued severe class struggle and avoided the restoration of bourgeois dictatorship. In the process of fighting against revisionism they fought against capitalist roaders. They also ‘fought against self’ to fight revisionism. The Socialist consciousness among the masses made a great leap forward, in a way unprecedented in human history. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an issue concerning world outlook. It is a theoretical weapon to prepare the masses to understand and transform the world with consciousness and thus to change themselves.

If we synthesize the experience of GPCR we understand that we cannot success the New Democratic Revolution in India in a casual manner, fearing difficulties or without sacrifices. We can make the Protracted People’s War a success only by continuing class struggle, by working with a spirit to defy death courageously and by depending on the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm. We have to demonstrate great dynamism, revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm to strengthen proletarian dictatorship and to build Socialism also. As long as we have close relations with the broad masses, depend on them, maintain the same revolutionary enthusiasm and advance, work with the same courage in the revolutionary war for years together with the spirit of defying death, we can advance towards our objective fast.

Lessons

For proletarian parties until we achieve Socialism and Communism the ‘question of power’ would be the key issue. The experience of Socialist construction of China and the theories of Mao that directed it would stand as invaluable knowledge for all future revolutions. Rejecting the experience of Chinese Revolution in the phase of building Socialism would inevitably lead to revisionist hegemony and spontaneous growth of bourgeois economic system.

Mao developed the theory regarding continuing revolution in the Socialist society, to fight with modern revisionism and to avoid capitalist restoration. This theory was applied in the GPCR. It continued for many years until mistakes accumulated and rightists regained control. If we highlight the positive aspects and rectify the negative aspects this theory that Mao developed regarding Cultural Revolution would become a great asset of

knowledge depending on the fundamental principles and methods to continue revolution.

However we are now making New Democratic Revolution in India. But we have been encouraging Cultural Revolution with secular, democratic and scientific aspects. Proletarian revolutionary cadres with the direction of Marxism-Leninism-Maoist theory would be the central part of this great revolutionary collective process. Our Cultural Revolution belongs to the kind of New Democracy. It is different from the Socialist Cultural Revolution. It has been continuing from the Naxalbari struggle. Regarding this matter our document 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' said thus –“The people’s democratic culture is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture. It is a heir to all the secular, genuine democratic, and scientific aspects of the rich cultural heritage of the oppressed masses that are passed on by history.

It is impossible to arm the people ideologically, make them conscious and organise them for the people’s war without the widest propaganda of people’s democratic culture based on Maoism. As Mao said, “*In overthrowing a political power the first and regular task is to work in on the ideological front and to create public opinion.*” To overthrow the exploiting classes and their state machinery, the first and foremost task throughout the course of the new democratic revolution is to wage ideological struggle and create public opinion in favour of agrarian revolutionary war and the protracted people’s war.

Mao says revisionism is the main danger. Modern revisionism is one of the chief enemies of MLM and the people’s democratic ideology and revolution. The anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary culture of the people cannot be established without fighting against modern revisionism. In this respect MLM is the strongest weapon in the fight against modern revisionism.

Besides, in India, feudal thinking is deep-rooted and is manifested in many ways, particularly in casteist, biases against religious minorities, religious narrow mindedness, communalism, untouchability, patriarchy, and numerous other forms. The Party must educate the masses against all such anti-democratic values and cultures and replace them with those based on equality, self-respect, secularism, dignity of labour and a proletarian class view-point.

For the success of the Indian revolution the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal cultural front has to be organised and constantly strengthened. The people's democratic culture will be an inseparable part of the general anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary people's democratic front. One of the tasks of this cultural front is to educate the workers, peasants and the toiling masses about the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolutionary struggle and the protracted people's war.

The people's democratic state will take up the task of wiping out the imperialist and feudal culture from all spheres of social science like economics, politics, philosophy, military science, history, literature etc., and in their place, establish the people's democratic culture".

All the proletarian parties of the world must take the following lessons to eliminate Imperialism and achieve Socialism and Communism worldwide

1. We must organize and strengthen proletarian dictatorship and strengthen it. We must relentlessly continue revolution in the base and superstructure and organize and prepare the masses ideologically and politically. Proletarian party must definitely understand that the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeois class would be more intense after the establishment of proletarian dictatorship than before it.

2. There must be close vigilance on capitalist roaders. Diehards must be isolated. We must destroy their every attempt to build bourgeois headquarters inside the party. We must keep in mind that the degenerated capitalist roaders in the party and the government would take up the role of leadership very carefully to conduct counter revolution. This section confuses the masses and organizes them favourable to counter revolution.

3. Two line struggle must be conducted inside the party without break. Cadres must be made part of it on a broad basis. We must maintain close relations with the masses. While conducting two line struggle we have to adopt the 'unity-criticism (self-criticism)-unity' method to unite with the broad cadres and to isolate a few.

4. We must have high vigilance while organizing the party. We must not let the bourgeois agents settle. We must defeat their conspiracies.

5. Simultaneous with the two line struggle on a broad basis, we must

direct the masses politically in dealing and distinguishing the two kinds of contradictions and methods. Party must pay utmost attention to give revolutionary direction to isolate the enemies and to identify with the broad masses against the enemies. Party must make utmost efforts to avoid complacency and weaknesses in dealing with contradiction in the leadership. Bourgeois agents would utilize these to fool the people, to divert them, to deviate the struggle in a wrong path and to stop the process of organizing the party, government and the revolutionary masses.

6. We must take up many cultural revolutions. We must increase the participation of the people in political power by developing new forms of organization. We must pay attention to see that these forms of organization are suitable. We must establish genuine ownership of the people over means of production.

7. We must provide proletarian democracy through proper forums so that masses of all sections openly express their ideas, views and criticisms.

8. All the forms of right and 'left' wrong lines must be exposed, rejected and defeated. While fighting against a wrong line we must be alert towards another. The bourgeois agents would not only bring forth rightist line but also the 'leftist' line, especially when the revolutionary struggle takes the most severe form.

9. We must admit mistakes before the people. We must encourage them to criticize openly. By taking up this method repeatedly we must avoid bureaucracy in the party and the government.

The world proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and oppressed masses are taking lessons from the failures in building Socialism. They would continue revolution until the establishment of communism with doubled confidence and dedication. The oppressed masses realizing in a fast manner that in the ups and downs in the World Socialist Revolution that advances through breaking the weakest links in the imperialist chain and the New Democratic Revolution that follows the path of Protracted People's War, the defeats of the earlier Socialist countries like Soviet Union and China are only temporary. No power in the world can stop the invincible trend that suggests the total collapse of imperialism and the success of Socialism in near future. The Twenty-first century is the century of revolutions. Masses would certainly win through revolution.*

MIB-33 Editorial on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(On the occasion of 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution)

A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service.

- Mao, 'On New Democracy', 1940

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in socialist China. Many years in the making, this revolution began in the cultural field and took the form of a mass upsurge by mid-1966. It continued in a zigzag course and passed through several stages before the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) held in 1969 summed up its results and declared its victories till that time. Thereafter, the GPCR was continued in various forms till 1976 when the capitalist-roaders captured the Party leadership, reversed the socialist revolution and brought the GPCR to an abrupt end. This unique and unprecedented revolution in the superstructure shook the Chinese society to its roots, touched the Chinese people to their very souls and made a worldwide impact. On the call of the Left in the CPC led by Mao, millions upon millions of people in China entered the arena of intense class struggle across the country against bourgeois ideology, politics and practice, against bourgeois control and influence over the party, army and government and against all the old-world muck pulling the wheels of history backwards. Not a single Party committee, factory, commune, collective farm, public institution or organisation was left untouched or unaffected by this fierce struggle between two classes, two ideologies, two politics, two lines, two roads and two goals. The revolutionary masses confronted the class enemy in each and every field and rose up in a great upheaval to shake the citadels of the reactionaries to their very foundations. The struggle that ensued unleashed the unbound creativity, energy and enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses on an unprecedented scale. Guided by the revolutionary line of the CPC, they introduced wide-ranging innovations in the forms of organisation and struggle and in the party, government, military, industry, agriculture, trade, science and technology, education, health, culture, literature and art

– i.e., in all spheres of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The most pernicious and deceitful representatives of the old-world muck were the revisionists ensconced in the higher echelons of the Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the people's government. The CPC had a long history of fighting revisionism within its ranks since its inception. Till the country's liberation, the Party had successfully carried out six major two-line struggles against the revisionist lines of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao, without defeating which the victory of the Chinese new democratic revolution would have been impossible.

Within a decade after liberation, the revolutionaries in the CPC were once again called into battle against the revisionist lines of Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai. Two-line struggles under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, however, differed significantly from those during the pre-liberation days. The internal ideological struggle became more acute after the countrywide seizure of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, since the revisionists now tried to supplement the authority of their top party positions with that portion of state power which they had surreptitiously usurped from the people. Misusing their positions of authority, they struggled against the revolutionary line of Mao, opposed socialist construction, exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and worked towards reversing the socialist revolution. They did this by promoting capitalism in the economic base and propagating bourgeois ideology in the superstructure. They suppressed the socialist new things that were sprouting in the course of socialist construction.

Moreover, while the revisionists of the pre-liberation period used mainly open forms and methods of struggle against the revolutionaries, in the post-liberation period they adopted increasingly more secretive, conspiratorial and deceptive forms and methods, making their line even more damaging. This resistance became even stronger in the process of socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and trade, which was basically completed by 1956 and China was all set to enter the stage of socialist construction through the Great Leap Forward. This vindicated Lenin's teaching that the overthrown reactionary classes

would increase their resistance to the revolution manifolds after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. With their counter-revolutionary line and practice, the revisionists in the CPC tried to transform the revolutionary party into a social-fascist party, the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship and socialist China into a capitalist one.

After 1956, the position of the revisionists in China was further strengthened by the seizure of power by the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the CPSU and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, while all the two-line struggles in the CPC before liberation and the struggles against Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai's lines thereafter could be settled within the party through internal struggles, by the time of the GPCR the revisionists had become too powerful and influential to be defeated through the old method of internal struggle within the party alone. Mao pointed out that capitalist-roaders had already usurped one-third of state power in China by 1966. It was only by relying on the vast masses of people and mobilising them in the largest numbers by applying the class line and mass line could political power be seized back from the bourgeoisie and the socialist revolution further advanced.

As the revisionists consolidated their position during the six years following the anti-rightist struggle against P'eng Te-huai's line in 1959, Mao and the CPC relied on the broad masses to prevent the party and the country from changing colour. They called upon the masses to rise up in rebellion against the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to bombard their counter-revolutionary headquarters. Thus began the GPCR. The masses – students and intellectuals to begin with, and workers and peasants following in their wake – responded overwhelmingly and took the enemy strongholds by storm. The creativity, energy, initiative and militancy of the masses came into full play. This was nothing short of another power seizure from below.

In the course of questioning, criticising and overthrowing the bourgeois representatives in authority and the bourgeois-revisionist world outlook, party leaders, cadres and the masses self-examined, self-criticised and remoulded their own world outlook, which in fact was the goal of the GPCR. As Mao explained, “To struggle against power-holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal [of the

GPCR]. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism” (“Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation”, 1 May 1967). The slogan – “Fight Self, Repudiate Revisionism” – aptly encapsulates the main task and the main target of the GPCR. It was a revolution to accomplish a revolutionary transformation of the people’s world outlook by ideological remoulding and re-education, to bring the consciousness of the masses in conformity with the new conditions of life under socialism and to forge new human beings fit to found society anew.

Revisionism had its roots in the exploiting classes, the remnants of which continued to exist in China even after liberation. The new democratic revolution had expropriated the private property of the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists – the old ruling classes. But it was still a long way to the ideological remoulding of the members of these classes. Some elements of the overthrown classes like former landlords escaped identification during the land reform movement and even managed to reach leading positions in the party, government, collective farms, etc. Moreover, the removal of imperialist and feudal fetters by the new democratic revolution created favourable conditions for the expansion of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements and their ideological influence in the society.

People from these classes had joined the communist party in large numbers during the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stage of the revolution as they too were oppressed by the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists. But having failed to remould their non-proletarian world outlook and unwilling to continue on the revolutionary road beyond the democratic revolution, they failed the test of socialism and became dead weights holding back the society. Many of them pursued a revisionist line to resist the transition of the democratic revolution to the socialist stage. Also, the CPC had to adopt a policy of allowing the middle bourgeoisie (and the rich peasants who constituted the rural bourgeoisie) to earn a certain amount of profit under conditions of state control and restriction. They continued to exert ideological, political, economic and cultural influence on the society.

It was also a fact that China had a huge rural petty bourgeoisie (the middle peasants), while the urban petty bourgeoisie (including the three levels of intellectuals) too were in considerable numbers. Though the vast majority of them supported socialism and followed the socialist road, they mostly retained their narrow class outlook emanating from small

proprietorship, and their remoulding had only just begun. The proletariat and the semi-proletariat (workers and poor peasants) were firmly committed to the socialist road, but they were vulnerable to the machinations of the revisionists due to the relatively inadequate spread of Marxism. Indeed, it was no easy task to promote Marxism and establish proletarian ideology and culture by uprooting feudal ideology and culture which dominated the thinking and practice of the Chinese people for thousands of years. The revisionists made use of the backward ideologies and ways of thinking prevalent among the masses in their fight against Marxism.

In addition to all this, the transformation of private ownership of means of the production (whether feudal or bourgeois ownership) into socialist ownership by the whole people required a number of intermediate stages and a relatively long period of time. In this transitional period, the grounds remained for the preponderance of partial or narrow self-interest over the interest of the whole people, and hence the grounds for revisionism and anti-revisionist class struggle. As Mao pointed out, even though the socialist transformation in the system of ownership in China was basically completed by 1956,

...there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet. Marxists remain a minority among the entire population as well as among the intellectuals... the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society, the very influence which constitutes their class ideology, will persist in our country for a long time ('On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', February 1957).

Thus, the party persons in authority taking the capitalist-road were no isolated individuals but they represented the formidable social force of the old and new reactionary elements. The struggle to defend and develop the

correct line in CPC after liberation therefore got inseparably linked with the struggle to build socialism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance the socialist revolution towards communism by eradicating the material and ideological foundations of revisionism. For this, the economic base as well as the superstructure had to be repeatedly revolutionised. The strategy adopted by the Left in the CPC led by Mao was to continue these two transformations as a series of uninterrupted revolutions alternating between the economic sphere and the ideological-political-cultural sphere in a zigzag course. As Mao put it in 1958,

I stand for the theory of permanent revolution. Do not mistake this for Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. In making revolution one must strike while the iron is hot – one revolution must follow another, the revolution must continually advance. The Hunanese often say, 'Straw sandals have no pattern – they shape themselves in the making.' Trotsky believed that the socialist revolution should be launched even before the democratic revolution is complete. We are not like that. For example after the Liberation of 1949 came the Land Reform; as soon as this was completed there followed the mutual-aid teams, then the low-level cooperatives, then the high-level cooperatives. After seven years the cooperativization was completed and productive relationships were transformed; then came the Rectification. After Rectification was finished, before things had cooled down, then came the Technical Revolution ('Speech at the Supreme State Conference', 28 January, 1958, MSW Vol. 8).

The history of the Chinese revolution since liberation demonstrates that every struggle for advancement in the economic base was preceded and succeeded by struggles in the superstructure, and the struggle in the superstructure in turn stimulated further development of the economic base. As we know, the political victory of the democratic revolution in 1949 was succeeded by a revolution in the ownership of means of production, i.e., socialist industrialisation and land reform movement of 1949-1952. This was consolidated by a struggle in the ideological sphere – the 'three-antis and five-antis' movement and the anti-Kao anti-Jao struggle of 1953-55. This in turn prepared the ground for the next big step in the development of the economic base – the movement for the collectivisation of agriculture in 1955-56. It was followed by another ideological struggle – the 'Hundred Flowers' movement and the 'anti-rightist movement' of 1957. This

movement in the superstructure not only consolidated the collectivization movement but also laid the ground for a leap in socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and trade – the Great Leap Forward and people’s commune movement of 1958-59. This tremendous development in the economic base was consolidated by a fresh ideological struggle that led to the repudiation of P’eng Te-huai’s revisionist line in 1959 and the launching of the Socialist Education Movement in 1963, which was the immediate precursor of GPCR. This zigzag pattern of class struggle – transforming the superstructure to develop the forces and relations of production, and basing on the development in the forces and relations of production to further revolutionise the superstructure – and in this way advancing through a series of uninterrupted revolutions was the essence of what Mao termed as permanent revolution. This conformed to the principles of Marxism and the laws of class struggle under socialism.

Thus, these revolutionary struggles marked the various stages of socialist transformation in the economic base and the superstructure of Chinese society before conditions matured for launching the GPCR. In fact, the lessons and experiences of the CPC and the Chinese people in ideological-political struggles during the democratic and the socialist revolutions, the ideological and political struggles in the CPSU led by Lenin and Stalin, the positive and negative experiences in building socialism in the Soviet Union and the lessons of the Great Debate against the Yugoslav, Italian and Soviet revisionists – were all applied during the GPCR at a higher level.

The GPCR itself went through several stages from the standpoint of policy and tactics adopted by Mao and the CPC. As Mao noted, the GPCR had already passed through four stages by the middle of 1967. The appearance of Yao Wen-yuan’s article ‘On the New Historical Play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*’ in November 1965 criticising Peking Deputy Mayor Wu Han signalled the beginning of GPCR, although it was Mao who had fired the opening salvos by criticising the play at a Central Committee meeting held in September-October that year. From then till the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee in August 1966 was the first stage of GPCR, which was primarily a stage of mobilising public opinion and bringing up the forces. Some of the important events of this stage were the appearance of a series of critical articles in *Liberation Army Daily* exposing the revisionist leaders of the Peking Municipal Party

Committee, reconstitution of the Cultural Revolution Group appointed by the Central Committee, the 'May 16 Circular', Mao's endorsement and countrywide propagation of the first socialist big-character poster put up at the Peking University and his own big-character poster titled '*Bombard the Headquarters!*', large-scale mobilisation of university and school students in Red Guards detachments and the spread of the cultural revolution throughout the country.

From the Eleventh Plenum to the "January storm" in 1967 was the second stage, in which the 'Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC concerning the GPCR', better known as the '16-Point Circular', was issued. Based on the Maoist principle of making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing the enemies one by one, this document divided the Party cadres into four broad categories of (1) good, (2) comparatively good, (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists, and (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists. It laid down the path for advancing the socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat by uniting the vast majority belonging to the first three categories of good cadres to struggle, expose and oust the handful of bad cadres belonging to the last category. The industrial workers entered the struggle at this stage in large numbers, providing depth and breadth to the revolution. A notable event of this stage was the "January Storm", in which the revolutionary workers of Shanghai seized power from below, overthrew the revisionist Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and set up a Workers' Rebel Headquarters to function as the central revolutionary organ of power modelled on the Paris Commune in the largest working-class city in China.

The third stage of GPCR was the publication of articles by Chi Pen-yu, an editor of *Hong-qui (Red Flag)*, criticising Liu Shao-chi's revisionist ideas. This stage marked a further intensification of the two-line struggle. The attempt by the bourgeois representatives in power to counterattack the "January storm" with an "Adverse February Current" was repulsed by the revolutionary masses. The momentum of the GPCR was continued.

This gave way to the fourth stage, in which the masses made efforts to seize back political power from the revisionists throughout the country in the model of Shanghai. This involved the conducting of mass criticism by uniting the overwhelming majority of party cadres and masses in a "great

alliance of people” against the power-holders in authority taking the capitalist-road. The class struggle in this stage became relatively more protracted, complicated and acute than all the preceding stages. It the most crucial stage of the entire GPCR. It was during this stage that the Twelfth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC held in October 1968 declared Liu as a counter-revolutionary and expelled him from the Party, the bourgeois headquarters he led was smashed, the adherents of his line were removed from office and political power was seized back by the masses in all the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country. They destroyed the old organs of power under the control of the revisionists and replaced them with revolutionary committees.

The struggle against Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist line during the GPCR was the ninth major two-line struggle in the history of the CPC, from which the revolutionary line once again emerged victorious. By the time of the Ninth Congress in April 1969, the GPCR was basically completed. Great victories were won in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and clearing the way for further advancement in socialist construction. It settled the key question of political power between the Marxists and the revisionists and of leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After the historic Ninth Congress of 1969, the GPCR was continued for “striking at the counter-revolutionaries and opposing corruption and theft, opposing speculation and opposing extravagance and waste”, eliminating the remnant influence of Liu Shao-chi’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line by deepening struggle-criticism-transformation and to carry forward the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure. A movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought was undertaken on a mass scale as a part of this.

The biggest achievement of the GPCR after the Ninth Congress was the defeat of the Lin Piao anti-Party revisionist clique in 1971. Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta had emerged as prominent leaders of the Left in the CPC during the three initial years of the GPCR when Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist was the main target of attack. After the defeat of Liu Shao-chi’s line, they started to push more forcefully their own right-opportunist line in a ‘left’ guise. Another ideological and political struggle was initiated by Mao against this erroneous line which resulted in the downfall of the Lin-Chen anti-

party clique. The achievements of this struggle were summed up in the Tenth Congress of the CPC in 1973. It was the tenth major two-line struggle in the fifty years of CPC's history. It successfully exposed the counter-revolutionary plot hatched by Lin Piao in collusion with several top Party functionaries and four big PLA generals to remove the revolutionary leadership headed by Mao through a *coup d'etat*, to seize power and set up a feudal-comprador fascist dictatorship. It was mainly due to the heightened ideological-political consciousness and vigilance generated in the party, army and the masses by the GPCR that Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary plot serving the domestic and foreign reactionaries could be exposed, criticised and smashed in a timely manner. It once again taught the lesson by negative example that in the entire historical period of socialism when classes, class contradictions and class struggle continued to exist, when the question of who will win out – the bourgeois or the proletariat – was not yet settled and when capitalism remained the dominant system in the world, the appearance of revisionist lines and bourgeois representatives like Lin Piao in the communist party and the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country remained a real danger.

The emergence of the 'left'-opportunist line of Lin Piao, the 'left' sectarian excesses committed by a section of the followers of Mao's line and the disruptionist activities deliberately carried out by revisionists in the 'left' guise to sabotage and discredit the GPCR were among the reasons that gave a number of die-hard capitalist-roaders and Rightists the opportunity to find their way back into positions of authority in the party, army and government. These two-faced double-dealers regained power by making false self-criticisms and taking advantage of the trust reposed on them by the party and the people. Heading this gang was Deng Xiaoping who was removed from his post during the struggle against Liu Shaochi and sent to a cadre school for ideological re-education. CPC re-inducted him into the Polit Bureau of the Party in 1973 after accepting his self-criticism. But this dyed-in-the-wool capitalist-roader continued to lead the counter-revolutionary forces in sabotaging the socialist revolution by whipping up a right-deviationist wind in 1975.

Another mass movement was launched in November 1975 in continuation of the GPCR to "criticise Deng and repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts". Started in Xinhua University, this mass

movement won a significant victory in April 1976 when Deng was once again dismissed from all posts inside and outside the Party. The third revisionist headquarters too was smashed by the GPCR in this way.

However, taking advantage of the death of several senior leaders of the party including Chu Teh, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu, Chou En-lai and Mao in quick succession, the hidden revisionists led by Hua Kuo-feng captured important positions in the party, army and the government in 1976. Hua had become the acting Prime Minister and Minister of Public Security after the death of Chou En-lai. Though outwardly an adherent of Mao's revolutionary line till then, Hua and his cohorts soon capitulated to the Right, formed an anti-party clique and became instrumental in carrying out a counter-revolutionary *coup de etat* less than a month after Mao's death. Hua usurped the positions of the Chairman of the party's Central Committee and the chief of the Army as well. The capitalist-roaders led by him suppressed the revolutionaries, sabotaged the socialist state, rehabilitated their cohorts like Deng Xiao-ping, dismantled the socialist economy, promoted capitalism and slandered against the GPCR. With the seizure of power by the Deng-Hua counter-revolutionary clique, the decade long GPCR reached a dead end. The Chinese revolution and the Chinese people experienced a great reversal.

In spite of this setback, GPCR won a number of significant victories and achievements in all fields of revolutionary activity. By smashing the three bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Deng Xiao-ping respectively, it prevented the slipping away of political power from the hands of the proletariat and the people for a decade after 1966. During these ten years, it consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevented capitalist restoration and ensured the continuation of Chinese revolution. In the field of ideology, it raised Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to a higher level by further developing the laws of class struggle under conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat through concrete practice. It demonstrated the absolute necessity of continuing the revolution both in the economic base and the superstructure. It once again proved that revisionism – the most pernicious manifestation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology within the communist movement – remains the main danger to Marxism and revolution requiring consistent ideological struggle against it. It reaffirmed the importance of applying the

dialectical and historical materialist method of “one divides into two” in all revolutionary activity.

In the field of politics, it taught that the proletariat must continue the class struggle during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism, exercise all-round dictatorship under socialism and guard against the possibility of counter-revolution by uniting all those who can be united against domestic and international reactionaries. It highlighted the significance of never forgetting the class struggle, always keeping politics in command and exercising working-class leadership in all spheres. It established the principle of “the three dos and three don’ts” – “Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don’t split; be open and aboveboard, and don’t intrigue and conspire”. It demonstrated the need to rely on the broad masses and to mobilise them to the full, to consistently apply the mass line in order to give full effect to the class line, and to unite the 95 percent of the people to isolate and defeat the 5 percent of counter-revolutionaries and bad elements.

The GPCR overturned the dominance of the revisionists in the cultural field who promoted bourgeois and feudal ideologies, who concerned themselves with depicting only the old ruling classes and their old ideas while caricaturing, undermining and ignoring the toiling masses. Mao criticised the Ministry of Culture for sticking to the old feudal and bourgeois culture and refusing to promote the new socialist culture. If it refused to change, he suggested, the ministry should be renamed as the “Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies”. Spurred by the GPCR, new models were created in proletarian literature and art including drama, painting, cinema, creative writing, etc. exemplified by the transformation of Peking Opera in which the old form was given a new and revolutionary content. In this way, the GPCR for the first time established the primacy of proletarian and democratic culture over feudal and bourgeois culture in the Chinese society

GPCR opened the doors of educational institutions for the children of workers and peasants on a mass scale for the first time in Chinese history. Millions of students went to the factories and fields to work during this period, bringing a closer integration of study and production, theoretical

and practical knowledge, knowing and doing. Millions upon millions of workers and peasants who were deprived of education by the old society were educated through innovative methods in different kinds of schools to increase mass literacy and raise the cultural level of the whole people. Extensive ideological, political and cultural re-education was carried out including the collective study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as a continuation of the Socialist Education Movement at a still higher stage.

Medicine and healthcare too were revolutionised by the GPCR by emphasising a mass approach and keeping the vast rural people at the centre. Since the Ministry of Health proved itself to be only a “Ministry of Urban Overlords”, it was overhauled. The countrywide expansion of barefoot doctors, the combining of Chinese medicine and healing techniques with the foreign, and similar innovations carried out during the GPCR brought basic healthcare to the country’s masses for the first time. It raised life-expectancy and standard of general health to a level unprecedented in China which has not been surpassed even today.

In the field of science and technology, the GPCR encouraged participation, experimentation and innovation by the masses. It achieved new heights in the implementation of the principle of ‘red and expert’ and reinforced the need for self-reliance on the basis of the old serving the new and the foreign serving and native. With the mass involvement of the working people, great successes were achieved in mastering, developing and perfecting technology that in turn promoted socialist production and people’s welfare.

In industry and agriculture, GPCR gave rise to an upsurge in socialist emulation and labour enthusiasm among the working masses encapsulated by the slogan “In agriculture, learn from Tachai; in industry, learn from Taching” which was applied all over the country. As a result, the targets of the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans (1965-70 and 1970-75) were overfulfilled. Industrial and agricultural production touched new heights and socialist accumulation made rapid progress. Good harvests were reaped for thirteen years in succession during the entire period of GPCR even amidst its upheavals. This was a result of implementing the correct line “Grasp Revolution and Promote Production”. It defeated Liu Shao-chi’s

revisionist line of “technique in command” and promoting production through material incentives. All these and other achievements in the economic field during the GPCR went a long way in meeting the basic needs of the 800 million Chinese people and in securing “the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques” – which are the essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1953). These achievements rebutted the vile propaganda of the reactionaries at home and abroad that the GPCR was a disaster for China’s economic development. In fact, with the GPCR the masses of China took great strides towards actualising the plan suggested by Mao to advance the country’s economy to the front ranks of the world by the turn of the twentieth century.

The GPCR brought important changes in the organisational forms of the party, army and government. Three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and new cadres in all party committees was instituted. Open-door policy was encouraged in party discussions to ensure the involvement and supervision of the masses in party and state affairs. The people’s army was more closely integrated with the people and it participated more closely in production by responding to Mao’s call, “the whole country should learn from the PLA” and “the PLA should learn from the people”. Self-reliance in military technology and production was achieved, insignias according to rank differentiating army officers from soldiers were abolished and the people’s militia was re-established. In government, new forms of organisation such as the “great alliance of people” and revolutionary people’s committees were introduced throughout the country. They followed the principle of three-in-one combination of representation from the party, the army and the people. This consolidated the people’s political power and the socialist state. During the GPCR, the masses widely used new forms of struggle such as speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates. Among the new forms of organisation were the Red Guards, hundreds of new mass organisations and new types of factory committees. Through these factory committees, the workers participated in decision-making while the managers participated

in production. Women's federation committees led the fight for women's rights and for their equal participation in political, economic and cultural affairs. In the process of this intense two-line struggle, the revolutionary masses also established new values such as proletarian democracy, self-reliance, plain living and hard struggle, subordination of individual interest to collective interest, respect for physical labour, and so on.

Internationally, the banner of anti-revisionist struggle raised by the GPCR sharpened the two-line struggle within the communist parties across the world and exposed the Soviet revisionists even further. It contributed to a decisive ideological, political and organisational break with revisionism and the formation of revolutionary parties in several countries which upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought (now Maoism) as their guiding ideology. It gave impetus to a new wave of people's wars led by communist revolutionaries in oppressed countries like Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar and others. Communist parties that are presently leading new democratic revolutions in India, the Philippines, Peru, Turkey, Bangladesh, etc. were all formed or reconstituted during the GPCR and under its influence. It inspired people's upsurges in Europe and North America including the militant movement of students and workers in France in the late 1960s, the movement against US's Vietnam War and the civil rights movement of the African-Americans, etc. In this way, the GPCR played a crucial role in helping the CPC give continuity and leadership to the international communist movement since the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union.

It is true that the great victories and achievements of the GPCR could not be consolidated and the handful of capitalist-roaders in the party leadership succeeded in usurping political power. The dissolution of the socialist camp, the disintegration of the socialist world market and the defeat of China's socialist revolution gave the world capitalist system and international bourgeoisie a fresh – though temporary – lease of life. Emboldened by the rise of the bourgeoisie to power in the Soviet Union, China and other people's republics, the imperialists and their domestic collaborators have unleashed a new wave of attack on the oppressed countries, nations and people. This attack encompasses ideological, political, economic, diplomatic, military, cultural and all other spheres. They are waging ever new predatory wars for the re-division of the world, imposing neo-

colonial exploitation and oppression in newer, more intensive and deceptive forms. As a part of this offensive, they are more aggressively targeting the revolutionary, national-democratic and patriotic struggles. They are more ruthlessly suppressing the movements of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, women, minorities and immigrants in capitalist countries. At the same time, they are viciously and more extensively promoting bourgeois ideology and culture using the state and the private sector, international institutions, NGOs, electronic and print media, religious institutions, the education system, etc. to disarm the proletariat and the people. In Semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like India, they are widely promoting decadent feudal ideology and culture in combination with imperialist ideology and culture to preserve the rule of the reactionary classes.

The increasing plunder, exploitation and enslavement of the masses are also leading to increasing people's resistance. So the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries are trying even more extensively to bring the proletariat and the toiling masses under their ideological, political and cultural influence in order to counter the ideological, political and cultural influence of revolutionary Marxism. In this scenario, revisionism as a tool of imperialism and its lackeys is raising its ugly head in many forms to defend capitalism. Along with contending for the re-division of the world market according to their relative strength, the Soviet and Chinese neo-revisionists also collaborated closely with imperialism to reverse the socialist revolutions in their own countries, to integrate their country's economies with the capitalist world economy and to suppress the communist, national liberation and democratic movements all over the world. Similarly, today's revisionists and neo-revisionists are aiding imperialism and domestic reaction by collaborating with them to defend the status-quo. They are helping the ruling classes in suppressing revolutionaries and preventing the advancement of revolution in every country. As a form of bourgeois ideology, line and practice, revisionism therefore continues to pose the main danger to the international communist movements as well as communist movements of every country. This was starkly demonstrated by the reversal of the Nepal revolution.

In addition, the petty bourgeoisie, and particularly the intellectuals, has expanded vastly since the GPCR period in every country, including all the

oppressed countries. The role and importance of the petty bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals in revolution has also increased. But due to their class position, they get easily influenced by bourgeois ideology such as revisionism. That is why the proletariat and its party need to remould their ideology and win them over to the side of the revolution. This is part of the struggle against all kinds of feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies and politics such as revisionism, reformism, legalism, parliamentarism, Gandhism, pacifism, post-modernism, patriarchy, racism, casteism, communalism, majoritarianism, fascism, national chauvinism, expansionism, regionalism, localism, and so on. The experience and lessons of the GPCR in waging ideological and political two-line struggle in the superstructure must be harnessed for this. This is significant not only for the communist movement of India but internationally as well.

The history of the communist movement demonstrates that Marxism and revisionism represent the two opposites of a single entity and Marxism can develop only in the course of struggle against it. The communists must not therefore fail to learn from the development in theory and practice wrought by the GPCR and to apply them creatively in practice according to concrete conditions. This is essential not only after the seizure of power by the proletariat but also before it; not only during the socialist revolution but also in the democratic revolution.

The great significance of GPCR for the communist movement of India where revisionism had been the dominant trend for over five decades till the Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary movement cannot be overemphasised. It was in the background of Great Debate and the GPCR that a bitter ideological and political struggle against CPI's revisionism and CPI(M)'s neo-revisionism was fought under the leadership of comrades CM and KC. This paved the way for Naxalbari and the beginning of armed agrarian revolutionary struggles in many parts of the country. This decisive break with revisionism led to the formation of proletarian revolutionary parties – the CPI(ML) and the MCC – under the leadership of comrades CM and KC respectively, putting the Indian revolution on the correct path.

Even after the Naxalbari period, however, modern revisionist forces pursuing the parliamentary path continued to be a major hurdle in the advancement of the Indian revolution. Whenever this two-line struggle

had been fought well, our party acquired higher level of ideological-political clarity and unity, thereby leading to the advancement of the movement. The right-opportunist lines of DV-TN-CP, SNS and VM, the 'Left'-opportunist lines of the pro-Lin Piao groups, the disruptionist and liquidationist lines of Venu, SM-VS and Bharat-Badal anti-party cliques, etc. were fought and defeated through bitter internal struggles. The emergence of our unified party CPI(Maoist) is a direct result of this struggle. After the formation of new party too, right-opportunist and liquidationist lines of Shivprasad in Karnataka and Sabyasachi Panda in Odisha raised their ugly heads and were defeated in a bitter struggle. In this way, our party has firmly upheld GPCR's legacy of anti-revisionist struggle in the last five decades of its history by waging struggles against right and 'left' lines within and outside the party and in the international communist movement. There is no reason to believe that revisionism will not assert itself again within the revolutionary ranks in one form or the other, particularly at crucial turns of the movement. Moreover, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India the feudal and imperialist ideologies still hold considerable sway over the masses and they also influence the revolutionary camp to some extent. Continuous inculcation of the proletarian world outlook and ideological remoulding in the course of struggle against all non-proletarian ideologies therefore hold particular significance for the Indian revolution. Here too, the lessons of GPCR are of great significance for us.

Notwithstanding the reversals, the GPCR will remain a landmark in the communist movement for the theoretical and practical development of Marxism it has achieved and the rich experience it has brought to the proletariat of China and the world. Just as all previous defeats at the hands of the class enemy since the Paris Commune had added new weapons to the arsenal of Marxism and prepared the ground for further advancement of the communist movement, the GPCR too will remain the foundation based on which the proletariat will win new victories in its fight for socialism and communism. By conscientiously grasping and assimilating the lessons of the GPCR, the proletariat and its vanguard party can raise its ideological-political level, be better prepared against the danger of revisionism, resolve the new questions and problems that come up in the course of revolution

and correctly lead the toiling masses on the path of liberation in the new objective conditions of class struggle. Resolving the outstanding questions of the socialist revolution in the twenty-first century will not be the task of the proletariat of one country alone but of the international communist movement.

The defeat of the revolution in China, therefore, is but a precursor to newer and still greater victories of the world proletariat. The great Marxist teachers have taught us that the liberation of humanity from class society and the exploitation and oppression engendered by it will take a long process involving many revolutions. Socialist revolution too is a protracted process with many ups and downs, twists and turns, victories and defeats before its final victory on a world scale. The enemy may win temporary victories in this course, but the proletariat will certainly carry on the class struggle until it finally vanquishes the bourgeoisie and accomplishes its world-historic mission. Not one or two but many cultural revolutions will have to be carried out for this. The GPCR will forever remain the forerunner and the guiding light for the coming cultural revolutions.

Our Party CPI(Maoist) has evolved appropriate programme and strategy and tactics for completing the new democratic and socialist revolutions in India which are outlined in our documents 'Party Programme' and 'Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution'. We must strive to deepen our understanding of these documents by complimenting them with the lessons of the GPCR. Moreover, we should strive to apply them consistently in all our revolutionary work. Even when our comrades are involved in leading the class struggle in specific fields of work and in specific organisations with immediate aims and immediate tasks, we should never lose sight of the totality of the revolutionary movement, its maximum and minimum programme, its strategy and tactics and its ultimate goals. Whether we are in workers' organisations, trade unions, peasant organisations, women's organisations, student and youth organisations, caste-annihilation organisations, organisations in literature, art and cultural fields, united front forums, etc., we must comprehend our various organisations, struggles and tasks in the light of the commonality, inter-connectedness, unity and totality of our party's programme and strategy. Only in this way can we fulfil our immediate tasks and advance our partial struggles by avoiding the

pitfalls of non-proletarian trends and deviations. Only in this way can we counter all forms of non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary ideologies and politics and contribute effectively to the advancement of the Indian revolution.

While celebrating the 50th anniversary of GPCR, let us put all efforts to learn from its great victories and achievements and also its shortcomings. Let us resolutely and consistently uphold the primacy of proletarian ideology and working-class leadership in all our works and in all fields. Let us make all efforts to remould our world outlook by studying MLM, taking part in the class struggle and creatively applying MLM to our practice in concrete conditions. Let us learn from practice and rectify our mistakes. Let us fight against right and 'left' opportunist deviations by using the Marxist method of 'unity-criticism-unity'. Let us use the lessons of the GPCR to correctly handle and resolve class contradictions, to conduct the Bolshevisation campaign, to consolidate the existing forces and develop new ones, to unite with all democratic streams and movements including the national liberation movements and to win over all democratic forces to our side. Let us Bolshevise the Party, Army and the United Front and mobilise the masses in the people's war to enhance our fighting capacity in ideological, political, economic, military and cultural fields. Guided by MLM and taking inspiration from the GPCR, let us courageously fight the class enemies in all spheres, repudiate revisionism of all hues and firmly adhere to the proletarian ideology, politics, culture, and world-outlook. Let us carry the class struggle through to the end by successfully completing the new democratic revolution and the world socialist revolution to march forward to communism which will finally give effect to the undying spirit of the *Internationale*:

*No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations
We have been naught, we shall be all;
'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party shall be the human race.*

Our Party Quotes on the GPCR

The great cultural revolution of China has declared a war on all kinds of selfishness, group mentality, revisionism, tailism of the bourgeoisie, eulogy of bourgeois ideology – the blazing impact of that revolution has reached India also. The call of that revolution is – Be prepared to resolutely make all kinds of sacrifices, remove the obstacles along the path one by one, victory shall be ours.” However terrible the appearance of imperialism, however ugly the snare laid by revisionism, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered, the bright sunrays of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought shall wipe off all darkness.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘Carry forward the Peasant Struggle by Fighting Revisionism’

China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taught us that to carry on an internal struggle is a task which we must undertake. To neglect this task will inevitably mean that the fruits of our work will be grabbed by the enemies of the revolution.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘The United Front and the Revolutionary Party’, July 1968

After the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China the flames of people’s war are burning more fiercely and have become more widespread in the colonial and semi-colonial world increasing the difficulties of the US Imperialists and Soviet social- imperialists at home and abroad. Revisionism stands exposed and its power to deceive the people is daily and rapidly decreasing.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘China’s Chairman is Our Chairman: China’s Path is Our Path’, November 6, 1969

Our revolution is a part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has consolidated socialism and proletarian dictatorship in China into the reliable base area of the World Revolution. Our revolution is taking place at a time when the great Ninth Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC - the Congress of unity and victory - has tremendously inspired the international proletariat.

- Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), adopted at the Eighth Party Congress held in May 1970

The restoration of capitalism in socialist china is one of the important

events amongst recent international happenings.

After the death of Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung due to lack of sufficient experience on the part of the leadership in understanding the class struggle going on in their society and its consequences and the policy of continuing that revolutionary character of Lue-Shao-Chi was not completely removed from the party although he was removed from the party leadership, the C.P.C failed in consolidating the result of cultural revolution in accordance with the decision of the 9 th congress. Taking advantage of that failure the counter-revolutionary forces under the leadership of Deng-Xiao-Ping has usurped the party leadership and state power through the internal conspiracy and with the help of foreign power, turned the socialist China into a capitalist state. Undermining the counter revolutionaries has temporarily succeeded in China and the leadership of the C.P.C become the stronghold of the bourgeoisie. It is a serious set back not only to Chinese revolution but to the world socialist revolution itself.

- *Kanhai Chatterjee, (From The Strategy of the Indian Revolution', MCC)*

It is well known that the decade of the sixties of the 20th Century was a decade of upheaval that shook the whole world. In such a background, genuine revolutionaries, inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought (now Maoism), gave the clarion call of rebellion against revisionism. The Great Debate was conducted by the CPC under Mao's leadership against Khrushchvite revisionism at that time, and it was under its stirring influence that the communist movement in India, while waging struggle against revisionism, made a fresh beginning.

It was in such a situation that many extraordinary and front-ranking leadership comrades in the course of the struggle waged against revisionism Comrade CM and Comrade KC emerged. During the Seventh Congress of the CPM in 1964, the struggle against revisionism in fact arose clearly as a struggle between parliamentarianism and the path of Protracted Peoples' War. Thereafter, the earth-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) had a tremendous impact upon this new stirring of the Communist movement in India. In 1967 the Great Naxalbari Uprising under the leadership of Comrade CM occurred as a spring Thunder over India. All over India a new upsurge began against revisionism and a state of political ferment was generated.

- *Brief History of the Maoist Communist Centre of India*

Modern revisionism arose with traitor Khrushchev's slander, malicious propaganda and attacks on great Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, and promulgation of three venomous theories, that of "peaceful transition," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful co-existence," and thereafter, theories such as "the state of the whole people" and "the Party of the whole people" in the 22nd Congress in 1961. These revisionist theories became the focus of a big debate that commenced in the communist movement the world over. Under the leadership on Mao tse-Tung, the CPC launched an open debate to expose Khrushchev's revisionism in order to defend the unity of the world communist movement and to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionism. Through nine important documents in succession, it exposed the real nature of the anti-Stalin propaganda and the poisonous weeds of Khrushchev's revisionism. It was this theoretical debate on the international communist movement between the Soviet Union and China that came to be known as the *Great Debate*. Under the influence of the Great Debate a worldwide polarization began in the international communist movement between the revisionist stream led by the CPSU and the revolutionary stream of Marxism-Leninism led by the CPC. This culminated in to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the *GPCR*. This brought about a new division on the entire world plane. New Marxist-Leninist Parties adopting Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought (now Maoism) as the guiding ideology began to take birth.

The ideological, theoretical and political struggle against revisionism in the Communist Party of India and the emergence and development of the revolutionary stream must be seen in the background of the continuity of the Great Debate and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

- *Some Aspects of Party History and its Stand on Building A Unified Revolutionary Communist Party in India*, MCCI

Those who recognise only the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not yet Marxists... only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat to the recognition of the continuous revolution in the superstructure keeping the aim of the consummation of the world revolution and building communist society as early as possible."

- *CPI(ML)(PW), Uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought: Fight against the Revisionist Deng Clique, 1983*

The 9th Congress upholds the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The GPCR is the further development of the theory and practice of class struggle. It is the continuation of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The GPCR showed suitable form and method to defeat the attempt at restoration of capitalism, strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and steer clear the path of socialism. It showed the proletarian dynamism and resolute assertion of the proletariat which frightened the world bourgeoisie and encouraged the toiling masses and proletarian revolutionaries worldwide. It implemented mass line and developed it in a new height mobilizing hundreds of million peoples to ;fight back bourgeois concept permeated in all spheres of life- industry, agriculture, health, culture, social status of women, relation between mental and manual labor. It conducted revolutionary change both in superstructure and base. As a result of this in the course of fierce struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie newer and newer forms of organization developed. It evolved various suitable forms of organization/platforms to ensure democracy to the people. It also helped emerge new forms of state structure which ensured people's participation more and more in state functioning. This was an unique experiment that shook the world. Though the restoration of capitalism took place in socialist China the historic significance of the GPCR cannot be underestimated. It will illuminate the path of proletarian revolution for ever. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the international proletariat to continue the revolutionary practice to defeat every attempt of restoration of capitalism and to accomplish the desire goal. The 9th Congress of CPC symbolized the victory of GPCR and further consolidated the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

- *CPI(ML)[PW], 'Resolution on CPC', Ninth Congress, 2001*

Internationally and within the communist movement in India, revisionism is the main danger. The struggle against all hues of revisionism and dogmatism must be advanced by basing ourselves on MLM, particularly deepening the struggle against Deng-Hua revisionism and its Three Worlds Theory and fully grasping the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

- *CPI(ML) Naxalbari, 'Basic Positions of the CPI(M-L) Naxalbari'*

The GPCR also gives the lesson of how those who didn't break with bourgeois democratic outlook could be revolutionaries during the new

democratic stage but transformed into capitalist roaders once it was over.

- Letter of CPI(M-L) Naxalbari to CPN(Maoist), December 2010

Mao Tsetung initiated and led the historic GPCR which proved to be an earth-shaking event in the history of the international communist movement. It represented a new and qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed mainly against the capitalist-roaders who emerged from within the socialist society itself. Their chieftains were especially concentrated in the leadership of the Party. During the GPCR Mao Tsetung's historic and powerful new slogan "It is right to rebel" and "Bombard the Headquarters" resounded throughout China and proved to be a clarion call against the capitalist roaders. This helped in rousing millions of people from below...

Com. Mao, through the process of integrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, developed this science to its higher and new qualitative stage. His theory of GPCR, which is meant for preventing the restoration of capitalism and consolidating and strengthening of Socialism, is the outcome of higher and qualitatively new synthesis and has no parallel in the history of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So, it can be said that the GPCR is not only tremendous and higher contribution of Mao to the theory of Scientific Socialism, rather it is a theory of historic importance to prevent restoration of capitalism and advance the socialist society towards communism on a world scale.

*- CPI(Maoist), Hold High the Bright Red Banner of
Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, 2007*

There will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of uninterruptedly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will continue to advance the proletarian cultural revolution and through it fight and defeat every attempt by imperialism, modern revisionism and capitalist roaders to restore capitalism. Through this process, it will continue the struggle against any deformities introduced in the socialist system especially against bureaucracy and, thereby, continue to ensure that people participate in the state and are not alienated from either socialist state or the proletarian party.

- CPI(Maoist), Party Programme, 2007

Mao and CPC on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

May 16, 1966

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous Region Party committees, all departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading Party members' groups and Party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The so-called Outline Report by the "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the Report actually opposes and stubbornly resists the great cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the instructions regarding the criticism of Wu Han which he gave at the Working Conference of the Central Committee in September and October of 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee which was also attended by the leading comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The so-called Outline Report by the “Group of Five” is actually the Report of Peng Chen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the “Group of Five,” and other comrades. In handling a document of this kind regarding important questions which affect the overall situation in the socialist revolution, Peng Chen held no discussion or exchange of views at all within the “Group of Five.” He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor did he make it clear that the Outline Report would be sent to the Central Committee for examination as an official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most dishonest methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the Outline Report to the whole Party.

The main errors of the Outline Report are as follows:

1. Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook, the Report completely transposes the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other, in its appraisal of the situation and the character of the present academic criticism. Our country is now in an upsurge of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire Party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the Report does its best to turn the movement to the Right. Using muddled, self-contradictory and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of them in the Central Committee and in Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region levels). By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the heart of Wu Han’s drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the Report covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2. The Report violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles

are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, the authors of the Report went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved. Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, Peng Chen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. Peng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into so-called pure academic discussion, as frequently advocated by the bourgeoisie. Clearly, this means giving prominence to bourgeois politics, while opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3. The Report lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide." But, playing a sly trick, it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide." It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, and all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also said, "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate..." This Report, however, poses "opening wide" against the proletariat's exposure of the bourgeoisie's reactionary stand. What it means by "opening wide" is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide," but would not allow the proletariat

to “open wide” and hit back at the bourgeois, in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie as Wu Han. The “opening wide” of this Report is opposed to Mao Tse-tung thought and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4. Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the Report raised the slogan: “Everyone is equal before the truth.” This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism and oppose Mao Tse-tung’s thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave “red flags” to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life-and-death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relationship in which one class oppresses another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relationship, such as a so-called

relationship of equality or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5. The Report states, “It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also truly to surpass and beat it by a wide margin by academic and professional standards.” This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse tung’s thought – which the proletariat has grasped – has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the Report shows that its authors laud the bourgeois academic so-called authority and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant new forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6. Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. But this Report emphasizes that “without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction.” This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao’s thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the large-scale destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7. The Report states that “we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who always act arbitrarily and try to overwhelm people with their power” and that “we should guard against any tendency by academic workers of the Left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants.” What is really meant by ‘scholar-tyrants’? Who are the “scholar-tyrants”? Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of “scholar-tyrants”? The Report directs its spearhead against the proletarian

Left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists “scholar-tyrants” and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. As a matter of fact, those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants are big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party. They do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on “acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power.”

8. For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the Report demand a “rectification campaign” against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the Report in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian Left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the Left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking it, and intended to launch further attacks on it by means of a “rectification campaign,” in the vain hope of disintegrating its ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the Left and giving serious attention to building it up and expanding its ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred the title of ‘staunch Left’ on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists and renegades who have sneaked into the Party and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois Rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian Left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois conception of brotherhood held by the authors of the Report.

9. At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just begun – in many spheres and places it has not even started, or if it has started, most Party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective – the Report stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted “under direction,” “with prudence,” “with caution”, and “with the approval of the leading bodies concerned.”

All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian Left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie its hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the Report are rising to apply the brakes and launch a vindictive counter-attack. As for the articles written by the proletarian Left in refuting the reactionary bourgeois “authorities,” they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. On the other hand, they give free rein to all the ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-books, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc., and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the Report really stand.

10. The present struggle centres around the issue of implementation of or resistance to Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s line on the cultural revolution. Yet the Report states: “Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem [that is, the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work].” Comrade Mao Tse-tung opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing “Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,”* *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the Report maintains that Mao Tse-tung’s thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that it has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of “under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought” as a cover, the Report actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Tse-tung’s thought, that is, the way of modern revisionism, the way to the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the Report opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the cultural revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attacks the proletarian Left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party; it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor

issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state, on the future complexion of our Party and state, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution. The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

This Circular, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966 is to be sent down to the level of county Party Committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistakes.*

The Great Cultural Revolution will Shine Forever

In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the May 16, 1966 “Circular” of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

- *Editorial Departments of Renmin Ribao, Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao [Peking Review, No. 21, 21 May 1976]*

Ten years ago, the May 16 Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This brilliant Marxist document sounded the clarion call for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and illuminated the course of its triumphant advance. Today, having won great victories in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Great Cultural Revolution and restudy the Circular, which gives us a deeper understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of the revolution and greater confidence to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Circular was drawn up in the fierce struggle between the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its chieftain. It incisively criticized Liu Shao-chi’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposed the reactionary essence of the “February Outline Report,”* refuted the fallacies against the Great Cultural Revolution spread by those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, armed the whole Party with the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and called on us to expose and criticize the bourgeois, representatives in the Party and seize that portion of leadership they had usurped. The formulation of the Circular proclaimed the bankruptcy of the “February Outline Report.” Since then the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been forging ahead vigorously.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “We couldn’t do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”. This great revolution, which had been brewing for a long time, was the inevitable outcome of the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. For years the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and company had made

frenzied efforts to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stubbornly stuck to the capitalist road. They did their utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on all fronts: clamouring about capitalists "having merits in carrying out exploitation" and about "consolidating the new-democratic order"; drastically slashing the number of co-operatives and practising *san zi yi bao***; lauding to the skies the reactionary films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun*; and resisting the criticism of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. For a period of time Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters was in control of Party power and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields and in many localities. Capitalism and revisionism were rampant in the ideological and cultural departments under its control. Hordes of ghosts and monsters came out into the open and filled our press, radio, books and works of literature and art. A grave situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat developed in certain spheres in the superstructure. Material incentives and "bonuses in command" were widely practised to lure people to the capitalist road. In a fairly large majority of factories and enterprises, leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Our socialist economic base was not solid. If the Great Cultural Revolution had not taken place, it would not have taken long before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, our Party would turn into a revisionist party, and the whole of China would change its political colour.

With great Marxist-Leninist insight, Chairman Mao perceived in good time the grave danger that the capitalist-roaders in the Party were subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out in the Circular: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." In the course of the present struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: "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." In these important instructions, Chairman Mao has

profoundly analysed the changes in the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the period of socialism, advanced the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie is in the Communist Party, developed Marxism-Leninism and further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the past decade we have waged struggles against Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. All these struggles have proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the Communist Party. The capitalist-roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie's main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. The crux of the matter here lies in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chieftains of the revisionist line, like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, hold a very large proportion of the Party and state power. They are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They could use the power in their hands to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, work out a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. They could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own interests, namely, the interests of the "high officials" who practise revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness, deceiving them into following their revisionist line. In short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in their trial of strength with the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and undermine socialist construction.

Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, played the commander's role in vehemently stirring up the Right deviationist wind which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tien An Men Square. Before the Great Cultural Revolution he was the

No.2 chieftain of Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. The two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were smashed during the Great Cultural Revolution and, when Teng Hsiao-ping was criticized by the masses, his words flowed in a spate of vows, such as "I'll mend my ways" and "I'll never reverse the verdict." But, once he resumed work and was in power, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy increased a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play, cooking up a programme, preparing public opinion and mounting an organized and planned attack on the Party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader Chairman Mao.

"Take the three directives as the key link" – this was Teng Hsiao-ping's political programme for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism. Preaching the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces this revisionist programme opposes taking class struggle as the key link and denies the Party's basic line and the necessity for the Great Cultural Revolution. Teng Hsiao-ping attempted to make it the "general programme for all work" for a long time to come and to impose it on the whole Party and the people throughout the country in order to pave the way for an all-round restoration of capitalism.

"Seize ideological positions" – this was a move Teng Hsiao-ping took to prepare public opinion for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. After he came to power, especially during last July, August and September and afterwards, political rumours were afloat and strange tales passed around here, there and everywhere in society. All these rumours and strange tales originated with Teng Hsiao-ping and were fabricated by Teng's rumour-mongering company. Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers feverishly created counter-revolutionary public opinions by various base means to hoodwink the people and create splits. In doing this, they spearheaded their attack at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and raised a hue and cry to clear the way for Teng Hsiao-ping to usurp the Party leadership and seize state power.

"The first and foremost thing is to grasp leading bodies," – this was the organizational measure Teng Hsiao-ping adopted in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He opposed the setting up of "three-in-one" revolutionary leading bodies, attacked and pushed aside the old,

middle-aged and young cadres who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, mustered unrepentant capitalist-roaders and put them in important positions, and knocked together restorationist legions in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. He did his utmost to keep, in the Party renegades and special agents, who had been identified as such during the Great Cultural Revolution, so that they could stage a comeback some time in the future.

“Carry out all-round rectification” – this was the plan of action Teng Hsiao-ping mapped out for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. The moment he issued the order for “rectification” the sinister wind to reverse correct verdicts sprang up. Through “rectification” he aimed at making a clean sweep of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. The so-called rectification was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and an attempt at capitalist restoration.

All these acts by Teng Hsiao-ping were a continuation and development of the reactionary “February Outline Report,” which Chairman Mao had already criticized in the Circular. Teng Hsiao-ping's “taking the three directives as the key link” is a carbon copy of the revisionist line which the Circular describes as “completely denying that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle,” “completely denying the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.” The Circular exposes Peng Chen for deliberately spreading rumours to divert people from the target of the struggle and scathingly denounces his rectification campaign as one aimed at attacking the proletarian Left and shielding the bourgeois Rightists. Teng Hsiao-ping went still further. His line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. If this line were followed, not only would the achievements of the Great Cultural Revolution be nullified but those of the Chinese revolution as a whole would also go by the board. The capitalist road taken by Teng Hsiao-ping would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China and reduce China to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. As Chairman Mao pointed

out in the Circular when he criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie: “They are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system; “their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle.”

The tremendous historic merits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao lie in the fact that the scheme of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism was smashed resolutely and in good time, its counter-revolutionary revisionist line was criticized and that portion of the Party and state leadership it had usurped was seized back, thereby ensuring that our country continues to advance along Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. The Great Cultural Revolution’s merits also lie in solving, in both theory and practice, the cardinal question in the contemporary international communist movement, namely, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have come to realize ever more deeply that the Great Cultural Revolution “is absolutely necessary and most timely.” They warmly hail: “The Great Cultural Revolution is excellent!” Only unrepentant capitalist-roaders like Teng Hsiao-ping harbour bitter hatred for it. Bent on settling old scores and reversing the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution, he offended the great majority of people. They do not agree with him nor will they allow him to carry on. “Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people.” The will of the people, the Party and the Party members is for continuing the revolution and against restoration and retrogression. It is precisely for this reason that the great struggle personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has won the wholehearted support of the entire Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. The struggle has the full approval of the people and is to their- great satisfaction. Those who attempted to reverse correct verdicts and settle old scores were extremely

isolated and were soon brought to defeat.

We have won great victories, but the struggle has not come to an end. The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line must be carried on in depth. We must never slacken our fighting will. The handful of class enemies will not be reconciled to their defeat. Drawing lessons from their failure. They are studying tactics and methods of how to deal with us. The revolutionary people must be soberly aware of this.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." As long as these conditions still exist, as long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and as long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism exist, the historical phenomenon that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" will remain for a long time to come. On the first anniversary of the Circular, Chairman Mao gave us this admonition: "The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future." During the current struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao has again pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldier; don't like big-shots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen." Therefore, we must prepare ourselves ideologically for a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

GPCR Quotations from Mao and CPC Documents

From the Writings and Speeches of Mao Tse-tung

To ensure the triumph of the cause of socialism, we must combat erroneous Right opportunist tendencies, that is, bourgeois ideas, throughout the Party, and first of all in the leading bodies of the Party, government, army and mass organizations at the national level and at those of the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities... clarify the question of the socialist road versus the capitalist road.

- 'Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party', Speech at the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, August 12, 1953

If socialism does not occupy the rural positions, capitalism inevitably will. Is it possible to take any road other than the capitalist or the socialist road? The capitalist road can also lead to increased production, but the time required would be longer and the course painful. We will not practice capitalism, that's settled. Yet capitalism is bound to spread unchecked unless we go in for socialism.

- 'Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture', 15 October 1953

In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remoulding — the exploiters and also the working people. Who says it isn't necessary for the working class? Of course, the remoulding of the exploiters is essentially different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused. The working class remoulds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and in the process it remoulds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of work, gradually overcome its shortcomings and never stop doing so

- 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', February 1957

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 every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

- *Speech at the Working Conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho, August 1962*

Never forget the class struggle.

- *Speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of CPC, September 1962*

Operas should develop what is new from what is old, rather than what is old from what is old. They must not sing only of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talented young gentlemen, pretty ladies, and their maids and escorts.

- *Mao, 'Operas', September 1963*

The thought, culture and customs which brought China to where we found her must disappear; the thought, customs, and culture of proletarian China, which does not yet exist, must appear.

- *'Interview with Andre Malraux, 1965*

There are some comrades who struggle fiercely against others, but cannot struggle with themselves. In this way, they will never be able to cross the pass.

- *'Talk to Leaders of the Centre', July 21, 1966*

We believe in the masses. To become teachers of the masses we must first be the students of the masses. The present great Cultural Revolution is a heaven and earth shaking event. Can we, dare we, cross the pass into socialism? This pass leads to the final destruction of classes, and the

reduction of the three great differences.

- *ibid*

We must trust over 95 percent of the masses, and then over 95 percent of the cadres will follow us. China has a sizable petty bourgeoisie, and the number of middle-peasants is rather large. In urban areas, the number of petty bourgeoisie, small handicraftsmen, including small business owners, is considerable. If we prove to be adept in leading, they will also follow us. We must trust the vast majority.

- *Mao Tse-tung, Talks at Three Meetings with Comrades Chang Chun- chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, February 12-18, 1967*

What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

- *Mao Tse-tung, Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation, 1 May 1967*

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time.

- *ibid*

[We] must skillfully direct the petty bourgeois ideology in our ranks on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is the key to the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

- *'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 25-6-1967*

The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at

any time in the future.

- *'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', August 1967*

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution that touches the souls of the people and solves the problem of a world view for the people.

- *'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 6-11-1967*

The handful of capitalist-roaders in power in our party are the representatives of the bourgeoisie in our party.

- *ibid*

The basic ideological programme of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is "to combat selfishness and criticize revisionism".

- *ibid*

The Cultural Revolution can only be the emancipation of the masses by the masses.

- *ibid*

The struggle to reshape the world by the proletariat and revolutionary peoples consists of these tasks to reshape the objective world and also to reshaper their own subjective world.

- *'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 12-1-1968*

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

- *'Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places during Provincial Tour', August-September 1971*

I hope that you will practise Marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.

- *ibid*

FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution.

- The 'May 7 Directive' of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, May 7, 1966

In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag?

- Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (the 'May 16 Circular'), May 16, 1966

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the Socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

- Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, August 8, 1966

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the Socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the Socialist system. - *ibid*

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used. - *ibid*

...the key to the success of this great cultural revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of “from the masses, to the masses.” Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don’t be afraid of disturbances. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of Rightists, attacks on the Left and repression of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don’t be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

- *Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, August 12, 1966*

The great cultural revolution in the countryside should be conducted by means of free contending, free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates, i.e., the practice of extensive democracy.

- *CPC Central Committee’s Directive (Draft) Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside, December 15, 1966*

Our revolutionary rebel workers, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current,

have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and smashing their big plot by which they attempted to thwart the revolution through sabotaging production.

- Message to All Shanghai People from the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and Ten other Revolutionary Mass Organizations, January 4, 1967

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end; and hope that in this great proletarian cultural revolution and in this new situation, you will exert even greater efforts to go all out, aim high and at the present stage become the most outstanding models for the working masses of the whole country in grasping the revolution and promoting production.

- CPC Central Committee's Letter to Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary Cadres in Industrial and Mining Enterprises throughout the Country, March 18, 1967

Education in the struggle between the two lines – the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line – must be carried out deeply in the armed forces. Study of Chairman Mao's works must be related to the struggle between the two lines. Extensively collect various concrete information exposing the reactionary line and the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

- Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, CPC, April 6, 1967

The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee unanimously holds that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

- Communiqué of the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 31 October 1968

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and through repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in twenty nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won great and decisive victory. - *ibid*

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. - *ibid*

Our present Congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shao-chi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

- *Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1 April 1969*

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of

proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. *- ibid*

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the broadest and most deep-going movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organizations at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way, the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution teaches us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses and are bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. *- ibid*

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has won great victory. This great revolution has prepared ample conditions for the Congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

- Press Communiqué of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1 April 1969

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad... Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

**- Chou En-lai, Report to the Tenth National Congress
of the Communist Party of China, August 24, 1973**

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piaos will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

- ibid

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular should make greater efforts to “read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,” try their best to master the theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts “the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism.” - *ibid*

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. The cultural revolution has provided new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; its historical significance is great and its influence far-reaching.

- *Chou En-lai, Report on the Work of the Government, January 13, 1975*

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 every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

- *Chang Chun-chiao, Report on the Revision of the Constitution, January 17, 1975*

CPI(Maoist) Resolutions and Circulars

On Veteran Comrades of the Party

Resolution of the Central Committee, 2017 February

CC-4 made a policy resolution regarding veterans in the party. This resolution provided a proper understanding about veterans all over the Party. Anyhow the meeting felt that the issue of whether to continue comrades of physical and mental limitations in the committees should be discussed in the next meeting.

Keeping in view the understanding of the CC-4, the fifth meeting of the CC discussed some more specific problems regarding veterans in view of the protracted character and the ebbs and flows of Indian Revolution and decided thus -

Instead of continuing the comrades of physical and mental limitations and unable to do justice to their responsibilities in the respective Committees, they could be relieved from these Committees. They could be given work according to their capacity. The respective Party Committees must utilize their prolonged experience through the various lower committees, through mass organisations and forums and various other methods. We have to make such decisions in view of the interests of the movement and with the acceptance of the respective veteran comrades. In order to facilitate such decisions, the comrades of physical and mental limitations must demonstrate revolutionary consciousness in identifying their limitations and voluntarily step out of their committees and come forward to take up responsibilities that they can do justice. The Central and the State leadership must establish such an ideal in the Party through their practice. Whatever the level of responsibility of work the comrades in the Party might be, they must make the theory of class struggle as the essence of their life and work to enhance the consciousness in the Party and the society as their Communist moral principle to eradicate the class exploitation, all kinds of oppression and selfishness of the class society, the values, culture and habits that help for it and to work till the end to contribute for the transformation of the human society to a much higher level.

The offensive of the Central and the State governments is increasing day by day with the aim to eliminate the Revolutionary movement in the country. In areas of severe offensive the issue of protection of veteran comrades came forward. If the situation does not allow protection to the comrades we must try to send them to other movement areas or areas of no movement in the rural and urban areas. We must make efforts to utilize their capacities in any difficult conditions. Thus the RBs and the State Committees must strive to make necessary arrangements to provide protection. The comrades thus settled must continue to fulfill their responsibilities with a long term view and patience. The respective party Committees must maintain utmost secret relations with such comrades. The respective committees must make special secret mechanism and methods for coordination for this purpose. There must be a minimum time period of six months or one year between two contacts in meeting such comrades. By any chance if the party contact is lost they must be brave and continue their efforts in an independent manner. One more way is to bring the veteran comrades into open activity if the political conditions favor and thus utilize their services to the revolutionary movement.

Another problem of veteran comrades is health. Providing them the available treatment would be one way. But our treatment would not be enough for prolonged illnesses, abnormal fevers and when vital organs are affected. They must be sent to the towns which needs necessary mechanism (shelters and so on). But there is no such mechanism for us. So we lost a few young comrades too along with veteran comrades due to the lack of proper medical treatment. When we sent to towns some of our comrades were arrested and killed or sent to jail. So the leadership committees must pay special attention to arrange proper mechanism to solve the problem.

Comrades released from jail and suffering with old age and ill health must be told to live openly and take up responsibilities. The respective Party Committees must request them to write their revolutionary experiences. The revolutionary experiences of the respective comrades are the experiences of identifying with revolution. Through these experiences we will be able to specifically understand the turns of the revolutions, the changes it brought in the social, political, economic and cultural fields. The comrades must first write and give it to the respective committees. The committees must edit and publish the necessary. It should also use them in many forms. We must take care that they have enough cooperation and respect when veteran comrades

come out of the jail and live an open life. Especially our Party, the ranks of mass organisations and sympathisers must provide shelter to the veteran comrades, care their health, help them in journeys and in daily works, give them economic help and other such things.

There are a lot of veteran comrades in the open activity too. Some of them are leading various mass organisations in the central and the state level. Some are participating in various revolutionary activities though not in the leadership and working to the best of their efforts. Such comrades too must be respected and given help and cooperation like to those veterans from the underground life as per the resolution of CC-4 meeting. We must supervise their health care and help and cooperate in their daily work. We must have the same understanding towards the veteran comrades in the jails too. In view of the age, health, preparation and working capacity of the comrades in secret, open and jail life the respective Party Committees must decide about the change in their level of responsibilities. We must respect the comrades incapable of living an active political life due to age, physical and mental ill health, injuries and other such reasons with the above spirit. In addition to the Central Committee all the Party Committees, revolutionary ranks, the whole party and therevolutionary camp must take up this responsibility. The party must guide the mass organisations accordingly.

The veteran comrades with prolonged and distinct experience are an asset to our Party and the Revolutionary movement whichever field they might work. Their theoretical knowledge and dedication would help the Party stay in the correct path. Their experiences would help the practice of the Party to advance much more. So it is an important task of the Party to respect, protect and utilise their services until the end. The veteran comrades too must be prepared to implement the Party discipline, to maintain good relations with other comrades and work keeping in view the gaps in generations and the ebbs and flows in the movement according to the situation. They must have a communist spirit and ideal and be prepared to lend their valuable experiences for the advancement of the revolution. With a communist consciousness they must take up their part of responsibility selflessly without expecting anything. This is the task for the rest of their lives. Only then they would be able to sacrifice all kinds of self interests along with life and fill great revolutionary spirit in the Party, PLGA, the organs of New Democratic Political power, mass organisations, all the ranks of the Party and the masses. The respective veteran comrades must receive this decision of the CC in view of the interests of the movement with a Bolshevik spirit.*

CC Circular 1/2017

Present situation – Our tasks

The Central and the State governments intensified the country wide offensive in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt in 2016 to suppress the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand and thus eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement. They especially concentrated in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand with the name of Mission-2016. There were severe attacks of OGH across the country. Due to these there were serious losses to our Revolutionary movement. Now the Central and the State governments are implementing a counter revolutionary scheme with the name of Mission-2017. In this they mainly aim to eliminate the members of the Central and the State Committees and concentrate on attacks in DK and BJ. The governments prepared this counter revolutionary scheme for a period of two and a half years in the guidelines of the imperialists, mainly the American imperialists, in a bid to suppress the Indian Revolutionary Movement before the Parliament elections scheduled in 2019.

In order to properly understand the reasons for the hastiness of the imperialists and their Compradors, the Indian exploitive ruling classes to suppress the Indian Revolutionary Movement, we have to analyse the present domestic and international political conditions. So let us first analyse these conditions. Later we shall see the scheme of enemy offensive and our plan and tasks to defeat it.

I

Increasing favorable conditions for revolution due to the intensification of fundamental contradictions Nationally and Internationally

International situation

The fundamental contradictions in the international level – the contradiction between Imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people; contradiction between bourgeois class and proletarian class in imperialist / capitalist countries; contradiction between the imperialists are intensifying

day by day. As a result certain important changes and trends are coming forth in the international level. They are –

1. As a part of the continuing general crisis of capitalism in the form of stagflation since 1970s, America is gradually weakening economically. It weakened much more since the home loan crisis of 2008. Now there is more competition to America from Russia and China in the political and military fields.

2. Increasing protectionism in the economic field and racism and fascism in the political field in the imperialist and capitalist countries.

3. Increasing competition among the imperialist countries to loot the resources and markets of the backward countries.

4. American imperialism that was the super power until now is trying to consolidate its position. Russian imperialism is trying to maintain the areas of its influence. **China developed into an imperialist country and is making serious attempts for the re-division of the world. So there is a rise in contradictions with American super power. Following the increasing competition between America and China for re-division of the world there is a world wide change in geo-political realignment.** Competition between Germany and France for domination on Europe is on the rise.

Contradiction between Imperialism and Oppressed Nationalities and people

The imperialist countries are indiscriminately looting the natural resources and markets in the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialists, especially American imperialists are unleashing globalization policies in the backward countries through their agents, the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists and the Landlords. They are indulging in occupational wars in countries that do not obey their instructions. America continues occupational wars in West Asia/Middle East countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, African countries like Libya, Somalia, Mali and other countries. It brings a lot of pressure on Iran and North Korea to bend them, in the name of economic sanctions against the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. America, West Europe countries, Russia and China are implementing globalization policies across the world. Semi-colonial,

semi-feudal systems continue in all the backward countries. So, at least 80 crores of people are living in utmost poverty. Poverty is very severe in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. Seventy-five per cent of the masses of the world living in utmost poverty are poor peasantry. Seven and half lakhs of people are deprived of clean water. Electricity is inaccessible to twenty per cent of them. Hundreds and lakhs of masses are suffering with imperialist wars, forcible displacement, epidemics, hunger and atrocious unemployment.

In Syria 4,70,000 people died and nearly 20 lakhs injured because of the imperialist occupation for more than five years. Lakhs of people faced displacement and migrated to the neighboring countries and European countries due to war. Due to the imperialist occupational wars going on in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria and other such countries for a decade and a half, lakhs of people died, lakhs injured and lakhs of people migrated to the neighboring countries and European countries. This is on the rise. Since Libya and Syria border Europe, migration to Europe from these countries is propagated on a big scale.

The death of Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Fidel Castro of Cuba, the withdrawal of armed struggle by FARC, the Guerilla struggle organization of Columbia with the mediation of Cuba, helped imperialism, mainly American imperialism temporarily for a while. Anyhow these changes cannot let them out of crisis. The policies Castro, Chavez and other left, liberal party leaders adopted in Latin American countries in the name of Socialism are in fact not Socialist policies. They are such as to satisfy the workers, peasants and the middle classes in those countries, divert them from revolution and help the interests of the local exploitive ruling classes. So, economic, political and social crises are arising making conditions favorable for New Democratic Revolutions. Depending on this situation on the one hand America and on the other China is striving to pull those countries on its side. Consequently the masses of those countries are increasingly in contradiction with imperialism.

Contradiction between bourgeois class and the proletariat in capitalist countries

The economic crisis that started in America in 2008 and spread to the whole world through Europe is still going on. All the present economic and

political consequences are a result of this crisis. All the economic, financial and political policies the ruling classes of Germany, France, Britain and other Europe countries and America adopted to solve this crisis for the past eight years have failed. This led to increase of unemployment, slowing of economic growth, cuts on people's welfare schemes and jobs in all these countries. So, all the sections of masses in these countries are increasingly severely dissatisfied with the governments of these countries. In such a situation the exploitive ruling classes are instigating racism in their countries. Encouraging fascist ideology on the basis of racist chauvinism, rightist, conservative, fascist parties are gradually strengthening and coming to power in America and European countries. In Germany Angela Merkel faced defeat and parties with fascist attitudes came to power in the elections of states in October-November last year. Economic crisis is the reason for the stepping down of Britain from European Union (Brexit). Due to the economic policies and immigration the European Union follows employment opportunities diminished in Britain and economic growth of the country too is slow. The masses are increasingly dissatisfied. In the situation where the exploitive class parties encouraged racist ideas the people of that country voted for withdrawal from EU.

None of the economic, political, military and foreign policies of Obama helped solve the economic crisis in America and they have miserably failed. In this condition Donald Trump immensely instigated white racist chauvinism and came to power. With this there are increasing attacks on the Blacks, Muslims and non American people.

Due to the economic crisis imperialists of America and European countries are imposing high duties on imports following protectionist policies. On the other hand they are pressurizing the backward countries not to impose heavy duties on the imports of their investments and products.

America and European countries are on one hand instigating racist chauvinism and fascism, making stiff rules for migration and on the other implementing outsourcing policies facilitating labor exploitation of the proletariat of their country. They are allowing migrant workers. These policies are making the situation more complex.

Thus the contradiction between the bourgeois class and the proletariat in the capitalist countries is intensifying.

Intensifying contradictions among the imperialist countries

America brought a few of the East European countries and a few of the old Soviet Republic into the NATO alliance since 2010 and put Russia in apprehension. Anyhow Russia improved its economic system to an extent and got down to severe conflict with America for its international economic and political interests. As a part of it, it got down to war with Ukraine in the guise of Referendum against the American proxy government and turned Crimea to its side. Also, as a part of protecting its interests in the Middle East it is making war against America sponsored rebels on behalf of the President of Syria, Assad. In addition, Russia is making military preparations against America and the NATO alliance together with China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the BRICS alliance. All this is the manifestation of the intensifying contradiction between America and Russia. Though there is harmony between America and Russia in a few issues since Donald Trump came to power, it is only temporary. It is only a signal for a dangerous level of competition and conflict in the coming time.

America adopted Asia Pivot Policy in 2011 to give a blow to China that was emerging as a competent imperialist country in economic, political and military fields. Republican Donald Trump who came to power in the place of Obama too is following the same policy and is increasing anti-China aggressiveness. America rejected the power of China on the South China Sea. It is supporting the arguments of Philippines for power and right on this area. In the name of the judgment of the International Court in Hague, it is deploying war ships on behalf of its friendly countries and is intensifying conflicts with China.

The increasing competition between China and America for the control on Oil, Natural Gas resources and Water ways in South and East China Sea is increasing tensions in the Asia-pacific area. These tensions are heading towards military conflicts between these two countries in that area. This area is turning to be a main arena for the intensification of contradictions between the imperialists in the international field.

Since the Second World War American imperialist economic system is transforming into War economic system and is always mired in wars. Thus it became politically, economically and strategically weak. In this situation it is unable to maintain its ally countries on its side like earlier. As a part of this consequence Turkey, Philippines and other such countries that depended

on America are gradually distancing from it. Because of the increasing competition between America and EU in the economic sector and due to its economic crisis, it is not able to allot many funds for NATO alliance like it did before. In this situation it is not able to keep the NATO alliance in a united manner. On the other hand China developed as an imperialist power and stands as a strong competitor to America. China formed Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank to tighten and establish its hold on Asia. Consequently there is a change in the geo-political alignments across the world. It is trying to strengthen the military field. As a part of it, Pakistan, a strategic ally of America until date made strategic defense and economic agreements with China and became a strategic ally of it. India was a very close partner with Soviet Union until this collapsed in 1991. Later it gradually came closer to America. With its military agreement with America, the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement – LEMOVA, it became an important military partner to America. In order to fight the increasing economic, military strength of China, India entered into this military agreement with America and demonstrated its strategic shift.

The competition between America and China in the economic, trade, diplomatic and military fields would intensify in the near future. According to this, there would be changes in the alignments of the economic and political relations of the backward countries with America and China, thus making realignments. These realignments would intensify the competition and conflicts between the imperialist cliques to re-divide the world. As per these realignments political crises would increase in the backward countries. These realignments would bring China, Russia, Iran and Pakistan to one side and American allies Japan, South Korea and India to another in Asia to compete and conflict. This would lead to such realignments in other regions of the world too. Thus internationally competition and conflicts would intensify.

The war that American imperialists, Israeli Zionists and NATO created in West Asia (Middle East) does not seem to end. The people of Palestine and other countries are retaliating the constant attacks of Zionist Israel in violation of peace accords, against the expansion of the occupied lands and the occupational attacks on the various African countries.

The intensification of major contradictions in the international field might lead to a wave of revolutions across the world.

Domestic situation

All the Brahmanic Hindu fascist policies of the Central government in the leadership of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi for the past two and a half years aimed to implement the interests of the imperialist, feudal classes. With the pro-imperialist anti-nation policies of Narendra Modi government there are increasing attacks of the international financial capital on all the sections in the country.

The Brahmanic Hindu fascist policies of the Central Government in the leadership of Narendra Modi are against the oppressed masses, oppressed nationalities, oppressed social communities of our country. So a situation has come in which workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, National bourgeoisie, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, Women everyone has to fight against Brahmanic Hindu fascism. **The situation in which Brahmanic Hindu fascism stands as a common enemy to the oppressed classes, nationalities and oppressed social communities is a new change in the political developments of our country.** Let us see the manifestation of this development.

For the past two and a half years attacks of the Brahmanic Hindu fascists on Dalits and Muslims in the name of protection of Cows have increased. Starting from Dadari in Uttar Pradesh to Oona in Gujarat there were such attacks. In this background Dalits, Muslims, Adivasis, Backward sections came together in Oona and adopted a program for action to fight Hindu Communalism. In the coming days, revolutionary forces, Dalits, Muslims, Adivasis and other advanced sections would become more consolidated and be ready for militant struggles against Brahmanic Hindu fascism.

With the attempts of the Central and the State governments for the loot of the natural resources in the Adivasi areas of the country, unleashing the interests of the domestic and foreign corporate organisations in an aggressive manner, the Adivasi communities are facing severe problem of displacement and are losing their survival and identity.

Tribal and non-tribal masses are taking up militant struggles on the problem of displacement. The tribals are taking up large scale street struggles against the amendments to Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act and the Santhali Peasants Tenancy Act in Jharkhand. In Telangana a militant struggle

broke out against the government policies seizing the lands of the tribals in the name of Haritha Haram (green belt). Anti-displacement struggles of the tribals took a militant form in many places of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa last year. Non-tribal people too got to militant struggles on the problem of displacement. The anti displacement problems of the tribal and the non-tribal people would go in the direction of more consolidation and a militant fight in the coming days.

After the suicide of Rohith Vemula, the students from Dalit, Tribal and Religious minority from hundreds of Universities and thousands of Colleges across the country came together to fight against the Hindu fascist attacks and the imperialist feudal policies of Narendra Modi. Possibilities are on the rise for the consolidation of advanced forces as a potential force in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle in future.

Since Modi came to power in the centre, he is absolutely selling off the country to imperialist capital. Aiming the weapons of Nationalism, Patriotism and Sedition the Hindutva gangs are making indiscriminate attacks on the Civil and Democratic rights of the people. Democrats and genuine patriotic forces are fighting against these attacks.

Peasants across the country are fighting against the anti farmer policies of the Central and the State governments in various forms. Due to the ill effects of the pro imperialist, anti farmer policies, agricultural crisis intensified and even 'higher' castes like the Jhats, Patels, Marathas and Kapus too have to fight. Earlier the same castes opposed the Reservations while now they demand for Reservations for them in education and employment.

As per the directions of American imperialists the central government allowed hundred per cent Foreign Direct Investments in Defense, Pharmaceuticals, Single brand retail trade, Broadcasting, Civil Aviation and other such fields. Along with this the central government amended the Labour laws in the interests of Multi National Companies and Big Corporate organisations of the country and against the interests of the workers. More than fifteen crores of workers went on a successful general strike in the leadership of leftist Trade Unions last September against the anti worker policies. In 2015 too nearly fourteen crores of workers went on a general strike. Ten lakhs of employees of Public sector banks conducted Bandh on 28th February this year against amendments in labor laws, outsourcing and

other such anti people policies of the government. The workers' strikes would surge in future. The policies of Modi government are not only anti labor but they also bankrupt small and medium industries. So the small and medium capitalists too would take up struggles in different forms in the coming days.

The Indirect Tax system was amended and Goods Service Tax was introduced to mold the whole country into a uniform market in the interests of the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In the guise of eliminating corruption, big notes were cancelled and the properties of all the people were accumulated in the banks. So peasantry, small traders and small capitalists were at a loss. People were not allowed to utilize their surplus and thrift independently. The accumulation of the people's properties in the banks helps the imperialist, comprador capitalists. The attempts for cash less economy would increase the attack of International Monetary Capital and the comprador bureaucratic capital on all the sections including the middle class in the coming days.

Modi boasts about the economic growth of the country. Anyhow the industrial sector and manufacturing sector are decaying. Employment is on the rise, the prices of daily amenities hiked and the agricultural crisis intensified. These expose the shallowness of 'development'.

The Nationality Liberation struggle of Kashmir intensified since last year. When the Indian Army killed Burhan Vani of Hijbul Mujahiddin the struggle rose once more. One again the people of Kashmir became armed are fighting with the Indian Military and the Para-Military forces. The participation of new generation is distinct in this struggle. All classes and sections of this Nationality totally supported this struggle. Based on this mass base the struggle would consolidate and arm to continue for a long time. Due to this struggle the Indian Military and the Para-Military forces have to stay there for a long time.

The organisations of Nationality Liberation struggle in the North East reorganized to form a United Front and took up struggle.

The Modi government might bring more fascist laws to hit the intensifying social unrest in the country due to the intensifying contradictions. It might also form Hindu fascist gangs with various names and increase unlawful, fascist attacks on the people.

Due to the intensification of the major contradictions in the coming time as mentioned above, people of oppressed classes, oppressed nationalities and oppressed sections nationally and internationally would mobilise in wide struggles against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and feudalism. Maoist Parties and Revolutionary parties are taking birth across the world from these struggles. Possibilities increase day by day for the formation of revolutionary parties in the rest of the countries in the coming days. This situation is dangerous for the imperialists and exploitive ruling classes in the world. So the exploitive ruling classes are intensifying fascist offensive on the democratic struggles and revolutionary struggles in their countries in the guidance of the imperialists. As a part of it they are intensifying counter revolutionary offensive on our Revolutionary movement. Let us see the counter revolutionary scheme of the Central and the State governments for this offensive.

II

Revolutionary Movement in India sustains retaliating the Counter revolutionary offensive of the Central and the State governments – The Governments indulge in more fascist attacks to eliminate the movement

Due to the offensive of the third phase of the counter revolutionary Operation Green Hunt of the enemy all over the country last year, there are some more unfavorable aspects in our movement in all the States/ Special Zones/Special Areas. The local leadership was arrested or martyred in all the areas of movement and thus the local organisation became weak. Many members starting from Area Committees to the Central Committee were arrested or were martyred. Recruitment decreased. The local organisations and the Janathana Sarkars in Dandakaranya became weak. Some areas became weak. The losses to the enemy during retaliation became relatively less. Carpet security spread in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, AOB and Orissa. Due to these reasons there are serious problems in our mass work and retaliation in all the areas of our movement. All this led to a difficult condition in the countrywide movement.

The increase of unfavorable aspects in our Revolutionary movement due to the third phase offensive of the counter revolutionary Operation Green Hunt of the Central and the State governments is one thing. However, due to our political, military and organizational efforts, the People's War and the People's Struggles in retaliation to the third phase offensive of Operation Green Hunt, there are some more favorable factors to overcome the difficult situation. So let us see our achievements in retaliating the enemy offensive in the past one year.

The enemy stopped the supply routes of war material to our areas of revolutionary movement. So we are making Guerilla war with local and limited resources. In 2016 alone PLGA took up 317 Guerilla actions in the various Guerilla Zones and Red Retaliation areas (154 on the armed forces of the enemy, 115 on the people's enemies, 48 on the corporate organisations). Among the actions on the armed forces of the enemy six were big actions, 19 were medium and 292 small actions. Forty out of the total actions were with booby trap. On the whole we eliminated 114 Paramilitary forces and police and injured 230 in these actions.

PLGA conducted 115 actions to eliminate 123 of the state sponsored counter revolutionary secret gangs, the police informers-covert network, the anti people political leaders and class enemies.

Most of the guerilla war operations took place in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand and AOB. There were a few actions in the other places too.

Mining and many Projects came to a stop, due to the resistance of the masses and PLGA under the leadership of our Party. There many mass struggles and mass resistance actions and Guerilla war, in various forms, towards the attempts of the imperialist financial investment and comprador bureaucratic capital to exploit the resources, with the support of the state. PLGA, People's Militia and the people together did 50 actions regarding this issue and destroyed crores of properties of the Multi National and Domestic Corporate organisations. In some places CBB and MNC organisations stopped their projects.

These actions showed the correct path for the anti displacement struggles across the country. They gave us good experiences in conducting anti imperialist, anti comprador bureaucratic bourgeois struggles.

These are our achievements in this period –

1. There were small, medium and big tactical counter offensives in which police, Para-military and various Commando forces were given blows to an extent and their aggressiveness controlled. We organized the masses and the People's Militia into various economic and political struggles and in the resistance struggles against state violence. Thus we could secure our Revolutionary Movement in difficult conditions with the united efforts of the Party Committees, PLGA, United Front forums. There were efforts to fight back the psychological war of the enemy through revolutionary propaganda.

2. We successfully took up Bolshevisation, Field Training campaigns to advance the revolutionary movement by relatively strengthening Party, PLGA, various levels of RPCs and Revolutionary Mass Organisations. In these campaigns the subjective forces, cadres, Red Commanders and fighters of the Party, PLGA and UF bolshevized to an extent in some areas.

3. The leadership of the Party took up social investigation with the aim to develop the tactics of People's War according to the changed social conditions. Political-Military training camps were conducted as a part of strengthening the Party leadership in PLGA. We thus gained experience to take up Guerilla War in a difficult condition.

4. Plenums were conducted from the State level to the Area level with the objective to advance People's War and proper syntheses made. There were proper assessments on the conditions and accordingly tasks were formulated. Few new comrades took up responsibilities in the higher committees starting from the area level to the state level.

5. In the third phase of Operation Green Hunt the exploitive classes are indulging in many conspiracies to revive their power in the Guerilla Bases (the areas where the power of exploitive classes was overthrown and RPCs of various levels were established as the organs of People's State power) where class war is going on in a serious scale. We fought back this offensive and protected and reconstituted RPCs of various levels. However small the area may be, in places where the people are ready to seize power RPCs were formed and were made to function. In the leadership of RPCs the living standard of the people was enhanced on the

cooperative basis in education, medicine and other such important fields. In some areas land leveling campaign was successfully done in the leadership of RPCs. In some areas a considerable number of new forces were recruited into the Revolutionary movement and PLGA.

6. In the Red Retaliation areas, Guerilla Zones and Guerilla Bases thousands of masses took up struggles for Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Ijjath-Adhikar, on economic problems, against state violence, against Operation Green Hunt, against the problem of displacement and against Hindu fascism.

Though there is severe repression in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt, the People's War is fighting it back among severe losses. It is facing the exploitive ruling classes in the social, economic, political, military and propaganda sectors and sustaining. As a result those classes are intensifying and expanding their offensive. They completed preparations for another heavy offensive with MahaAbhiyaan, Mission 2016, Saranda Action Plan, Operation All Out and other such fascist schemes and are implementing them in full fledged manner.

We failed the attempts of the Central and the State governments that aimed to defeat the revolutionary movement in the country by eliminating the revolutionary movements of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand through Mission 2016, with our political, military and organizational effort. In this situation the Central and the State governments are consolidating their achievements in their counter revolutionary offensive last year and formulated another ill scheme in the guidance of the imperialists to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement in the coming two to two and a half years (by the time of Parliament elections in the end of 2018 or in the beginning of 2019).

Let us see some main tactics of the counter revolutionary offensive and Mission 2017 of the Central and the State governments.

1. Deploying Para-military, Commando, Police forces in the areas of Revolutionary Movement in a big scale and strengthening Carpet Security

Presently there are 119 battalions of Para-military forces, 37 Indian Reserve Battalions totaling to 156 Para-military battalions in the ten states (Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Maharashtra, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, West Bung, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh). Along with these

ten states, nearly 3,60,000 state police forces are engaged in the suppression and elimination operations in Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Asom. In addition to these there are five CISF battalions for the protection of Industrial organisations in the areas of struggle. Thus there are 5,20,000 Para-military, Commando and Police forces in the areas of our movement. In the ten states of the country 106 districts were identified as Maoist affected districts. Out of these 35 districts in 7 states were identified as most affected districts. Issues like weak mechanism of the exploitive government, the strength of the Maoist movement/mass base, terrain and other such things were considered and 24 districts in these 7 states were identified to be very severely affected. While in most of the Maoist affected districts Build, Phase operations are going on, in the 24 districts Clear, Hold operations are followed by Build phase operations. The task of Build phase operations is to reconstruct the weak, destroyed exploitive government machinery, strengthen it and establish the infrastructure necessary to loot the resources. In districts where the movement setback development phase operations are going on. In the develop phase the exploitive government is strengthened more and propaganda, development, vigilance and offensive operations would be taken up so that Maoist movement does not come up again.

The Central government decided to form Bastariya Battalion in the CRPF and four Indian Reserve Battalions in Bastar Sambhag in Chhattisgarh. These 5 battalions would be deployed from mid 2017.

The Central government allotted four IRB units to Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. It allotted one to Bihar, two to Chhattisgarh, one to Jharkhand, one to Madhya Pradesh, three to Orissa, one Specialised IRB to West Bung. These Special IRBs would have two Engineering companies to construct roads, Barracks, Police stations/Camps. The state governments might arrange all these by the end of this year.

2. Importance to the elimination of leadership elements starting from the local level to the Central level, mainly the leadership of the Central and the State level

As a part of this there would be more Cordon and Search and Kill operations, killing the local leadership in fake encounters in each time of operations in the interior areas. Seven to Eight IPS officers were allotted

for each leadership comrade with Special Forces in their control. They would identify the areas of operation of these leadership comrades, strengthen the intelligence system in these areas, chase the leadership comrades and eliminate them.

3. Expanding and strengthening intelligence system to receive information from each village; Preparing coverts and spotters in more number

As a part of strengthening the intelligence system multi agency centres were established in the central and the state levels. They work in 24x7 method (i.e., Round the clock). A Joint command and Control centre was arranged in Jagadapur to strengthen the intelligence system. This joint command and control centre would concentrate on the elimination of Dandakaranya movement. They adopted schemes to eliminate the leadership in the Central Region and operate the Para-military, Commando and police forces. Technical, Human intelligence is strengthened through these schemes. They are making efforts for better coordination of the Para-military forces, district police and intelligence organisations. They are concentrating on Real Time Intelligence to help attack the leadership elements and Guerilla forces. They establish intelligence system in strong villages, local organization and in the routes of our journey. Through the technical intelligence they would have various kinds of surveillance on Cell Phone, Walkie Talkie and other such electronic equipment.

4. Intensification of Counter Guerilla Operations

In the coming days Counter Guerilla Operations going on with the names of Area domination Operation, Operations in the interior areas, Operations to eliminate the selected target would intensify. They would form counter guerilla units like DRG with the local lumpen youth and traitors of Revolution and intensify these operations together with other Commando forces and Para-military forces.

5. Improvement in the coordination of the border states, intensification of joint operations

The Central government took up many measures to achieve better coordination in various levels between the states of our movement. As a part of this they are frequently conducting meetings for coordination of the police and civil officers of the border states and the border districts of

these states. Joint operations are planned in these coordination meetings and joint operations between the border districts and border states would be intensified.

6. Enhanced Aerial support in Counter Guerilla operations

In order to enhance Aerial support to the states and Para-military forces in the states of our movement, the Central government is going to allot more Drones (UAV) and Helicopters. Aerial surveillance would be improved and vigilance and recce would be taken up on our forces. The UAV base station in Nandini in Chhattisgarh might be shifted to Jagadalpur. Or another new base station might be established in Jagadalpur.

7. Construction of fortified police stations

According to the decision of the Central government in 2010 to fortify 400 police stations, until date 278 were completed. In addition to the rest of the 128 stations, the Central government decided to fortify another 250 stations.

8. Expansion and development of Road and Rail lines; development of Communication-Information systems

In order to loot the natural resources in the areas of movement and help speedy shifting of forces in repressive operations the central government is expanding Road and Rail lines since 2009. For the past two years it has been developing Communication and Information systems too. In the scheme to lay 5477 kms of State and National High Ways, 3887 kms of road was completed by last year. Now the Central government took up a scheme to lay 5466 kms long roads and 126 culverts in the 44 districts of 9 states. The governments are serious to complete the Dalli-Raoghat-Jagadalpur rail line as soon as possible.

As per the decision of the central government to build 2199 mobile towers in ten states in Maoist affected states, 1288 towers were built in the first half of 2016. In addition to the rest of 911 towers, the Central government decided to build another 175 mobile towers. The state government is going to construct 832 kms of Optical Fibre network in BastarSambhag. With the Fourth Generation mobile services of Reliance organization the Communication and Information networks would spread

all over the areas of the movement in the coming two years. Competing with Reliance other private companies too would spread 4G services.

The expansion and development of Road and Rail lines, the expansion and development of Communication-Information networks, the attempts to establish the weakened, destroyed exploitive government machinery in DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand and AOB as a part of Build Phase Operations would increase the unfavorable factors in guerilla war in all the areas of the movement. So we have to consider this factor and make Guerilla War and People's War with proper tactics to overcome the difficult situation. So we have to retaliate the enemy offensive in a serious manner. We have to give importance to destroy the under construction Road, Rail Communication and Information networks and the government machinery. We must take up political propaganda among the masses that these networks do not help for the development of the people, that they would destroy the lives of the majority of the oppressed and help a handful and the interests of the exploitive classes. We must mobilise them widely in these sabotage operations. On the other hand we have to continue development and welfare activities to enhance the living standards of the masses to the extent possible, through the organs of people's state power.

9. Formation of counter revolutionary militia/gangs, attacks on masses and democratic forces

Counter revolutionary armed gangs and white militia like SamajikEkthamanch, Agni, MahilaEkthaManch, Tangia (Axe) squad/Gram RakshaSamithi (Village protection Board), BhumkalSena in Dandakaranya, TPC, JJMP, PLFI, JPC, DalmaAnchalikSamithi, GrameenEkthaManch in Bihar-Jharkhand, NaxalHimsaPrathirodhManch in Koraput of AOB, Peace Sena in Orissa, Bhairav Vahini of West Bung, Cobra and Tigers in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are formed. There are a total of 17 such gangs. There are increasing attacks on revolutionary masses and the democratic forces supporting the revolutionary movement. The murderous gangs in Telangana and AP are threatening the people's leaders.

10. Intensification of reforms, Psychological war and surrenders

11. The enemy formulated a strategic counter revolutionary plan to give a blow to the expansion in Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-

Chhattisgarh area. According to this ten new police stations in Balaghat and 50 in Chhattisgarh were planned in addition to the multi-pronged tactics.

12. With an ill motive to disturb the Adivasis mobilizing in the revolutionary movement in a united and militant manner and to eliminate their survival and identity, Hindu religion and Christianity are propagated widely in all the Adivasi areas including Dandakaranya.

A centre was established in the Prime Minister's Office in the direct supervision of the Prime Minister to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement. Defense adviser of PM, Ajith Dobhal, Adviser to internal security Vijay Kumar have an important role in this centre. They guide the countrywide OGH offensive too.

We have to adopt multi-pronged counter offensive tactics to fight back and defeat the counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy. For this purpose we have to adopt tactics to utilize the favorable factors in the domestic and international political conditions to the maximum extent and fight back the unfavorable factors.

III

Let us fight back the multipronged offensive of the enemy with multipronged counter offensive – Let us overcome the difficult situation

Due to the intensification of the major contradictions in the country and internationally the imperialists and their compradors in the respective countries are intensifying fascist offensive on the worldwide revolutionary movement, democratic struggles and national liberation struggles. The exploitive classes in our country and worldwide would instigate communalism, racist chauvinism, national chauvinism and war frenzy and are trying to divert the masses from the path of revolution. The Corporate media in the world is already contaminating the brains of the people with these ideas. On the other hand imperialist sponsored NGOs continue their activities to give a blow to the militancy and spirit of struggle of the masses. Post Modernism is continuing theoretical attack to see that the oppressed

classes do not unite on class basis. Parliamentarism, Revisionism, the Neo Revisionism of Prachanda-Avakian and Gandhism in our country too try to the extent possible to divert the masses from the path of revolution.

In order to formulate multipronged tactical plan to defeat the enemy offensive we have to keep in mind the favorable and unfavorable factors in the political conditions. It means that if the oppressed masses and oppressed nationalities are affected with the Nationalist frenzy, war frenzy, racist chauvinism and communalism, revolutions would fail. And if Post Modernism, the way of legal struggle of the NGOs are not exposed and defeated among the masses, we cannot mobilise the broad masses widely. So we have to expose racist chauvinism, war frenzy and communalism in our multipronged counter offensive tactics. We must explain the difference between genuine patriotism and the racist, nationalist 'patriotism' helping the interests of the exploitive classes. We must expose the Post modernist and NGO's theories. Parliamentarism, revisionism, neo revisionism and Gandhism should be exposed relentlessly.

The program and the general objective of the tactics must be to overcome the difficult situation and develop the movement. As per this we have to revive the areas of setback, to build Red Retaliation areas in the newly expanded areas, develop the red retaliation areas into Guerilla Zones, protect the Revolutionary People's Committees/organs of People's state power in the main Guerilla Zones and protect/strengthen the guerilla bases.

Theoretical and political tasks – tactics

1. The leadership cadres must once again study the writings of Lenin, 'Imperialism, the Highest stage of Capitalism', 'War and Peace' and the program of the Third International to fight back fascism before the Second World War. Depending on these we have to constantly expose the instigation of Nationalism and war frenzy by the present Indian ruling classes against Pakistan and China. We have to expose the fake patriotism the exploitive ruling classes and the Sangh Parivar instigate.

2. We have to take up widespread and intense ideological, political struggle against the Brahmanic Hindu fascism that is aggressively selling off the country to imperialism and on the other to stabilize the exploitation and oppression of the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois and Big landlord classes.

3. We have to expose Post Modernism and the argument for legal fight, reformism and economism of the NGOs and enhance the consciousness to seize people's state power.

4. We have to complete Social investigation in all the States/Special Areas/Special Zones and study the forms of exploitation in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors by the International Financial Capital, Comprador Bureaucratic Capital and Feudalism together. We have to mobilise the broad masses against this in the class struggle. For this purpose we have to form legal, cover and UF forums to mobilise the vast masses in class struggle. We have to consolidate class organisations in all the Guerilla Zones and concentrate on intensification of class struggle starting from the local level.

Since the implementation of imperialist globalization policies from 1991, there is an increase in unorganized workers and employees with the name of contract, casual (workers on daily wage basis) in our country. Along with them migrant workers too increased. They too are unorganized workers. We must mobilise these unorganized workers and take up struggles. In places where we already mobilized unorganized workers consolidation is important.

5. We have to mobilise the Dalits, Adivasis, Religious minorities and Democratic forces against Brahmanic Hindu fascism and form UF forums in various levels and forms.

6. We have to mobilise students and masses against the privatization of education from primary schools to Universities, against the establishment of foreign Universities in our country, against the commercialization of education and against privatization and saffronisation of education.

7. We have to develop the anti displacement movements into anti imperialist, anti CBB militant movements. We have to mobilise the peasantry severely dissatisfied with the agrarian crisis and spread the anti imperialist, anti feudal class struggle.

8. We have to mobilise democratic forces from the local level to the central level against the war of the exploitive classes on the masses of the country in the name of OGH and form UF forums. We must activate the present forums.

9. We have to extend the class struggle to the broad plain areas adjacent to the present areas of movement.

10. We have to make a deep study of the reasons for the weakening of the urban movement and build the urban movement in new methods. For this we have to mobilise new forces and train them.

11. We have to enhance the theoretical, political level of the party cadres so that they overcome the difficult situation. We have to take up LTP and Field training programs in all the levels.

12. We have to constantly expose the deceiving war and psychological war of the enemy and fight and defeat the same.

Military, Organizational tasks – Tactics

1. The Party and the Military cadres must study our experiences in implementing the Maoist People's War in the period after the formation of the United Party-Maoist Party. We must educate our forces about the tactics to make Guerilla War basing on the strength of the movement, formations and terrain of the respective areas.

2. We have to continue guerilla war in the coming time with the aim to overcome the difficult situation depending on the positive factors of making guerilla war in the country with local and limited resources since the countrywide movement entered a difficult stage. We have to synthesize the war operations and experiences in the Carpet security areas in the past three to four years and intensify and develop guerilla war in those areas.

3. We have to take up training of the military and political leadership forces. We have to train our PLGA so that it fights back the tactics of LIC and Counter Guerilla Warfare. We have to develop tactical skill and various kinds of skills. Commands of all levels must be made to function and be consolidated.

4. We have to protect the local leadership from the enemy offensive. The State/Special Zonal/Special Area Committees must adopt the necessary methods.

5. We must give a clear understanding on the methods of Mass Work and Guerilla War in Carpet Security areas to the Mass Work units and

Combat units. Thus we must see that they do not face any loss.

6. We have to adopt methods of work and organisation to protect the leadership forces starting from the Area Committee to the Central Committee from the enemy attacks.

7. We must again strengthen the areas that were affected by losses. The State Committees must adopt the organization and methods of work of the units of mass work and military work depending on the strength of the movement in the respective areas.

8. The State Committees must have the initiative to guide the movement in their states in view of the problems arising in the conditions of carpet security and coordination all over the areas of movement. The State Committees/SZCs/SACs, District/Divisional/Zonal Committees are unable to conduct regular meetings like before. So the Sub-Zonal bureaus in DK, RCs in BJ (presently Unified Commands) DvC/ZCs in all the areas and Sub-Divisional bureaus in DK need to guide the movement with initiative and in an independent manner. In the absence of these committees SZCMs and DvCMs must work as a team and guide the movement. The principles of Guerilla war must be applied according to the specificities of their area and the forces centralized and decentralized. The mass work and military work units must be taken up with coordination. Wherever necessary the Area Committees and Platoons must be brought together into a Command. If necessary the LGS and the LOS must be made into one unit and two ACs into one. Such decisions must be made without losing initiative according to the changes of the strength in the movement and with an assessment on the direction of the changes. We must not be subjective in this matter. The SZCM teams and the Sub-Zonal Bureaus must make these decisions in the guidance of the CCMs. The method of work must change so that they can make decisions with an initiative according to the changing conditions.

9. We have to make changes in camping, marching, patrolling and observation to avoid losses like in Bottem (DK-Telangana), Ramaguda (AOB), ... (Bihar-Jharkhand). We have to regularly practice drills to fight back the attacks on the camps. We have to arrange active self-protection mechanism round the camp.

10. We have to take up retaliatory actions and TCOCs to achieve

results in seizing Arms and Ammunition and in eliminating the enemy. For this we have to keep a vigil on the weaknesses of the enemy through constant people's intelligence. We have to better the planning and in motivating the forces. The participation of leadership forces in the war operations must increase and be bettered. The leadership forces, cadres and all the PLGA members must fight united and with courage and dare. We must make necessary changes in the Fire and Movement, advance and retreat to gain results in the seizure of Arms and Ammunition in the retaliatory actions. Thus we must develop our tactics. We must develop skill in working with all kinds of weapons.

11. We have to adopt necessary methods of attack to stop carpet security, to fail and destroy it.

12. Through the process of consolidation-expansion we have to develop the areas in between CRB and ERB as a broad guerilla zone. The success in this task would provide a basis to overcome the difficult situation and for the advancement of Indian Revolution.

13. The Party cadres working in the Party, People's Army and UF must achieve command in the Maoist style of work.

Dear Comrades!

The counter revolutionary enemy offensive brought forth important challenge to us. Can we overcome the difficult situation or not? On the other hand the domestic and international political situation brought utmost serious challenge to the worldwide Imperialists, their Compradors, the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists and Big Landlords too. How to bear with the daily intensifying economic and political crises? How to face the upcoming worldwide spate of revolutions? The severe unfavorable conditions of the exploitive ruling classes are the favorable factors for us. Depending on these favorable factors we have to adopt proper tactics and make political, military and organizational efforts. Then we can certainly overcome the present difficult situation and also advance the Indian Revolutionary movement. The broad peasantry is severely dissatisfied with the inability to depend on agriculture and the lack of works in the towns. The students and youth are suffocated with the imperialist and feudal oppression and suppression. The Adivasis are losing their survival and identity with the

problem of displacement. The workers and employees are facing insecurity with the imperialist globalization policies. Let us make efforts to mobilize and consolidate all of them in class struggle. Let us start work with limited forces and prepare unlimited forces. Let us mobilise new generation into revolution. Let us develop the broad areas into red retaliation areas and guerilla zones. Let us, in this process enhance a broad, organized, militant mass base, consolidate the PIGA and intensify People's War. Thus let us defeat the enemy offensive and overcome the difficult situation.

Let us consolidate much more, the favorable factors as a result of the effort to overcome the difficult situation for the past three years. These favorable factors would be a strong basis to overcome the difficult situation. Let us face the unfavorable factors with courage and overcome them. Let us rectify the alien class trends in us. Let us apply MLM theoretical principles and the principles of Maoist People's War according to the strength of the movement. Let us change our political and military tactics according to the changing conditions. Let us work with a collective feeling as teams in all levels in this effort. Let us develop tactics to mobilise and consolidate the new generation of the broad masses. Let us gain control on the Maoist style of work.

There were many difficult times and defeats in the history of the Communist movement of the World and that of our country. We have overcome all those. When the fascist gangs of Hitler encircled Leningrad during the Second World War, when they took up protracted Long March after losing the liberated areas in the South of China, after the defeat of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles we faced utmost severe unfavorable conditions. We overcame them with proper tactics, unique courage and dare, with a strong will and proper style of work. Let us fight Operation Green Hunt and overcome the difficult situation basing on these experiences.

**Revolutionary greetings,
Central Committee
CPI (Maoist)
February 2017**

CRB Circular 1/2017

Let us improve Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our thoughts and practice and Strengthen our Party leadership!

We took up Bolshevization campaign in all the States/Special Zones in the Central Region in 2013 in the leadership of CRB. CRB reviews that this campaign that went on for three and a half years showed good results. One third of the Party and PLGAs were steeled in this campaign to overcome the difficult situation and the setback of the movement. Cadres developed more confidence on the Revolutionary Movement and the surrenders are lesser. Class struggle has intensified. There is an improvement in retaliation. The relations with the people have strengthened. There are better opportunities due to the development of theoretical and political understanding of the cadres. A new enthusiasm is seen to an extent all over the Party.

We conducted the campaign concentrating on the universality of MLM, with the dialectical understanding that revolutionary movement travels through a lot of ebbs and flows and finally succeeds, and concentrating on the Three great styles of work. We took up education on theoretical, political and organizational understanding all over the Party to Bolshevise it. Through this method the Party was prepared to be bolshevized in high plane. CRB decided to utilize this situation and take up bolshevization with the aim to organize the Party leadership much more. Anyhow due to increased repression and the importance of other tasks of the Party, instead of a campaign form, the bolshevization program should be conducted in a different manner thus - The Party leadership committees must plan it in their meetings so as to apply the essence of the lessons of the earlier campaign. Especially there must be discussions, deep practice, again discussions in a higher plane and criticism-self-criticism in the various levels. CRB requests that mainly the leadership committees must pay attention and study this circular deeply.

The leadership cadres must have a deep theoretical understanding, command on the history of the Party and the dialectical method, study of

the constant changes in the society, political organizational skill, do away with the alien class trends and other such things, in order to fulfill their revolutionary tasks in a capable manner.

1. Leadership cadres must mold their philosophical ideas in a dialectical manner

The question of philosophical understanding of the leadership cadres is an important issue. After the success of the Revolution in China, there were serious internal struggles in the CPC in the phase of Socialist construction of 1956. There were discussions on philosophical issues. The Li Shao Chi clique brought forth many wrong theories in the guise of MLM. There were three main struggles in China in the philosophical arena. One of these was a discussion in opposition to the dialectical materialist theory with the name of ‘there would not be unity between existence and thoughts’. The revolutionary centre in the leadership of Mao fought firmly to defeat this discussion. Mao wrote ‘Where do correct ideas come from’ as an answer to the discussion the Li Shao Chi clique raised. This article has a prestigious place in Marxist Philosophy.

‘Correct ideas come from three kinds of social practices – the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment.

The existence or position decides one’s thought. If people realize the correct ideas about the characteristics of the developed classes these ideas would turn into a physical force. This physical force would transform the society and the world. Humans make many kinds of struggles in their social practice. During this period they also gain great experience from their successes and failures.

One’s knowledge develops in stages. The first stage would be the reflection of the material and outside world. But the ideas (theories, policies, plans and discussions) in this process would be tested in the second phase only. There is no other way to check the practice. Moreover the only aim of the proletarian class in knowing the world is to change it.

‘Correct ideas come in the process of change of material to consciousness, consciousness to material, meaning practice to knowledge and again from knowledge to practice in a repeated manner. Whether it is the Marxist theory of knowledge or dialectical materialist theory this is the process’, said Comrade Mao in developing the theory of knowledge.

Criticizing the Li Shao Chi clique he says that though the transformation of material into consciousness and consciousness into material is a daily visible occurrence they cannot realize these leaps.

This theory of knowledge Mao taught was repeatedly ascertained in the revolutions based on Marxist Leninist theories. The main issue in this is to realize that the basic changes in the society would take place in the form of leaps.

Some of the leadership cadres in our Party could not achieve genuine unity applying the theory of knowledge of Comrade Mao, though they accepted the unity between existence and thoughts. So subjectivity became a trend in them. In some others there is a serious mechanical materialist outlook in realizing the constant dynamics of existence and thoughts. They feel that the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement to be permanent or else they feel desperate that the revolutionary movement cannot overcome this situation. So their practice too is not sharp. They act like 'one among the crowd'. They forget the normal understanding that there are ebbs and flows in the revolutionary movement and act innocently. They don't believe that the necessary favorable factors for the advancement of the revolution are inherent in the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement. So they are doubtful. They are caught in doubts on the Party line itself. So they would not be able to apply the Party line to the changing conditions. They are carried away with the influence of the ruling class ideology and the non-proletarian ideology. They do not consider the incidents of the masses with utmost courage and dare in the fascist repression. They do not understand they they have to be inspired even from a small incident. They do not study the basis of the new kind of struggles in the society. Ultimately they over assess the strength of the state and under assess that of the masses. They think this is a permanent situation. They do not understand that the balance of forces could be reversed through struggle. They would become like 'the moody sailor can never reach destination'. The study of the essence of the theory of knowledge that we can change material into consciousness and consciousness into material would be a good medicine for such thoughts. We need to rectify our thoughts in the philosophical plane to bolshevisize our self. As a part of applying theory to practice leadership must be in the forefront of the class struggle. We would develop proletarian character only by participating in

class struggle and uniting with the masses and the cadres. We play leadership role in the revolutionary movement representing the advanced ideas. Otherwise we would be carried away with the bourgeois world outlook. Bourgeois class and proletariat class live side by side in the society. In the society where the bourgeois class is in power, the bourgeois class would dominate and spread its ideology in all the fields. It would indulge in many conspiracies to lure the proletariat class. The class composition of our Party mainly constitutes peasant, urban petty bourgeois classes. They are in the leadership positions too. Thus the bourgeois philosophical trends based on private property would enter the leadership. In order to control them we have to severely participate in class struggle and also always study Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

2. Party Discipline

Comrade Lenin repeatedly taught that constant concentration and strict discipline of the proletariat is an important pre condition for the success of Bolshevization.

Bolshevism answers the question of how a revolutionary party achieves iron discipline in the following manner.

How is the discipline of a revolutionary party secured? It is through the class consciousness, dedication towards revolution, strong will, sacrificing self and courage of the proletarian vanguard.

How is this discipline tested? It is through linking with wide communities, primarily with the proletariat class. Anyhow it is also tested through the capability of the vanguard section in linking with the non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses, to maintain a close relation with them and to mix with them to an extent.

How would the revolutionary party gain additional strength – it is through the specificity of the political leadership of the revolutionary party, the specificity of its political strategy and tactics and if the masses could realize from their own experience that these are the specific issues. Com. Lenin explained that such conditions do not arise automatically, that it is not a dogmatic principle but specific revolutionary theory that helps these conditions to arise and that this theory would take shape only with close relation with practical activities of the movement that is genuinely collective

and genuinely revolutionary. The history of the Bolshevik Party proved this.

Proletarian consciousness, dedication of a revolutionary party, the maximum relation with the masses, strategy, tactics, its specificity and realization of masses through their experience would make the revolution a success. We must apply this historic experience.

One important aspect in bolshevizing the Party is to establish the necessary discipline in building the three magic weapons. This is very important. Party without discipline would be unarmed to fight with a powerful state. So we must concentrate our efforts to strengthen proletarian discipline and to improve the above mentioned things, in the Mass Organisations, JanathanaSarkars and PLGA along with the Party.

Bureaucracy must not be practiced in the name of Party discipline. We must not confuse these things with each other. Discipline must be maintained in the method of Democratic Centralism in the Party. Many kinds of opinions come forth inside the Party and from the masses. We must not fear these ideas. We must make deep discussions about the scattered opinions and decide the proper ones. We must reject the wrong ones. We must not feel that the many kinds of opinions are itself against discipline. If so, the Party would not be lively and moreover there would be proper theoretical development. We must rectify all these shortcomings in our Party.

3. Rectification campaign

We reviewed that non-proletarian trends like Subjectivity, Spontaneity, Liberalism, Sectarianism, Bureaucracy and Patriarchy are coming in the way to establish iron discipline in our Party.

There are three main reasons for the alien class trends and the strong continuation of the same in our Party as mentioned in the rectification circular that was discussed and released by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our Party. They are alien class composition, influence of the ruling class ideology and failure to mold the cadres theoretically. There is a strong influence of these things in the lower level and in the fractions of the Mass Organisations. Coming to the leadership cadres we need to analyse in a deeper manner. It would not be enough to show only the above reasons.

How are we to understand these deeply ingrained trends despite revolutionary practice in the light of MLM of the leadership cadres in the Party? Our Party has a long history in the struggle against alien class trends. But we have been reviewing time to time that there are no expected results. So how do we justify this? The leadership cadres are lagging behind in studying class struggle and thus the struggle in the lives of the masses. They do not understand the essence and dynamics of the ebbs and flows of Protracted People's War. They do not consciously transform themselves in philosophical, theoretical and political angles. So the influence of alien class tendencies continues in the leadership cadre. They distance from the dialectical materialist outlook which says that the Marxists not only realize the objective world but change it according to its principles and carry away unconsciously with the conditions.

The only way out of this is the leadership cadres transform themselves in the light of MLM. It means they have to first change their subjective world. For this they would have to apply theory to practice. They would have to always stay with the masses and the cadres and participate in class struggle. Otherwise they would not have any material basis to change themselves. Once we start to establish the material basis to bring change there would be proper results. We can control many kinds of petty bourgeois manifestations of self as the centre and avoid the bad in the Party.

The role of leadership was clearly written in the circular of the rectification movement of the erstwhile People's War in 2001 –

‘We Communists must certainly adopt two methods in any work we do. One is to combine universality with specificity and the other is to combine leadership with the popular masses’.

‘The broad masses cannot come into practice if we do not give a general, wide call regarding any task. If the comrades in the leadership positions limit themselves to the general call, if they do not get down to implement it specifically in practice either personally or organizationally to achieve the specific objective of the call, if they do not gain such experiences and use them to guide other units, it would not be possible to test whether the general call is proper or not and to enrich the essence of the general call. So this call might not give results’. (Problems regarding methods of leadership’ – MSW, 3rd volume)

We decided the role of the leadership in the rectification movement according to the guidelines of Mao as said above.

a. The leadership must personally participate in the rectification movement. It must guide the movement. In this process they must transform themselves. (the Central and the State Committees must review the mistakes in the process of movement starting from 1995). The leadership must assess the specific guidelines it gave to the lower committees.

b. Five villages were selected in each area. Nine issues regarding the movement were selected by the leadership for specific study.

Through this method the depth and the character of the mistakes from the leadership were understood. Thus it gave good results in the movement to an extent. Anyhow we did not continue these policies all over the Party and so we did not achieve proper results to the expected mark. If we analyse the mistakes in the practice in a deep manner, if we self-criticise and examine the theoretical and political relation of these mistakes we would be able to overcome these mistakes and also develop a theoretical understanding.

4. Democratic Centralism

The fundamental principle of the party is to have unity of thought, unity regarding practice and unity between the Party and the masses. We can confirm these only through building the Party on the basis of Democratic Centralism and following class line and mass line. The conscious implementation of Democratic Centralism to make the Party life lively by establishing Party Unity, by strengthening its Unified leadership, by enhancing its fighting capacity would be an important issue. The party could be strengthened through practicing Democratic Centralism to bring about the initiative of all the members.

‘The strengthening of collective leadership would be an important pre condition to implement Democratic Centralism in the Party. We have to certainly strengthen the network of Party Committee to practice the combination of collective leadership and individual responsibilities’. (Strategy-Tactics)

This emphasizes the necessity of conscious implementation of Democratic Centralism by every comrade. Only then the unity between

the Party and the people would develop and the Party would be lively.

If the leadership is active and the lower Party elements weak, the leadership must implement the principle of Democratic Centralism in a conscious manner with utmost alertness. If not implemented in this manner Bureaucracy would take the place of Centralism. Or else ultra-democratic trends that are nothing but bourgeois democracy would come forth in the name of struggle for Democracy. Presently our Party is facing both the problems. Centralism based on Democracy must be practiced in the party. Without such centralism party cannot make the revolution a success. Party must depend on such centralism whenever it is facing difficult conditions.

Democratic methods are being guaranteed in the Party through the discussions in the Plenums and Meetings taking place periodically. Policies, reviews, tasks and resolutions are being formulated through democratic discussions only. This is helping a lot to keep the Party united. Anyhow Party is facing certain problems in implementing Democratic Centralism in the functioning of the Committees. At times while importance is given to the method of Centralism in formulating and implementing the resolutions of the Party Committees, at times we are following the Democratic method. When the members of a committee divorce from the method of Democratic Centralism regarding the responsibilities and rights, it is leading to disunity. Study and discussion is much more necessary on the implementation of Democratic Centralism in our Party.

We take up the method of criticism – self-criticism to see that there are no mistakes in the party Committees. In a way this is the only method to solve the contradictions in the Party Committees and among the people. We do not have another method. However, if there is no democratic life in the party and if we do not implement Democratic Centralism in the proper sense it would not be possible to apply the method of criticism-self-criticism, says Com. Mao.

5. The work style of leadership cadres

‘We must definitely follow the one of the criterion to differentiate the proletarian party from the bourgeois, revisionist parties – ‘Three great styles regarding work’. They are, combining theory with practice, having close relations with the masses, practicing criticism and self-criticism’. (Strategy-Tactics)

In the first circular of CRB on bolshevization we discussed in detail about these three styles of work.

As a part of rectifying our style of work we took up Field Training programs during Bolshevisation. We have the experience of solving the problems in the field in the guidelines of our line. We have to view this as applying theory in practice.

There is one more angle we have to discuss about the style of work. CPC commented thus on the leadership style of work basing on the experiences of the GPCR.

‘We, Communists must not hide our view, commented Comrade Mao Tse Tung. So we have to be open and above board. We have to speak out our political opinions. We have to tell our opinions on important political issues. Everyone has to make clear their opinions as to what is correct and what is wrong. This would be the work style and spirit of the Party, said CPC. This is the great experience that party gained through internal struggle. CPC emphasized these things in the Tenth Congress.

The leadership cadres in our Party must receive the above mentioned guidelines to rectify their style of work and implement the same. Only thus our party leadership would be consolidated. Only thus it would be possible to identify vacillating persons and conduct internal struggle with those who doubt the Party line. Thus the unity in the Party Committees would develop. We would have a chance to rectify those who make mistakes, through the method of criticism and self-criticism. We saw traitors like Panda, GVK Prasad and SriramulaSrinivas in the recent time in the history of our Party. They are our negative teachers. So we have to embed the great experiences of the GPCR.

6. We must learn from the earlier mistakes and avoid them in future

The lessons we took in the history of our Party starting from Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles to the setback of AP, NT and AOBare good experiences for us. The developments in the countrywide movement in the past ten years too are good experiences for us. We have to study these experiences, learn from the earlier mistakes and not repeat them in future. Then we can develop the revolutionary movement. Anyhow we did not put

serious efforts on study until now. The experiences lay where they are. Many of these experiences are in writing. It is necessary to study them in a regular method. Enemy is synthesizing his experiences in suppressing the revolutionary movement and is applying them across the country. Though our Party leadership studied these experiences to an extent education about them all over the Party is not to the necessary extent. The Party leadership with direct experience too is repeating the mistakes. Bottem and Ramaguda are the recent examples. It is not enough to understand the tactics of the enemy to avoid mistakes. We have to rigorously train the Party and PLGA with the discipline and rules of the movement. We have to take up criticism and self-criticism to avoid alien class tendencies starting from the topmost level to the lower level. If the leadership does not pay attention to these issues and bring about a change there would be losses again. Devious tactics are the important ones in the many number of tactics the enemy unleashes. This is the important issue in LIC theory too. There are coverts, informers, ill propoganda in psy war and other such deceitful tactics of the enemy. There are carrot and stick policies and tactics for the elimination of the movement. We have to understand and deal them properly. Only thus we can avoid losses. So our leadership must study the earlier lessons in a serious manner. The leadership in areas where we achieved successes should not be negligible in such things. The leadership must always have a foresight.

7. Social, economic investigation

‘The objective of social and economic investigation is to come to a proper assessment about the class forces and utilize it to adopt proper tactics for future struggle’.

‘If we do not investigate into the actual situation idealist assessment about classes and idealist guidance would definitely take place. These lead to opportunism and adventurism’.

Com. Mao warns that without actual investigations one would be carried away with mechanical ideas.

Our Party concentrated on social and economic (class) investigation right from the beginning. This investigation our Party took up with the aim to make the New Democratic Revolution a success with the axis of Agrarian Revolution put our Party in the vanguard of Agrarian Revolution.

Since we identified the various classes we could make out who were friends and who were enemies in the rural areas and helped to develop class struggles in the proper direction. Our Party cadres conducted almost the whole class investigation amidst severe enemy repression with great will. The Party Committees synthesized the reports of class investigation took up on various occasions and adopted tactics for the movement. Due to the influence of the movement, the reforms of the government to fight the movement and the New Economic Policies since the decade of 1990s, there are rapid changes in the rural areas. Many kinds of debates are going on about these changes in the country. Most of them aim at the line of our Party. It is the responsibility of our Party to answer these arguments. If we do not study the changing conditions we cannot guide the movement. So in 2014 we resolved to take up class investigation in all the states. According to this there is concentrated work on class investigation in all the states. This is a good thing. The Central and the State Committees must complete the class investigation, synthesise them and immediately adopt new tactics. We can obtain actual information only by conducting class investigation in a scientific manner. It would be possible to adopt proper tactics depending on this. Along with the strategic areas it is necessary to take up class investigation in the plain and the urban areas too. The leadership should be a necessary participant in the whole process. They must provide the guidelines to the cadres about the method of class investigation and also prepare personal notes where they participated. Only then the leadership would gain an understanding. The leadership should actively participate in the programs for synthesis. It must also participate in the process of implementing the tactics adopted. Only then the leadership would be educated in a better way. This is the application of Maoism. Only then we can build revolutionary people's movements across the country including the plain and the urban areas, as an answer to those who attack the Party line.

8. Let us rectify the shortcomings in active participation in the Guerilla War-People's War

We cannot separate our political line and military line. In order to overthrow the exploitive classes from power and establish the power of the oppressed classes we defined clearly that War would be the main form of struggle and Army the main form of organization. There is a wrong

understanding in almost all the levels of the party in various scales that overcoming the difficult situation is the work and responsibility of PLGA alone. In addition to this there is lack of sacrificing nature. This is making a negative impact on our class struggle and people's war in many forms. So the political-military effort to overcome the difficult situation is going on with many limitations, weaknesses and shortcomings. So we must enhance sacrificing nature in our leadership forces. We must understand the philosophical/dialectical relation between sacrifice and self-protection and see that the rules of Guerilla War be followed. Thus we can avoid unnecessary losses in People's War, make necessary sacrifices and advance the People's War with courage and dare. Then the strength of our Party and PLGA would increase many fold. This would be the basis to overcome the difficult situation. Along with this we must constantly study the strength and weaknesses of the enemy. As a part of it we have to study the weaknesses of the enemy in field operations. Basing on these we have to adopt tactics to give blows to the enemy. Thus the Guerilla War must be broadened and intensified.

9. Let us fight against the non-proletarian trends in the Party fractions of the Mass Organisations

Due to negligence towards the theory of MLM subjectivity is seen in the fractions of the Mass Organisations of our Party. Many comrades pay attention to other theories and literature more than MLM. As a result they are developing petty bourgeois outlook in the place of Marxist outlook. They are not following dialectical perspective and method in understanding and solving problems. They are influenced towards idealist, metaphysical perspectives and methods. They are mainly carried away with theories like Post Modernism imported from the imperialists. So their thoughts and practice are not towards the revolution. They are for reforms in the present system. Apart from lack of theoretical study they even lack a specific study. Going into the masses to know their problems is name sake. Due to this weakness they are unable to adopt proper forms of organization and struggle to mobilise the people into movements. In addition to the theoretical understanding practice would be vital to know or change anything. But the leadership of our fractions/mass organisations lack deep practice. Liberalism, Spontaneity, Bureaucracy, Sectarianism, Individualism and Patriarchy add to it. Because of these trends the leadership of Mass

Organisations lack unity and there is a loss to the movement. The leadership mainly is from petty bourgeois class. The above deviations are a result of lack of serious efforts to change their class nature. So all of them must study MLM and adopt a revolutionary practice. They must learn from the people. They must change their basic outlook and mold themselves as good communists.

10. Internal debate in the Party

We must follow Maoist method and examine the differences of opinion in the party in a dialectical manner.

‘The process of blending our experiences too is a kind of analysis – a synthesis. Human beings gain rich experiences by becoming part of various kinds of struggles in their social practice. Some of them are successful while some are failures. While blending the experiences we have to see which are correct and which are wrong and highlight them. We must reject the mistakes. It means to rebuild the rich data perception gained from the practice of MLM. Through ‘removing the rubbish, selecting the necessary, eradicating the wrongs to sustain the fact, selecting one from the other, sending from the outside to the inside’ the cognition would develop into logical knowledge. We must thus realize the internal principles in a thing. The dynamics between opposite forces – through this process one divides into two. Through this method we have to blend our experiences and thus we would be able to rectify our mistakes along with highlighting truth’.

‘We would be able to make popular our successful experiences along with taking lessons from our mistakes’. (Peking Review, Vol. 16, August 3 – 1973)

Our movement is facing a difficult situation across the country. Anyhow there are inequalities in various zones. We gained a lot of experiences in revolutionary movement starting from the period of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles. We have been summarizing them timely and advancing the movement on that basis. We must take up this process in all places. But at present we are not applying or comparing the experiences of one area in other areas. So the experiences are limited to that areas and we do not get proper results. So we must take up the reviews of various states and regions of the country wide movement as a part of our study and discuss the same. We must educate the cadres with the history of the

movement of the respective states in political classes.

If we follow the above dialectical method that Mao taught about the internal debate of the Party we will be able to synthesise our positive experiences, take the movements to a higher level and enhance the theoretical and political level of the Party.

Dear Comrades,

As this circular said we have to gain command on the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; we must develop lively relations with the people in our areas of work and investigate the actual conditions. We have to apply theory to practice, blend the practice to raise our theoretical level. We must take up constant struggle against the alien class trends in the Party and in ourselves. Especially the leadership comrades must continue this struggle. On the whole we must have the aim to enhance the theoretical level of the Party. Bolshevization of the leadership would be a pre condition in the whole process.

We mentioned the good results of the Bolshevization campaign. We adopted future tasks basing on them. In this we understood that it is important that the leadership develops its theoretical and political level and organizational skill. We took this task in the recent Party plenums too. This is the immediate necessity. The enemy openly challenges that leadership is the aim of their attacks in 2017. In Mission 2016 they could create losses to our Party in various levels in all the states in the Central Region. CC mentioned this point in the circular 'Assessment on the situation of the movement'. We must understand that the coming time is a severe testing time for us. Securing the four and a half years of movement and advancing it depends on the Bolshevization of the present leadership forces. So the whole party must firmly stand on the experiences of the earlier campaign, take up the challenges in a firm and united manner and fight with Bolshevik will to defeat them.

**Revolutionary greetings,
Central Regional Bureau
CPI (Maoist)
February 2017**

COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME ON
THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF GPCR

**THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION
WILL SHINE FOREVER**

A COMPILATION OF DOCUMENTS,
ARTICLES, EXCERPTS AND QUOTATIONS

What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution?...To struggle against power-holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

- Mao

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**
