

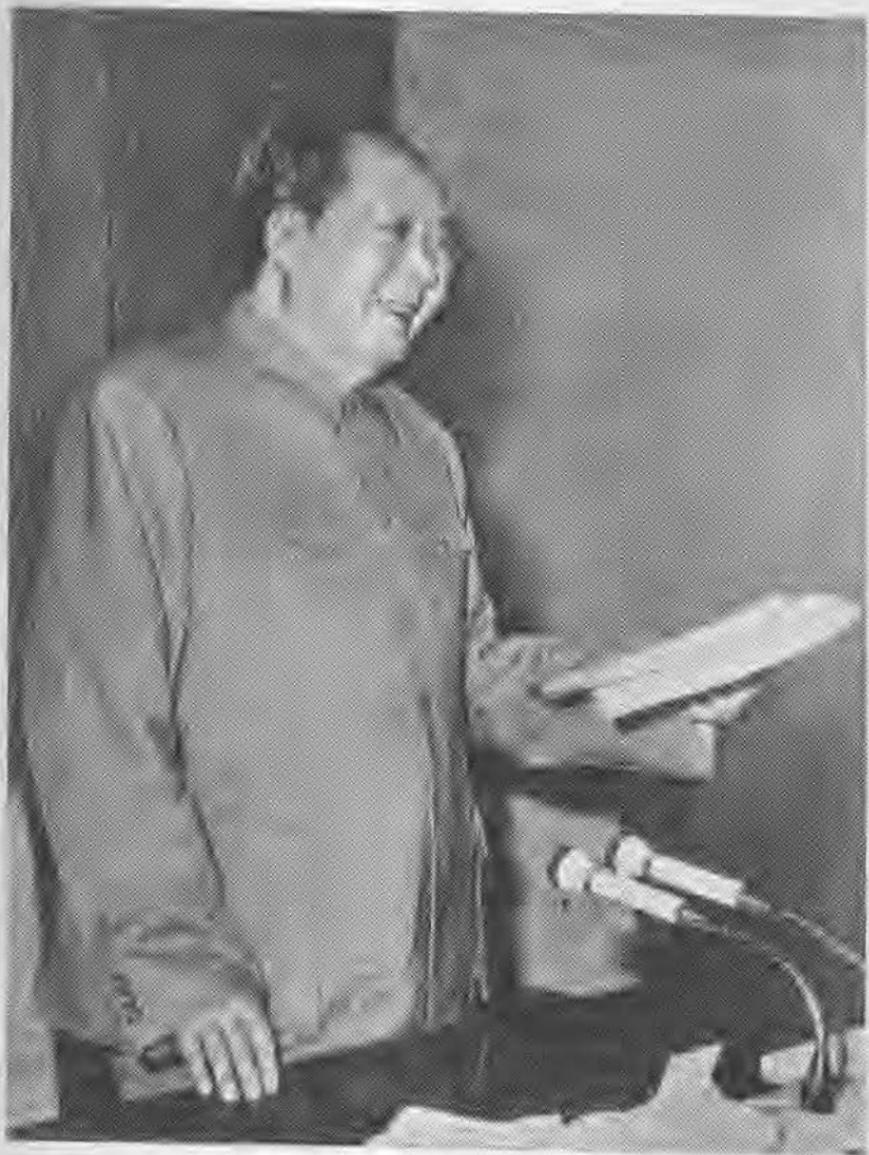
The Bright Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought

By N. Sanmugathan,

General secretary Ceylon Communist Party

Written to commemorate the 20th Anniversary of
the People's Republic of China

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The greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, **Comrade Mao Tsetung**, making an important speech at the recent 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

To Commemorate the 20th Anniversary
of the People's Republic of China.

THE BRIGHT RED BANNER OF MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

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A Communist Party Publication



Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and great leader of the 700 million people of China greets **Comrade N. Sanmugathan**, general secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party at Tien An Men Square.

REVOLUTION VERSUS REFORM

“IT is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to rely on certain remnants of the past as against the proletariat, for instance, on the monarchy, the standing army, etc. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if the bourgeois revolution does not too resolutely sweep away all the remnants of the past, but leaves some of them, i. e. if this revolution is not fully consistent, if it is not complete and if it is not determined and relentless... It is of greater advantage to the bourgeoisie if the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy take place more slowly, more gradually, more cautiously, less resolutely, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution... if these changes develop as little as possible the independent revolutionary activity, initiative and energy of the common people, i. e. the peasantry and especially the workers, for otherwise it will be easier for the workers, as the French say, to hitch the rifle from one shoulder to the other i. e. to turn against the bourgeoisie the guns which the bourgeois revolution will place in their hands, the liberty which the revolution will bring, the democratic institutions which will spring up on the ground that is cleared of serfdom. On the other hand, it is more advantageous for the working class if the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy take place by way of revolution and not by way of reform; for the way of reform is the way of delay, of procrastination, of the painfully slow decomposition of the putrid parts of the national organism. It is the proletariat and the peasantry that suffer first of all and most of all from their putrefaction. The revolutionary way is the way of quick amputation, which is the least painful to the proletariat, the way of the

direct removal of the decomposing parts, the way of fewest concessions to and least consideration for the monarchy and the disgusting, vile, rotten and contaminating institutions which go with it."

Lenin in "Two Tactics of Social Democracy"

"Without a people's army the people have nothing"

- Mao Tsetung

"An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserve to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we are bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or as at present, on wage labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Our slogan must be arming of the proletariat and disarm the bourgeoisie."

- Lenin

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy".

- Mao Tsetung

CONTENTS

- Chapter I — Mao Tsetung Thought
- Chapter II — The Great Debate
- Chapter III — The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
- Chapter IV — The Contributions of Comrade Mao Tsetung to the Development of Marxism - Leninism
- Chapter V — On The Party
- Chapter VI — On People's War and A People's Army
- Chapter VII — On the United Front
- Chapter VIII — The Glorious Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

FOREWORD

THIS year, on the 1st of October, 1969, we shall be celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. This is indeed a joyful occasion, not only for the 700 million people of China but also for all revolutionaries throughout the world.

This event gains added significance because it follows the all-round success gained in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its further political consolidation in the successful conclusion of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in April of this year.

All these successes were directly due to the wise and correct Marxist-Leninist guidance given personally by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He was the great helmsman who steered the Communist Party of China through all the violent storms of class struggle and brought it safely to shore.

Therefore, it behoves all revolutionaries, particularly in the not-yet liberated countries, to study and master Mao Tsetung Thought in order that we could apply it to the concrete realities of revolutionary practice in our own countries. The ideas contained in this book had in many cases found expression in the form of articles at various stages by the author. The present attempt is to bring all these ideas together and to present them as an integrated whole. In some places, they are further expanded and explained. In some cases there are repetitions which could not be avoided. It is an attempt to present as simply as possible to the ave-

rage reader the most revolutionary theory of our era—Mao Tsetung Thought.

This is not being written as an exercise in intellectual pastime. It is being written with the hope that it will arm all revolutionaries with the correct theories that can enable them to overthrow our main enemies—foreign imperialism, feudalism and their running dogs, such as the UNP, FP, etc. and to bring about a revolutionary change in the social structure of our country.

For us, theory is not a dogma. It is meant to be a guide to action. It was Karl Marx who said: "Hitherto philosophers have only interpreted the world. Our duty is to change it". Lenin has taught us that "without revolutionary theory there cannot be revolutionary practice."

At the same time, we must realise that there is never a vacuum in our brains. Either it is filled with bourgeois ideology or with proletarian ideology and there is a constant struggle going on between these two inside our brains. As Comrade Mao Tsetung once is reported to have said: "There cannot, for long, be any peaceful co-existence between these two ideologies inside our brain. Either one or the other must triumph."

We must be conscious that every day, every hour and every minute, from the time we are born, through the old society and its reactionary social customs, through the schools, through the pulpit, the cinema and the radio and the bourgeois newspapers (which has become a mass corrupting influence in Ceylon), through the so-called modern fashions, like the miniskirt, crazy hair styles, crazier dances like the twist, etc., our minds are bombarded by bourgeois and counter-revolutionary ideas. We are subjected to super-pressure salesmanship of bourgeois ideas and they do succeed in influencing people, particularly the youth and diverting their minds from the real issues that confront them and thus corrupt them.

We must fight against this. We must fight for the supremacy of proletarian ideology, for the supremacy of

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This is not an easy task. All the odds are against us. Only Truth is on our side. Therein lies the importance of mastering revolutionary theory. This book, as was stated earlier, is being written with the hope that it will arm our comrades with revolutionary theory which we hope they will make use of to bring about a revolutionary change of society as early as possible.

There is no doubt that practice is primary just as matter is primary. But just as the mind is the highest form of matter so also theory arises from practice. But the correctness of a theory can be tested only in practice which in turn enriches theory.

Therefore, there cannot be any separation between theory and practice. We learn theory in order to put it into practice. Comrade Mao Tsetung once said that Marxism-Leninism is like an arrow. But it must be aimed at the target of the concrete revolutionary practice in each country. If we shoot wildly and not at the target, the arrow will go wildly and not hit the target. At the same time, we cannot hit the target without the arrow.

Therefore, there must be no mechanical separation between theory and practice. Those who exaggerate the importance of theory while neglecting to study the concrete practice in each country are called dogmatists, or as we call them in Ceylon "Pothe Guru". Those who are interested only in practice and neglect the importance of theory are empiricists.

Both are wrong. Theory without practice and practice without theory are both useless. There must be a unity of both.

The Author

10. 6. 69.

CHAPTER 1

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

**“The East is Red, the sun rises,
In China there appears Mao Tsetung”**

These are the opening lines of a simple song written by an ordinary Chinese peasant in honour of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China. This song has today virtually become China's national anthem. The reason for this is that behind these simple lines, lies a profound truth.

China is a great country, the most populous in the world—with a population that has passed the 700 million mark. It inherits a great civilisation, perhaps the oldest in the world—going back beyond 5000 years. It was the country that gave to the world many new inventions like printing and gun powder, etc.

But, today, it must be accepted that the greatest gift it has given to the world is Comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tsetung is one of those rare men of genius who are destined to leave their mark on the fate of mankind. He is no exclusive Chinese phenomenon just as Karl Marx was not just a German nor Lenin just a Russian. These men belong to the whole world. They are all great internationalists whose thinking, activities and impact transcends the boundaries of the country in which they may happen to have been born. Herein lies the international significance of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The revolutionary activities of our era are so wholly dominated and influenced by Mao Tsetung Thought that there is no doubt that history will record as its verdict that our era is the era of Mao Tsetung.

Marxism

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the co-founders of scientific socialism. They lived during the stage of the development of capitalism. They studied its laws of development and taught these laws to the working class so that it could understand them and learn how to overthrow capitalism. Marx and Engels taught us the laws of class struggle, of revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the theory of the state. But they were not destined to live to see their dreams come true, to see their views translated into practice. Their views came to be known as Marxism.

Lenin was a Marxist who became active in the revolutionary movement at the time when capitalism had developed to its final stage of imperialism. In other words, he lived in the era of imperialist wars and social revolutions. He applied the teachings of Marxism to the changed conditions of his own time. In doing so, he developed Marxism to the higher stage of Leninism.

Lenin's first task was to wage a titanic ideological struggle against the then leaders of the Second International — men like Kautsky and Bernstein who claimed to have succeeded to the mantle of Marx and Engels after the latter's death. But, in fact, they had nothing in common with Marx and Engels. They had revised and re-written the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. Dropping out the revolutionary content of these great founders of scientific socialism, these pygmies like Kautsky and Bernstein had substituted for it the theories of peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary path. They had transformed the parties of the Second International from revolutionary parties into parliamentary parties.

In other words, they had revised the revolutionary theories of Marx and Engels. That is why Lenin called them revisionists. Therefore, Lenin's first task was to re-discover and re-state

foreibly and brilliantly the fundamental revolutionary truths of Marxism. This he did in a series of brilliant polemical works which still remain as outstanding Marxist classics, e.g. "State and Revolution", "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", etc.

Leninism

But Lenin was not merely a theoretician. He was also a man of action. One of his greatest contributions to the treasure house of Marxism is his theory about how to fashion a party of the new type, the Bolshevik Party which was created by Lenin and which became the weapon for carrying out the October Revolution. It was a party with an iron discipline, armed with the revolutionary truths of Marxism, freed from opportunism, governed by the principles of democratic centralism, using the weapon of self-criticism and having close ties with the people.

With the help of such a party, Lenin led the first successful workers' revolution in the world and established the first socialist state which was to be a beacon light to oppressed peoples all over the world. In doing so, Lenin transformed theory into practice, a dream into reality. In addition Lenin solved a number of problems connected with the establishment and safeguarding of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country surrounded by the sea of capitalism. But he did not live long enough to solve all the problems that arose in the course of a venture that had no precedent to go by. But he had raised Marxism to new heights and, hence, Marxism began to be referred to as Marxism-Leninism.

Stalin continued Lenin's tasks and, despite some mistakes, he did a good job in building socialism in one country and defending it against the savage fury of Hitler-fascist aggression. The success of building socialism in the Soviet Union under Stalin and the vital part it played in the destruction of world fascism not only enabled socialism to spread beyond the confines of a single country but also created a completely new situation in the world, wherein a decisive shift took place in the balance of forces in favour of the forces standing for socialism and

revolution. This shift became yet more decisive with the success of the Chinese revolution in 1949 when one-fourth of humanity broke with imperialism and feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and took the step forward towards socialism. An entirely new situation had arisen which was favourable to the success of world revolution.

Mao Tsetung Thought

Comrade Mao Tsetung applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of the Chinese revolutionary situation. In giving it correct guidance and leading to success the Chinese revolution through all its tortuous paths in the course of a protracted struggle against foreign imperialism and native feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Comrade Mao Tsetung had displayed rare ability in applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete revolutionary situation in China.

Comrade Mao Tsetung not only led the Chinese Revolution to success and established the dictatorship of the proletariat but also found solutions to many questions that arose after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat to which Lenin did not have the time to find solutions.

With unerring farsightedness, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out that classes would continue to exist during the entire historical epoch from socialism to communism and that, therefore, class struggles would continue to exist even after the socialist revolution. With rare genius, by initiating and personally leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he showed how to carry on a revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat; how to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China as had happened in the Soviet Union and in the other countries ruled by the modern revisionists; how to safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in China; how to carry the revolution through to the end; and, finally, how to preserve China as a base for world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tsetung simultaneously carried out a great ideological campaign against the poisonous theories of modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. He had to re-discover and re-state the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism against the attempts of the Khrushchovite modern revisionists to revise them and to rob them of their revolutionary content. He was performing, in his day, the same task that Lenin had performed in his day. One has only to ask himself what would have happened to the international revolutionary movement if China had followed Russia into the revisionist camp to realise the tremendous historical and international significance of the ideological struggle waged against modern revisionism by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of its great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung. This great ideological struggle has not merely vindicated Marxism-Leninism. It has also re-vitalised the entire international communist movement and made sure of the final victory of world revolution as well as the final defeat of world imperialism along with its prop, modern revisionism.

In the course of these activities, Comrade Mao Tsetung has further enriched Marxism-Leninism and creatively developed it to a new stage. We call this Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought is the acme of the development of Marxism-Leninism. It is, therefore, not something different or separate from Marxism-Leninism. Least of all, is it opposed to Marxism-Leninism. Lenin creatively developed Marxism to the stage of Leninism. Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively developed Marxism-Leninism to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought is a further development of Marxism-Leninism just as Marxism-Leninism itself is a further development of Marxism.

That is why just as, during the time of Lenin, whoever opposed Leninism in fact opposed Marxism, so also today, whoever opposes Mao Tsetung Thought opposes Marxism-Leninism. Today, support for Marxism-Leninism has no meaning if it does not extend to support for Mao Tsetung Thought which is the highest stage which the development of Marxism-Leninism has reached. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

Thought is today the most advanced revolutionary Thought in the world. It is the only correct guide to the revolutionary movement of all oppressed peoples.

As Comrade Mao Tsetung's closest comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao has so aptly summed it: "Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory."

That is why revolutionaries all over the world are singing with the Chinese:

"Sailing in the seas depends on the helmsman
Making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung Thought".

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT DEBATE

Anyone who is even remotely interested in politics must be aware of the fact that a great ideological battle has been raging inside the international communist and revolutionary movement for nearly a decade. But not many are clearly aware of the fundamental issues at stake. Since this great debate has had its repercussions inside the revolutionary movement in Ceylon also, it is essential that all genuine revolutionaries in our country must be aware of what are the fundamental issues at stake and to be able to demarcate right from wrong.

The bourgeois press and reactionaries of all kinds have been vainly attempting to reduce this greatest ideological conflict of our time to national rivalry and conflict of interests between two countries, China and Russia. It is true that the leadership to the Marxist-Leninist movement is given by the Communist Party of China, headed by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, Comrade Mao Tsetung. It is also true that the main centre of modern revisionism is in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But this struggle is not a national struggle between China and Russia based on conflicting national interests. It is a global ideological struggle between the ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as represented by the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups and the ideas of modern revisionism whose leading centre is in the Soviet Communist Party.

The very fact that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China revealed the existence of modern revisionists, like Liu Shao-chi, who wanted to take China back on the path of capitalist restoration as had happened in the Soviet Union proves that this was no national struggle but that it was an ideological struggle. It is an ideological struggle that involves the entire international revolutionary movement, and not that of just two countries, China and Russia.

There are others who feel sorry and dismayed and disheartened that such an ideological conflict should have occurred and that it should have led to a split in the international communist movement. They feel that if the split had not taken place between China and Russia, the anti-imperialist forces would have been stronger.

There is half a truth in this. If the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties associated with it had not succumbed to the poisonous theories of modern revisionism there is no doubt that the anti-imperialist forces today would be far stronger. But one might equally pose the other alternative. What would have happened to the international communist and revolutionary movement if the Communist Party of China had followed the Soviet Party into the revisionist camp? The prospect is unthinkable.

Besides, we must understand that everything progresses and develops by means of contradictions and struggles. Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us the universality of contradiction, and that, therefore, opposition and struggle between different ideas constantly occur inside the communist party too. It occurs inside the international communist movement too. It occurs even inside a single individual. This is nothing strange because they were a reflection of the class contradictions that exist outside and the struggle between the old and the new.

Therefore these contradictions between right ideas and wrong ideas and the struggles between them are inevitable and unavoidable — whether it be inside an individual, a national party or an international movement. Our duty should not be to cover up these contradictions, to push them under the carpet, as

it were. On the contrary, our duty must be to bring out into the open these contradictions, to allow the clash between the wrong ideas and the right ideas and, through that process, permit the correct ideas to triumph and go forward.

There is no doubt that some damage would be done to existing unity. This is unavoidable. There cannot be any construction without destruction. When, immediately after the October Revolution, Lenin formed the Third International out of the new left groups that had emerged out of the old, decadent and revisionist [parties of the Second International, there was no doubt that he was destroying the unity of the Second International. But it was to be replaced by a more powerful and more united revolutionary movement—the Third International, under the leadership of Lenin and, later, Stalin.

Today, a large number of the parties that once constituted the Third International have gone the same way as the old parties of the Second International. They have become traitors and betrayers of the working class and revolution. A new contradiction, like during the time of Lenin, has arisen. The old unity lies shattered. But, as a result of this great ideological debate and the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, a newer and greater and higher revolutionary unity on an international scale will be realised. That is a good thing, and not a bad thing.

Some comrades need to be reminded that this is not the first debate to have occurred inside the international communist movement. This is, in fact, the third big debate to have taken place inside the international communist movement.

The first debate took place during the life time of Lenin. Marx and Engels were the founders of scientific socialism. They taught the working class the laws of class struggle, revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the theory of the state, etc. But they were not destined to live to see their views translated into practice.

The First International was formed under the leadership of Marx. Its main function was that it popularised the ideas of scientific socialism in Europe and North America and brought into existence small groups in these countries dedicated to this task. In 1871, took place the famous Paris Commune when the workers of Paris seized power for the first time in history and held it for three months against all odds. But the French and German bourgeoisie joined hands to crush this first attempt by the workers to seize power.

After the brutal suppression of the Paris Commune, repression reigned supreme for a time in Europe. The headquarters of the First International was shifted to North America and became defunct.

Marx died soon after. His great colleague and collaborator, Engels carried on and continued his work. Under his leadership was formed the Second International. Some of the constituent parties of this International exist to this day. Examples are the British Labour Party, and French and Italian Socialist Parties, German Social Democratic Party, etc.

But Engels did not live to see the degeneration of these parties. That process took place after his death. After the death of Marx and Engels the leadership of the Marxist movement fell into the hands of such rank opportunists as Kautsky and Bernstein who were then simultaneously leaders of the German Party which was the strongest unit of the International at that time. These two men revised and re-wrote the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels - dropping out all their revolutionary content. Instead they preached the policy of peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary path. For this purpose they proceeded to convert the parties of the Second International into pure parliamentary parties. On the eve of the first world imperialist war the German party had over a hundred deputies in parliament. But so great was its degeneration and abandonment of all revolutionary principles, that going contrary to the solemn and unanimous declaration

of opposing all imperialist wars to which the party itself had subscribed earlier in 1912 at the Basle international conference, there was only one communist, Karl Liebknecht, to vote against the granting of war credits to the Kaiser.

It was against this falsification and revision of the revolutionary theories of Marx and Engels that Lenin had to wage a titanic ideological struggle when he came into active leadership of the Russian revolutionary movement. But the struggle was by no means confined to Russia. It raged inside the revolutionary movements of the whole of Europe.

In opposition to Kautsky and Bernstein and others of their kind, Lenin had to re-discover and forcibly re-state the original revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. He did this in the course of a series of brilliant polemical works, such as "State and Revolution", "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", which have remained immortal classics to this day.

This, then, therefore was the first great debate that took place inside the international communist movement between Lenin and the revisionists of his time. The present day revisionists, from Khrushchov to Keuneman have not improved on any of the theories originally put forward by Kautsky and Bernstein and brilliantly refuted by Lenin during his time. They are merely repeating the same balderdash. The only reason why they are called the modern revisionists is to distinguish them from the revisionists of Lenin's time.

Finally, let us remember that the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 was made possible because of the ideological struggle carried on by Lenin against the revisionists of his time and its victory at least inside the Russian revolutionary movement. Without such a relentless ideological struggle by Lenin against the revisionists and its victory inside Russia the October Revolution would have been impossible.

people forget the historical fact that Trotsky earlier constantly feuded with Lenin in exactly the same way he was to feud with Stalin later.

The imperialists and the Trotskyists have spared no pains to build up the myth that Trotsky was a close collaborator of Lenin despite the fact that Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party only two months before the October Revolution and that he had constantly been in political opposition to Lenin.

Lenin, himself has left the most unforgettable sketch of Trotsky. Said he: "The old participants in the Marxist movement know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him, for he is typical of all the five coteries abroad, which, in fact, are also vacillating between the Liquidators and the Party.

"In the period of the old Iskra (1901 — 1903) these waverers who flitted from the "Economists" to the "Iskra-ists" and back again were dubbed "Tushino deserters" (The name given in the turbulent times in Russia to soldiers who deserted from one camp to another).

"When we discuss Liquidationism we discuss a definite ideological trend which grew up in the course of many years, the roots of which are interlaced with those of "Menshevism" and "Economism" in the twenty years' history of Marxism, and which is connected to the policy and ideology of a definite class, the liberal bourgeoisie.

"The only ground the "Tushino deserters" have for claiming that they stand above factions is that they "borrow" their ideas from one faction one day and from another faction another day. Trotsky was an ardent "Iskra-ist" in 1901—03 and Ryazanov described his role at the Congress of 1903, as "Lenin's cudgel." At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e. he deserted from the Iskra-ists to the "Economists". He said that there was "a gulf between the old and the new Iskra". In 1904-05, he deserted

the Mensheviks and began to oscillate, co-operating with Martynov (the Economist) at one moment and proclaiming his incongruously left "permanent revolution" theory the next. In 1906-07, he approached the Bolsheviks, and in the spring of 1907 he declared that he was in agreement with Rosa Luxemburg.

"In the period of disintegration, after long "non-factional" vacillation, he again went to the Right, and in August 1912, he entered into a bloc with the Liquidators. Now he has deserted them again, although, in substance, he reiterates their paltry ideas.

"Such types are characteristic as the wreckage of past historical formations, of the time when the mass labour movement in Russia was still latent, and when every coterie had "sufficient room" in which to pose as a trend, group or faction, in short, as a "power" negotiating amalgamation with others.

"The younger generation of workers must know thoroughly whom they are dealing with when people come before them making incredibly pretentious claims, but absolutely refusing to reckon with either the Party decisions which since 1908 have defined and established our attitude towards Liquidationism, or with the experience of the present-day labour movement in Russia which has actually brought about the unity of the majority on the basis of full recognition on the aforesaid decisions."

Today, the question as to whether socialism could be built in one country or not is no longer a debatable point. It had been done by the Bolsheviks in Russia and history has recorded its verdict and passed on. No amount of hair-splitting by the Trotskyists can today upset the fact that socialism was built in the Soviet Union, a single socialist state surrounded by capitalist and imperialist states. Today the controversy is as dead as a door nail. But in the nineteen thirties when this controversy raged there were many genuine revolutionaries who doubted whether socialism could be built in one country. But after a time, Trotskyism

ceased to be a mistaken ideology inside the working class movement and turned out to be an agency of counter-revolution. It was against this counter-revolutionary philosophy of Trotskyism that, under the leadership of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, all genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries carried on a great ideological battle in the period preceding the Second World War. This, therefore, was the second great debate inside the international communist movement. It had its repercussions inside Ceylon, too, in that it created the first split in the Lanka Samasamaja Party and led to the formation of the Ceylon Communist Party.

Just as Lenin's ideological struggle against the revisionists of his time and its victory inside Russia made possible the October Revolution so also the victorious struggle carried on by Stalin against Trotskyism make possible the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and its safeguarding against the savage fury of Hitler-fascist aggression. It also made it possible for socialism to spread beyond the confines of a single state and become a global force — thus, laying the basis for the future victory of world revolution.

Today, we are in the midst of the third great debate inside the international communist and revolutionary movement. This great ideological struggle is being waged between the forces of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, led by the Communist Party of China headed by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Party of Labour of Albania headed by the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and all other Marxist-Leninist parties and groups on the one hand and the forces of modern revisionism whose main centre is in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all other assorted sections of modern revisionists on the other.

Along with the great successes scored by the international communist and working class movement at the end of the Second World War, there also appeared inside it an adverse current. This was, at first, represented by Earl Browder, the then General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States who preached the ideas of class collaboration in the service of U.S. imperialism. But his attempts were

soon rebuffed with the aid of fraternal parties. Next to come out into the open with his revisionist views was Tito who had long been a hidden agent of imperialism and the bourgeoisie inside the communist movement. But he was drummed out of the international communist movement which was then under the capable leadership of Comrade Stalin.

It was only after the death of Stalin and at the notorious counter-revolutionary 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that Khrushchov wove all the earlier revisionist theories into an intergrated whole and presented them to the world as a philosophy. Misusing the enormous prestige that had accrued to the Soviet Union as a result of its glorious feats against Hitler-fascism, abusing the prestige of the land of Lenin and Stalin, the land of the October Revolution and the land where the first workers' state was born, Khrushchov used the Soviet baton to thrust down the throats of many a communist party his false theory of modern revisionism. Where he could not have his way he engineered splits and disrupted the monolithic unity of the international communist movement which had been inherited from the days of Stalin.

With a great ballyho and with the understandable support from the imperialists and bourgeois press he noisily propagated the theories of peaceful co-existence with imperialism, peaceful competition with capitalism and peaceful transition to socialism through parliament. Through his notorious visit to the United States he inaugurated the era of political collusion with U.S. imperialism and consequent betrayal of all national liberation movements. In the economic field he initiated policies which have today led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries ruled by the modern revisionists.

Today, the Soviet Union and the other countries ruled by the modern revisionists are no longer socialist countries. Capitalism has been fully restored and a new type of bourgeoisie has emerged in these countries.

The private plots belonging to the collective farmers have been doubled—thus encouraging the development of capitalism in the countryside. In industry, the capitalist principle of the profit incentive and material benefits has been introduced—resulting in strikes and industrial chaos.

Foreign monopoly capitalist exploitation of the Soviet people has been permitted. Giant international monopolies, like the Italian Fiat Company—with the backing of U.S. imperialist banks—have been permitted to open up factories in the Soviet Union and to exploit Soviet labour. Japanese monopoly interests have been allowed to exploit the resources of Siberia.

It has, of course, been a notorious fact for years that the economy of Yugoslavia cannot function for a day without U.S. and British capital. The great U.S. monopoly capitalists—the Hilton Company—is building one of its chain of famous hotels on the banks of Lake Balatoon in Hungary. Krupps are building a factory in Poland. The examples could be multiplied.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has been transformed into a dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie under the slogan of the dictatorship of the whole people. The leading role of the communist party has been abandoned. Suggestions have been made for the introduction of the bourgeois democratic system, with all its trappings of parliament and multiplicity of parties.

In the cultural field, the flood gates have been opened to all that is rotten and decadent in so-called western bourgeois culture. Jazz, crazy dances like the twist, utterly decadent films and literature, mannequin parades, beauty queen competitions, etc. have become the order of the day.

The foreign policy of collusion with U. S. imperialism and other reactionary forces and betrayal of all revolutionary movements are based on and are the result of the internal restoration of capitalism in all spheres.

But Khrushchov's betrayal and treachery did not go unchallenged inside the international communist movement. In a series of brilliant polemical works, which were noted for their profundity and clarity of thought, the Communist Party of China rebutted the false positions of modern revisionism taken up by Khrushchov and certain other leaders of West European communist parties. Heroic little Albania had rebuffed Khrushchov as early as 1957 in Moscow and in 1960 at the Bucharest Conference.

Khrushchov's reply was to carry the differences in ideology into inter-state relations. He severed all connections with Albania, tore up all economic agreements, withdrew all Soviet specialists, and even broke off all diplomatic relations, and openly called for the overthrow of the Albanian government headed by Enver Hoxha. The brave reply of the Albanians was: We would rather eat grass than knuckle down to Khrushchov. It is a matter for irony that the buffoon Khrushchov who made these idle threats has been unceremoniously deposed from his seats of power while Comrade Enver Hoxha sits even more firmer on his saddle than before.

Not profiting from the failure of his blustering tactics against Albania, Khrushchov was to repeat them a few years later in another vain attempt against mighty China in order to bend her political knee by means of economic pressure. But, again, he failed. Turning a bad thing into a good thing, under the wise guidance of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China taught the 700 million people of China to have faith in themselves and to tap the enormous source of power of self reliance.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania were supported in their firm Marxist-Leninist stand point by many other fraternal parties who too refused to succumb to the Soviet baton. Notably among these were the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Communist Party of Thailand, the Communist Party of Burma, the Communist Party of Malaya, the Ceylon Communist Party etc. There were also a few other parties who originally took up

Marxist-Leninist stand points but who later resiled into the false positions of modern revisionism as a result of various forms of Soviet blandishments. But from among almost all the parties that were dominated by the modern revisionists there have now emerged new revolutionary groups or parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Some examples are the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist).

Let us, for a moment, go a little deeper into the fundamental issues involved in this greatest debate of our time. If we might sum up the teachings of the great leaders of the international communist revolutionary movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, we can put it in this way:

We are all living in class-ridden societies where one class suppresses and exploits the other; that the class that suppresses and oppresses the other class has built up, at great expense a machinery to aid its suppression and exploitation; that this machinery is called the machinery of state whose principal form is the armed forces; that the main function of the machinery of the state is to safeguard exploitation and prevent and crush any rising of the suppressed class against the exploiting classes; that without the guns in the hands of these watch dogs of the exploiting classes, exploitation cannot continue even for one moment; that, therefore, if the oppressed classes want to liberate themselves they must smash by force the repressive state machinery that keeps them down, i.e. they must carry out revolution and replace the repressive bourgeois state machinery by the state machinery of the working class which Marx described as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Finally, that this cannot be done through peaceful transition by means of parliament but only through revolution; that parliament is a weapon invented by the reactionaries to adorn the naked dictatorship of Capital; to dull our class consciousness, to confuse and fool us and to distract our attention from the real seats of power, which are the armed for-

ces; that it is an attempt to substitute struggle by words for the struggle by arms; that, therefore, we must not be fooled by these parliamentary illusions; and that we must firmly reject the parliamentary path and take to the path of revolution as the only salvation for the oppressed peoples.

Those who accept these views are revolutionaries. They are Marxist-Leninists. Those who disagree with them or oppose them are reformists and revisionists. This is the basic line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists, between revolutionaries and reformists.

There are some who attempt to find a middle way, a half-way house, an attempt to build bridges, to find compromises between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and modern revisionism. This is nothing but an attempt to reconcile irreconcilables, like the attempt to mix water and oil.

Modern revisionism is the very anti-thesis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, there cannot be any compromise between the two. Those parties, such as the Communist Party of Japan, the Korean Workers' Party and even some leaders of the Vietnamese Party who originally took up correct Marxist-Leninist positions, but today prattle about effecting 'unity' have, in reality, already taken the first steps in the downward path that leads to modern revisionism.

Modern revisionism is the final force that world imperialism has drawn up from within the working class movement to act as its prop in its final hour of peril. That a rotten tree needs a prop is not a sign of its strength but a sign of its weakness. The attempt to cut the prop down is part of the attempt to bring the tree down. That is why it is impossible to fight against world imperialism without, at the same time, fighting against modern revisionism. He who ceases to fight against modern revisionism will sooner or later cease to fight against imperialism. There must be no illusion on this point. Lenin, in his day, clearly defined revisionism as the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement.

Modern revisionism is as doomed as world imperialism. Despite all the betrayals by the modern revisionists, the world's revolutionary movements continued to make progress. The tree may prefer the calm. But the wind will not subside. Similarly, however much the modern revisionists may prattle about peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition to socialism, the facts of the class struggle direct life in a different way. Every day the tempo of the revolutionary struggles against world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism whose main centre is in the Soviet Communist Party and reactionaries of all kinds are increasing.

These in its turn are bringing about internal contradictions among the modern revisionists themselves. They are no longer a united lot. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out brilliantly in his report to the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, "At present the revisionist front has been undermined in its foundations and it resembles a pack of hungry wolves ready to tear one another to pieces. The conductor's baton does not any longer have all the revisionist orchestra under its control." He further stated that, "Various types of revisionism are quarrelling with one another for spheres of influence and demand to be as free and independent as possible from roubles in order to get dependent on the dollar."

The aggression against Czechoslovakia carried out by the Soviet social-imperialists and their accomplices has further heightened this dissension and brought nearer the downfall of modern revisionism. No amount of attempts to hold an illegal so-called international conference of communist parties can repair the damage. The final victory of Marxism-Leninism is assured.

Just as Lenin's successful ideological struggle against the revisionists of his time made possible the victory of the October Revolution; just as the victory of the struggle waged by Stalin against Trotskyism made possible the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union; so also the victory of the Marxist-Leninists in the present great ideological struggle will make possible the victory of world revolution.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

THE Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which reached all round success with the setting up of revolutionary organs of power in all the provinces and autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China (with the exception of the province of Taiwan) and which has now been politically consolidated by the successful conclusion of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, is without doubt the greatest epoch making event even more profound in its influence than the October Revolution.

I had the occasion to visit China twice during the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. I was therefore privileged to have had, what one might call, a ring-side view of this great revolution which has claimed the attention of friend and foe on a world scale. I met the Red Guards at Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Medical College in Canton. I was shown round the New Peking University by a woman lecturer in the department of philosophy, Nieh Yuan-tzu, who was one of the seven who put up the first big character poster on May 25th, 1966.

On my next visit I had the great privilege of speaking at a meeting attended by nearly 5,000 Red Guards of the East Is Red Commune of the Peking Institute of Geology. It was an experience that I am not likely to forget. I watched many Red Guard demonstrations and also read, with the help of interpreters, hundreds of big character posters. I

had lengthy discussions with leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and members of the Cultural Revolution Committee under it. Finally, I had the rare privilege of meeting Comrade Mao Tsetung who had personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. I had discussions with him on that subject and other allied matters.

I therefore feel it my duty to explain as simply as possible the meaning and purpose of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its impact on the world. I do not think that there had been any other single incident in recent times which had been so maligned as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. There was no abuse bad enough to be hurled at the head of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader and initiator of the Cultural Revolution. From the so-called western imperialist and bourgeois press to the outpourings of the modern revisionists whose main centre is in the Soviet Communist Party, the reactionaries of all kinds tried to sling mud at People's China and its great leader and set up a world-wide anti-China chorus.

But Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us that it is a good thing to be attacked by the enemy because it shows us that we are travelling on the correct road. Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, "I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has also taught us that, "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." Therefore, since the imperia-

lists, the modern revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds are heaping abuse on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung, revolutionaries everywhere must instinctively realise that what has happened in China is good and that Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary of our era. That is why they must take time to learn about the Cultural Revolution and understand its lessons. They must also understand that the impact of this great event is going to be felt not only in China but in the whole world. They must firmly grasp the fact that it has got lessons of tremendous importance for the entire international revolutionary movement.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was a revolution for capturing people's minds. It was an attempt to uproot the old feudal and bourgeois ideology - habits and thoughts - which had existed in China for thousands of years and had continued to exist even after the socialist revolution had been successful; and to transplant in its stead proletarian, that is, working class ideology. It is the greatest intellectual ferment that the world had ever seen. It was a mass movement in which 700 million people had become critics of the old world and the old ideas connected with the old system of exploitation, "the old customs and habits with which imperialism and the exploiting classes used to poison the minds of the working people." It was an endeavour to bring the super-structure into line with the changed socialist economic base. It would probably take centuries before its full effects could be felt.

The Communist Party of China, under the leadership of the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, Comrade Mao Tsetung, correctly believed that the capture of state power by the working class was only a beginning. One of the specific contributions of Comrade Mao Tsetung to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism is his summing up of the experiences of the revolutions in China and other countries and his conclusion that classes and class struggles exist throughout the entire historical epoch from socialism to communism;

that there existed the danger of capitalist restoration and the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat being lost and subverted.

No class that had been defeated takes kindly to its removal from the seats of power. It schemes and plans to stage a come-back. In this attempt, one of its main allies is the fact that old habits and thoughts linger on in men's minds. If a serious and successful attempt is not made to remould men's ideology and thoroughly uproot all traces of the old, bad bourgeois ideology, favourable conditions would have been created for the bourgeoisie to make a successful bid for the restoration of their power.

Lenin said, two years after the victory of the October Revolution, that after the bourgeoisie is overthrown, its resistance is increased tenfold and its strength is greater than that of the proletariat that overthrew it, because the bourgeoisie still possesses money and knowledge and the habit of power and administration and connection with foreign capital, and also because of the force of habit in the minds of the people which, he said, is a very terrible force. Not until change takes place in the minds and habits of the people can the revolution be secured.

Lenin's actual quotation is as follows: "The bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country) and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale".

As an article in Zeri I Popullit (Albania) put it: "Historical experience throughout the centuries has shown that all classes which seek to overthrow the ruling class and seize state power, will for this purpose first of all try to reverse man's thinking and make preparations in the ideological field and then take advantage of it to seize political

power. This law remains completely in force in the period of socialist society. Ideological counter-revolution is the vanguard of political counter-revolution". This was the role played by a group of revisionist literary men of the Petofi Club in Hungary just prior to the attempt at counter-revolution in that country in 1956. The same is true of the history of the usurpation of power by the Krushchovite clique in the Soviet Union.

Besides, the imperialists and the reactionaries are not impatient. They are prepared to wait for the next generation if they cannot succeed with the present generation. That is what they did with the Soviet Union. First of all, they tried open intervention and failed. Then they resorted to internal subversion and failed again. Next, Hitler tried his attempt at conquest and again failed. But the imperialists and reactionaries did not give up. What they could not achieve in the time of Lenin and Stalin they succeeded in achieving under Khrushchov and the present revisionist clique in power in the Soviet Union.

There are other historical examples. The American journalist, Anna Louise Strong put it rather well when she wrote: "The Chinese have noted that all revolutions of the past had a later backlash that robbed them of much of their gain. Cromwell cut off the head of Charles the First in Britain and royalty seemed dead, but twenty years later Charles the Second came in without even the need of a counter-revolutionary army. Many feudal attitudes remain in Britain to this day. In France revolution gave way to the Bonaparte empire with many ups and downs thereafter. In America the fine words of the Declaration of Independence, purporting to put all rule in the hands of the people was quickly superceded by the Constitutional Convention which set up "checks and balances against mob rule". Later the American Civil War freed the Negro slaves and even gave them a share in government but within a decade they were enslaved in a new form."

Capture of state power is one thing. Consolidating that power is yet another and even harder task. As the

Chinese Liberation Army Daily pointed out: "We know from historical experience of the proletarian revolution that the basic question in every revolution is that of state power. We conquered the enemy in the country and seized power by the gun. They can all be overthrown, be it imperialism, feudalism or the bureaucrat capitalist class; millionaires, billionaires and trillionaires can be toppled, whoever they may be. And their property can be confiscated. However, confiscation of their property does not amount to confiscation of the reactionary ideas in their minds. Daily and hourly they are always dreaming of a come-back, dreaming of restoring their lost 'paradise'. Although they are only a tiny percentage of the population, their political potential is quite considerable and their power of resistance is out of all proportions to their numbers."

"Socialist society emerges out of the womb of the old society. It is not at all easy to eradicate the idea of private ownership formed in thousands of years of class society and the forces of habit and the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes associated with private ownership. The spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and extent, they take in some elements of complex background. Then, too, a number of people in the ranks of the Party and State organisations degenerate following the conquest of state power and living in peaceful surroundings."

This is extremely well put. The enemy always uses dual tactics against us. The bourgeoisie and the reactionaries attack the working class openly and directly through their repressive machinery, like the army, police etc. At the same time, they try to subvert and weaken the working class from within. They send their agents, paid and unpaid, into the working class. This is the tactic of the Fifth Column worked out by Franco during the Spanish Civil War. It is always easier to fight the enemy who is in front of you and can be identified. But it is more difficult to fight the enemy within your ranks who has taken a lot of trouble to hide himself.

The great wisdom of Comrade Mao Tsetung is shown by the fact that he foresaw precisely this development and, on the eve of the liberation of China, warned the units of the People's Liberation Army in the following memorable words:

"It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation."

Under the wise guidance of their great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Chinese communists were conscious of the threat they faced. They took warning, in particular, of the tragedy that had occurred in the Soviet Union where capitalist restoration was effected peacefully without even a shot being fired. They therefore, consciously took steps to prevent a Khrushchov emerging from within their midst. They decided to arm the 700 million Chinese people with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought so that the people themselves could fight back the attempt by a small clique of traitors headed by Liu Shao-chi to take China back along the path of capitalist restoration as had happened in the Soviet Union.

Why the revolution unfolded itself in the cultural field was because of the fact, as we have already seen, political counter-revolution is always preceded by ideological counter-revolution.

This is what those in China who had become revisionists and decided to follow the path of capitalist restoration decided to do. Some of them had managed to get themselves into positions of authority in the Party and the State. Their main centre was the former municipal party committee in Peking.

From the schools and colleges, the Red Guards brought the struggle to society at large, to the streets. They swept away some of the garbage left behind by thousands of years of old society and the bad things left behind by imperialism.

They also performed the distinct service of uncovering hidden counter-revolutionaries who had not been discovered by the security organs. Most of them were former landlords who had fled to the cities and hidden themselves and were waiting for the triumph of the counter-revolution. The Red Guards dug out not only title deeds of their lands which these gentry had secretly preserved but also gold and silver bars and guns, knives, old money, etc. I saw them all at two exhibitions—one at Canton and another at Peking. One can understand the howl being raised by the imperialists and the revisionists at the fact that their agents were found out.

During the first three days the Red Guards did use some coercion against people whose hair styles or clothes did not conform to proletarian standards. But that phase did not last. Lin Piao called upon them to model themselves on the People's Liberation Army. He advised them to use persuasion instead of coercion. He told them that coercion only touches the skin. But persuasion touches the soul.

But it must be pointed out here that more violence was used against the Red Guards, than by them. Certainly, the Red Guards did not kill anyone. But several Red Guards were murdered by the counter-revolutionaries.

Let us also get it clear that the Red Guards are a class organisation. Only those from families of workers, poor and lower middle peasants, revolutionary cadres, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary martyrs were admitted as Red Guards. Theirs is a solid proletarian base and they enjoy the support of all the Chinese revolutionary masses.

It is also necessary to refute, after being in Peking the silly stories that appeared in the bourgeois and revisionist

papers that the Red Guards had destroyed everything old; that red was no longer the signal to stop. I saw no change in the system of traffic lights. Equally fantastic were the stories about religious persecution and that Muslims were being forced to eat pork. The attitude to religion is clear cut. The constitutional right to hold whatever religious beliefs one likes is upheld. But no one is allowed to use religion as a cloak for counter-revolutionary activities. The Red Guard activities were directed against the latter category.

Whether one decides that what has happened in China is a "farce bordering on lunacy" as an editorial in a Ceylon bourgeois daily claimed or that it is the greatest intellectual ferment that the world has seen depends on one's class angle. Because what happened in China was a class struggle. In the class struggle, the opposing classes cannot be expected to see eye to eye. This is natural.

When some bourgeois and revisionist newspapers wrote about China isolating itself by means of this cultural revolution, what they meant was that China was isolating itself from the imperialists, reactionaries of all kinds and the modern revisionists. But through this great revolutionary upsurge China was getting closer to the masses of the whole world. It is these that constitute more than 90% of the world's population.

On subjects like the Chinese cultural revolution it is difficult for opposing interests to carry on a dialogue in a common language because we are speaking from different dimensions.

But one thing had better be understood. The cultural revolution was no attempt to distract people from economic difficulties. The Chinese economy is sound. They have had bumper harvests. They owe no cent to anybody and they are on the verge of a great leap forward on many fronts. Without doubt, they are on the verge of a great industrial revolution. They have already demonstrated their progress in technology.

Some people cannot understand why the Chinese Cultural Revolution concerned itself with cosmetics, clothes, hairdos, names of streets and so on. As, the Australian paper, 'Vanguard' pointed out, "Cosmetics, elaborate and bizarre clothes, fashions, extra-ordinary hair styles are vigorously promoted by the capitalists. These things are sources of profit and at the same time gigantic means of interesting the people in the trivial things of life so that they will not think of the serious. These things get a tremendous hold on the people. They help to rivet the people to capitalism. They are an expression of the decadence of capitalism and at the same time a method for maintaining capitalism and its influence." The Chinese are right in fighting against these influences. After all, the saying "plain living and high thinking" is an old one.

The Cultural Revolution has been responsible for many reforms in the educational field. China realised that even after so many years of revolution a sufficient percentage of the sons of workers and peasants were not gaining entrance to universities and other institutions of higher learning. The advantage still lay with the children of former capitalists and landlords who had a better start in life. So they closed down the school and universities for a time in order that they could reform the system of entrance to these places of education so that more children of workers and peasants will gain admission. Thus, as Anna Louise Strong notes, "China, that first in history made scholarship examination the requisite for civil service, breaks down the examination system as a feudal-bourgeois barrier between the scholar class and the working class."

The Chinese are experimenting with part-study and part-work system by which students study part of the time and work part of the time. The time spent on scholastic education has been drastically cut. Education is related to production and factories and communes are encouraged to run schools. There is even an experiment by which workers from a factory are taken for, say, six months to work in an agricultural commune and an equal number of peasants from

that commune are taken to that factory to replace the workers for that same period. These are far reaching reforms. These are attempts to do away with the barrier between mental work and manual work, between the intellectual and the worker, between the town and the countryside.

An erroneous view was being circulated by the bourgeois press that everything old was being attacked and destroyed by the cultural revolution. That was not true. Even the story that Tien An Men Square had been re-named was a fabrication. What had happened was that the old was being held up to critical study and appraisal and what was good in it would survive. The Cultural Revolution said: "Away with these pundits who dominate you with their monopoly of their knowledge. Study the classics if you will but not to imitate them. From them you may learn the past from which the present grew. Your business is with the present epoch; go down to its grass roots and learn from the peasants and soldiers who create it. Find your heroes and express them in forms of today. If Beethoven has anything to give to people today, he will survive and be welcome. But your task is not to copy Beethoven or the ballet of the Tsars. Your business is to make new rhythms for the life around you".

The reference to go and "cover yourself with the mud of the peasants" is an attempt to emphasise the importance of going down to the masses and of being one with them in order to understand and study from them. The workers and peasants are the creators of everything that is of value in this world. Therefore, art and literature must serve them. And, in order to serve them, artists and men of letters must go down to them and understand their life. This, they can do only by literally covering themselves with the peasants' mud. After all, the mud that covers the peasants' legs can always be washed away. But the mud that covers the minds of the bourgeois intellectual needs a lot of cleaning and, in some cases, can never be cleaned at all.

There was a story current during the pre-liberation days in China. Some university comrades had been sent to

work among the peasants. The Party had always insisted that they put up with the poor peasants. These intellectuals complained to Comrade Mao Tsetung that they could not sleep in the peasants' huts as they were full of bugs and lice. Mao's reply was that they should go back and be bitten by the bugs and lice. Only then would they understand the real life of the peasants. Comrade Mao Tsetung, thus, had his feet planted well among the mud of the peasants. He understood them as no other leader had understood them. That is why he is able to talk to them so simply in terms they understand. That is why he is so revered.

Let us also remember that daily and hourly the imperialists and the bourgeoisie are carrying on an expensive and systematic campaign for capturing peoples' minds. We are bombarded every minute with bourgeois propaganda—from the press, the television, the radio, the cinema, the pulpit, the school, their literature, etc. There can never be a vacuum in our brains. There is either bourgeois ideology or proletarian ideology. As Comrade Mao Tsetung once pointed out, there is no room for long for peaceful co-existence between these two ideologies inside our brains. One or the other must triumph. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an attempt to see that proletarian ideology decisively triumphed inside the minds of the Ceylonese people.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was, thus, a great class struggle between the revolutionary forces led by the proletarian headquarters of Comrade Mao Tsetung and his closest comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao and the handful of scabs and traitors led by Liu Shao-chi who had sold themselves into the service of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and had wanted to take China back along the path of capitalist restoration as had happened in the Soviet Union and in the other countries ruled by the modern revisionists.

This fierce class struggle was indeed a revolution carried out under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At many stages it took on violent forms. This was to be understood because the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds and their agents inside China had conspired to take China away from its revolutionary road and they were ready to resort to any means.

As Comrade Lin Piao reported to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, "It has now been proved through investigation that as far back as the first revolutionary civil war period Liu Shao-chi betrayed the Party, capitulated to the enemy and became a hidden traitor and scab, that he was a crime-soaked lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists and Kuomintang reactionaries and that he was the arch representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road".

In this great struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution it was the great genius of Comrade Mao Tsetung that worked out the correct policies and tactics which led to the success of the revolutionary forces. He did not attempt to solve this ideological struggle through bureaucratic methods from above. Instead, he invited the participation of the masses in what was to become the greatest mass struggle the world had ever seen. Thereby, he also demonstrated his great faith and confidence in the mass of the people. He lived up to his precept that, "The people, and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history". He had boundless faith in the masses.

He worked out the tactics of uniting with the vast majority of the genuine revolutionary forces in order to isolate the handful of capitalist-roaders. He advocated the revolutionary three-in-one combination which constituted the unity of the representatives of the revolutionary cadres, the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary masses. At the correct moment he called upon the Peoples' Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the Left. The People's Liberation Army did indeed prove to be the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the approp-

riate time he also called upon the working class to exercise leadership in all spheres. It is in accordance with this instruction that the working class and lower and middle peasants entered schools and universities and brought about revolutionary unity and carried out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.

In thus placing his reliance on the masses Comrade Mao Tsetung was acting according to his teachings that, "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless". If the class enemies stir up trouble again, just arouse the masses and strike them down again.

Of great significance in the struggle against the enemy were the tactics of Comrade Mao Tsetung to, "Make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one" which he had always advocated. Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught many times: "Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack" and "carry out Marx's teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation."

Equally important in the struggle against the enemy was Comrade Mao Tsetung's understanding of the inter-relation between the fight against self and against revisionism. One of the reasons for the emergence of revisionism was the fact that socialist society inherits the capitalist ideology of putting self over the collective, of giving importance to selfish interests, of running after personal fame and glory and material benefits and easy and soft life. Without combating this selfish concept it is impossible to combat revisionism. That is where the great wisdom of Comrade Mao Tsetung is shown by the fact that, in the second year of the Cultural Revolution, he issued the twin slogans of "fight self, criticise revisionism". In fact, the two slogans are intertwined. Without placing the interests of the collective over that of the individual, without overcoming selfish interests, without placing the interests of the whole world over those of China, it would be impossible to defeat revisionism.

All great religions of the world have tried for thousands of years to persuade people to combat self. But they have never succeeded except in the case of small and insignificant sects. Today, for the first time, under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought, there is emerging in China a new generation of people who have learnt to combat self, who have learnt to put the interests of the collective over that of the individual, to take upon himself the harder task while leaving the lighter to the other, who does not run after personal fame and glory and material benefits and easy and soft life but works in the collective interest, to think not only of his county or province but of the whole of China, to think of the success of revolution and socialism not only in China but of the whole world. This is indeed the greatest revolution that has taken place in men's thinking over such a great part of the world. Its effects are as yet incalculable.

What is most interesting to us as one of the most important results of the great revolutionary upsurge that had gone on in China is the clear consciousness and awareness of the Chinese masses that it was not enough to make a success of the Chinese revolution alone, to raise only their standard of living and to compete with the West. They realise that it is essential to make world revolution a success too and that they must have the fate of the non-liberated peoples clearly in mind and help them. They realise firmly that as Mao pointed out in 1968, that "According to the Leninist view point, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also depends on the victory of world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated". We, people, from the not-yet-liberated part of the world waited so long to hear this said so clearly and consciously. China is today to the rest of the world what the liberated areas were to the rest of China before revolution.

By the all-round successes it has scored, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has prevented China from

changing colour, has prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, has exposed the clique of scabs and traitors inside China led by Liu Shao-chi, has safeguarded and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, has shown how to carry the revolution to the end, preserved China as a base for world revolution and dealt a shattering blow against the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds. China has come out of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a re-vitalised giant and the reactionary world has already begun to tremble.

The red light in the Kremlin has gone out. It is the red lantern at Tien An Men Square that glows ever more redder and brighter and is the beacon light to all oppressed peoples all over the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMRADE MAO TSETUNG TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM

THE position inside the international communist movement today bears a certain resemblance to the situation that existed immediately after the Great October Revolution in 1917. The success of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in leading the revolution in Russia had naturally discredited the old-line social democrats who had opposed revolution and instead preached peaceful transition through parliamentary means.

A great revolutionary intellectual ferment took place inside all the old social democratic parties of the Second International. Under the guidance of Lenin, the revolutionary left inside these social democratic parties broke with the revisionist theories of the leadership of the Second International and came forward to form the new Third Communist International.

A similar ferment has been taking place inside the international communist movement during the past few years. Under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, and inspired by the success of the Chinese Revolution as well as of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revolutionary groups from inside the old communist parties have been breaking away politically and organisationally from the revisionist leadership of these parties. Many new Marxist-Leninist groups and parties have emerged in recent times.

The study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought is important for the building of these new Marxist-Leninist parties. The most important requirement for these parties in order that they fulfil their tasks as the vanguard of the working class is that they should be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This question was stressed by Lenin in his two classical works "Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward" and in "What Is To Be Done" as well as by Stalin in "The Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)".

Therefore, the most important task for the newly emerging Marxist-Leninist parties is to arm their respective parties with correct theory. This means to arm them with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. But, today, the study of Marxism-Leninism must also include the study of Mao Tsetung Thought which is Marxism-Leninism of the modern era. In other words, we must study the contribution made by Comrade Mao Tsetung to the development of Marxism-Leninism. This is important not only for the Communist Party of China but also for all other Marxist-Leninist parties.

It is not presumed that it would be possible within the confines of one chapter to deal exhaustively with all the contributions made by Comrade Mao Tsetung, which are both rich and varied, to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Such a comprehensive study would need more time, energy and research. This article, therefore, is merely a step in that direction and a far from complete one.

Lenin used to say that Marxism is composed of the following three integral parts: (1) philosophy, (2) political economy and (3) the theory of class struggle. When we study the Thought of Mao Tsetung we can see how he has developed these three component parts of Marxism.

On philosophy, a great number of questions can be touched upon. Let us take, for example, Comrade Mao Tsetung's speech at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature. This speech is indeed a very important one among the works

of Comrade Mao Tsetung. It is true that this speech deals with the principles of proletarian art and literature and that it creatively developed and gave a systematic exposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian art and literature.

However, in this speech, Comrade Mao Tsetung not only deals with art and literature, he also speaks about many other things pertaining to Marxism-Leninism. If we read this speech from a philosophical angle we can see that it is permeated with Marxist philosophy and that it deals with the relation between being and consciousness, between matter and mind. It deals with the main philosophical idea: where do ideas come from? It deals with the question of the individual and the masses, of politics and literature, of motive and effect.

Comrade Mao Tsetung solved these questions with the aid of Marxist dialectics. In this way he gave an important exposition of Marxist dialectics. He stressed in detail the relation between motive and effect. Idealists only pay attention to motive and neglect effect. Mechanical materialists pay attention only to effect but not to motive. But communist parties and Marxist-Leninists should pay attention both to motive and effect.

In the speech at the Yen-an Forum on Art and literature, Comrade Mao Tsetung raised five requirements for revolutionary workers on literature and art. They were: (1) Class Stand (2) Attitude (3) Audience (4) Work and (5) Study of Marxism-Leninism.

By the class stand he meant the proletarian stand. If our class stand was wrong all ideas would be wrong. By attitude he meant the difference in our attitude towards the enemy, our allies and our own people. We must adopt different attitudes towards each of these sections. Towards the enemy our attitude must be to thoroughly expose them and to firmly overthrow them. Our attitude towards our allies should be to unite with them while, at the same time, carrying out proper struggles against them. We unite with them as far as

their progressive side is concerned and struggle with them as far as their erroneous side is concerned.

Our attitude towards the revolutionary masses should be to praise them and to sing for them. They may have shortcomings and mistakes. But our attitude should be to be patient with them and help them with good intent. Thus, Comrade Mao Tsetung made it quite clear that we should have a different attitude towards each of these sections.

This is a general theory of Marxism-Leninism. This is an important matter of principle in the class struggle and had great significance in the Great Cultural Revolution in China. It had also real significance for the realisation of the revolutionary alliance and for the fight against a handful of persons in authority in the Party who had taken the capitalist road.

The Thought of Mao Tsetung has really creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. It has been elevated to a higher level. Therefore, although it is twenty five years since the speech on Art and Literature at the Yenan Forum, it has real significance for today's Cultural Revolution. Although the speech deals with art and literature, it is permeated with Marxist-Leninist dialectics.

II

Let us now take Comrade Mao Tsetung's most important philosophical article, "On Contradiction" and study it closely. It was written 30 years ago. In this article Comrade Mao Tsetung has very obviously made a creative exposition of Marxist-Leninist dialectics.

Take the first sentence in this article: "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics". This is a most profound statement. It is a very short sentence but it would take a day to explain it.

Simply, this law means that motion is inherent in all forms of matter and that motion, that is, development takes place

as a result of the development and clash of the contradictions that are always present; and further, between the different aspects of each contradiction there is both identity and struggle; and, that, through the process of developing contradictions a thing or a phenomenon changes into its opposite. Thus, Comrade Mao Tsetung in one sentence explains the basic law of materialistic dialectics.

A most systematic exposition of Marxist dialectics by one of the founders of scientific socialism, Engels, is to be found in one of his most famous works "Anti Duhring". This is a very important book because it refutes all forms of fallacies spread so assiduously by Duhring. The most important mistake of Duhring was that he had negated the law of contradiction. He held that contradictions was artificial. Engels made a comprehensive criticism of Duhring and refuted his wrong theories. He established the fact that the law of contradiction was an objective law of matter. He stated that movement is contradiction, that is to say, things are moving and developing because of inherent contradictions; and that by the law of contradiction we mean the law of the unity of opposites.

That is why Comrade Mao Tsetung has described the law of contradiction as not just another law of materialist dialectics, but its most basic law. In the second sentence of his article, Comrade Mao Tsetung has quoted Lenin's statement that "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects". It is, therefore, very important for us to understand that the law of contradictions, that is, the law of the unity of opposites is the most basic law of materialist dialectics.

In his book "The Science of Logic", Hegel, the philosopher, had stated that there were three basic laws in dialectics. They were: (1) the law that quantitative and qualitative changes give rise to one another (2) the law of the unity of opposites (3) the law of the negation of the negation.

These were the three basic laws of dialectics put forward by Hegel. Marx and Engels recognised and affirmed these three basic laws of Hegel but put them in the opposite order.

Hegel had presented these three laws not as the law of objective dialectics but as subjective dialectics. That is, he did not regard these laws as inherent in objective things but only as governing the law of man's thinking i. e. in the logic of the thinking of men. In other words, Hegel interpreted dialectics from an idealist point of view.

However, according to Marx and Engels, the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of opposites was a law that is inherent in objective things whereas man's knowledge of contradiction is but a reflection of the objective law in man's thinking. Therefore, Marx and Engels had satirised Hegel and pointed out that he had stood truth on its head.

Marx and Engels reversed this position and pointed out that these laws of dialectics are inherent in objective things. This was made clear by Engels in his "Anti Duhring" and "Dialectics in Nature".

A new development arose in Lenin's time. The question arose as to which of the three laws of dialectics is the most basic. In the third sentence of his article, Comrade Mao Tsetung refers to Lenin's article "On the question of Dialectics" and points out that "Lenin often called this law (i. e. the law of contradiction) the essence of dialectics; he also called it the kernel of dialectics".

Although Lenin pointed out that this law was the kernel of dialectics, he did not live to point out the relation between this kernel and the other two laws of dialectics.

Later, when the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with these things, they pointed out the three laws but put them in different order. They put them in the following order: 1. the law of the unity of opposites 2. the law about quantitative and qualitative changes 3. the law of the negation of the negation.

This was the formula used in the USSR for a long time.

In 1938, in The Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Stalin presented 4 features of the dialectical method: 1. All phenomena are inter-connected and inter-dependent 2. All matter is in a process of motion and movement and development 3. Quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes 4. Everything develops on the basis of the struggle of the opposites.

Stalin, thus, put the law of the unity and struggle of the opposites as the last one instead of as the first one. When the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with the three laws of dialectics or when Stalin wrote about the four features of the dialectical method, both sections were putting the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites on an equal footing with the other laws instead of treating it as the basic law of materialist dialectics.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has systematically studied the laws of Marxist-Leninist dialectics and has developed Lenin's thesis contained in his work "On the Question of Dialectics". Comrade Mao Tsetung does not deny the law about quantitative and qualitative changes or the law of the negation. Engels had dealt with all these things in his anti-Duhring. But, what Comrade Mao Tsetung does point out clearly is that out of these laws, the most basic law is that of the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of opposites. In this way, he has put this question in a monistic way. He has refuted the theory of putting these three basic laws on a parallel footing.

For example, Stalin says that the second feature of the dialectical method is the law of motion or development. Actually, motion or movement is inherent in contradiction and this had been pointed out by Engels in his "anti-Duhring" when he said "motion itself is a contradiction". If we grasp that the law of contradiction i. e. the law of the unity of opposites is the most basic law of materialist dialectics, then we can understand that all the other laws of dialectics spring from this basic law.

Thus, it is clear that by asserting the primacy of the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites, Comrade Mao Tsetung has creatively developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy and dialectics.

Although Mao Tsetung's article "On Contradiction" is his most important contribution on Marxist philosophy, he has also developed Marxist philosophy on a number of other points.

Another important philosophical work of Comrade Mao Tsetung is his article on "The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People". In this work, he deals with the question of how to handle contradictions among the people as opposed to how to handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. He also deals with the theory of how contradictions of different natures can be converted into each other. He also uses the law of contradiction to explain how to deal with the struggle between different views and ideas inside the Party.

Already, in his article, "On Contradiction", Comrade Mao Tsetung had pointed out that "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the party of contradiction between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were to be contradiction in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end."

This was the first time that Comrade Mao Tsetung used the law of contradiction, the law of the unity of the opposites to explain the question of opposition and struggle between different ideas within a party. This is a creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

In the past, in the history of the Communist Party of China and in respect of some comrades in other parties also, incorrect views prevailed about the attitude to opposition and struggle between contradictory ideas inside the Communist Party. Some comrades admitted the law of con-

tradiction when they dealt with phenomena outside the Party. However, when they came face to face with contradictory views inside the Party, they failed to use the dialectical method and, instead, used the metaphysical approach. In other words, they failed to understand that contradictions are universal and would also exist inside the Party too as a reflection of the contradictions outside the Party. Therefore, when these comrades came across contradictions and struggles inside the Party, they thought that it was terrible and bad.

It was as an answer to such metaphysical approach that Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out the universality of contradiction and that, therefore, opposition and struggle between different ideas constantly occurs inside the Party too. This was nothing strange because it was a reflection of class contradictions outside and the struggle between the old and the new inside the Party. If these contradictions and the consequent ideological struggles to resolve them ceased to exist within the Party, then the life of the Party would itself cease.

Only if we understand this aspect of inner-party struggle and its virtual inevitability in any living and developing Party can we understand the struggle that developed inside the Communist Party of China against Liu Shao-chi and his henchmen.

When the imperialists saw the Cultural Revolution in China and the exposure of Liu Shao-chi and his black gang, they thought that the Communist Party of China would be finished. When the Soviet revisionists saw the same phenomenon they also thought that the Communist Party of China would collapse and that the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung would be overthrown.

Even some friends did not understand this question correctly and felt sad and thought that everything inside the Communist Party of China is not good. They did not understand that if such contradictions and ideological struggles

to resolve them did not occur, then the life of the Party would come to an end.

The reasons why these comrades get these wrong ideas is that they do not look at these ideological struggles from a dialectical view-point. That is why, at the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung said that the Cultural Revolution was a sign of the sound development of the Chinese Party.

Therefore, comrades and friends should look at the phenomenon of the Chinese Cultural Revolution from this Marxist-Leninist dialectical standpoint. They will, then, realise that it was a good thing and not at all a bad thing. They will then realise the tremendous significance of the struggle against Liu Shao-chi and his wrong views. They will also understand that if this struggle has not been carried out, revisionism would have triumphed in China, capitalism would have been restored and China would have changed colour. This has been proved by the experience of the Soviet Union.

III

How has Comrade Mao Tsetung developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle? This matter is dealt with very brilliantly in an editorial of the Peking "People's Daily" under the heading "A Great Historic Document". (This has been reproduced in the 21st issue of Peking Review of 1967).

This article is a result of the attempt to study how Comrade Mao Tsetung has developed Marxism-Leninism. A very important problem in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism is raised in this article.

This article divides the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism into three stages; it describes three landmarks. To quote: "Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practi-

cal questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tsetung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism".

Comrade Mao Tsetung's special contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle is that he gave a positive answer to the question whether classes and class struggles exist even under socialism.

The above mentioned article poses this question clearly in the following way: "Are there still classes and class struggle in a socialist society, particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been accomplished? Do all the class struggles in society still centre round the question of the fight over political power? Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat do we still have to make revolution? Against whom should we make revolution? And how should we carry out the revolution?"

"Marx and Engels could not possibly solve this series of major theoretical problems at their time. Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power, the defeated bourgeoisie still remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a come back. At the same time, the small producers were incessantly generating capitalism and the capitalist class anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died before he could solve these problems in practice.

"Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary represen-

tatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamanev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and their like. But where he failed was in not recognising, on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a come back by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones.

"Comrade Mao Tsetung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. He has correctly solved this series of problems in a whole number of great writings and instructions, in this great historic document (the reference is to the May 19, 1966 circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) and in the most significant practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by him.

"This is a most important sign indicating that Marxism has developed to an entirely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed further into the stage of Mao Tsetung's Thought."

Marx and Engels raised the question of the revolution of the proletariat. They also raised the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin developed this theory and put into practice by carrying out the Great October Revolution. The Soviet Union became the first country where the dictatorship of the proletariat became a reality.

Comrade Mao Tsetung developed this Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and carried out the revolution of the proletariat in his own country. The dictatorship of the proletariat became a reality in China, a country with a population of 700 million people. He also solved the question of how to make revo-

lution in the present era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. He has also solved the question of how to make revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The position can, therefore, be summed up as follows: Marx and Engels raised the question of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin made this a reality in the Soviet Union. Comrade Mao Tsetung not only made this a reality in China but also solved the question of how to make revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also solved the question of how to prevent the dictatorship of the proletariat from changing colour, of how to prevent the restoration of capitalism and of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is obvious, therefore, that Comrade Mao Tsetung has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.

The central question with regard to class struggle is the question of state power. The aim of the proletarian revolution is to seize state power. Marx and Lenin pointed out that he who only recognises class struggle is not yet a Marxist. A real Marxist is one who not only recognises the class struggle but also extends this recognition to the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The question is whether, after the proletariat has seized state power, after the dictatorship of the proletariat has become a reality, it is still true to say that the central question with regard to class struggle is still the issue of state power.

It was impossible for Marx and Engels to have answered these questions in their time. As we have already shown, Lenin did realise that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vanquished bourgeoisie will be stronger than the proletariat that vanquished it and that it always tries to stage a come back; and that small

producers would constantly give rise to capitalism and the capitalist class.

Lenin made this question very clear in his book "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky". In this book, Lenin said that the period from capitalism to communism was a whole historical epoch; and that throughout this historical epoch, before communism is established, the vanquished bourgeoisie was bound to attempt to stage a come back; they were bound to turn their attempts into action.

This was a great Marxist-Leninist prophesy. Comrade Mao Tsetung has only further developed this profound observation by Lenin. Take Lenin's remark that a whole historical epoch existed between capitalism and communism. Comrade Mao Tsetung meant precisely this when he said that, after a socialist society had been established it would take fifty, a hundred years or more before communism is established.

This statement of Comrade Mao Tsetung has been slandered as Trotskyism. In actual fact, it is Leninism.

The old line revisionists, Bernstein, Kautsky, etc. were against carrying out a socialist revolution in the Soviet Union. Their theory was known as the theory that production is everything. Thus, they hold that because capitalist production in Russia was not developed socialist revolution was impossible and that the October Revolution could only pave the way for capitalism in Russia; and that when capitalist productive forces had reached a certain level in Russia only then could it naturally and peacefully grow into socialism. This was their theory of the peaceful transition to socialism.

This fallacious theory was clearly expressed by Kautsky in 1918 in his pamphlet "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and also in his "Bolsheviks Who Are In A Desperate Situation", inside the Russian Party.

Later, Zinoviev, Trotsky and Bukharin used this theory of old line revisionists to oppose the socialist revolution,

socialist construction and the theory that socialism could be built in the country. At the 7th Session of the Executive Committee of the International, Trotsky made the statement that the superiority of socialist production in Russia could be shown not now but only after 50 years or 100 years.

When Trotsky enunciated this fallacy, Stalin seriously refuted him. Because, the superiority of the socialist system of ownership over the system of private ownership in the capitalist countries was made quite clear at the very beginning itself, immediately after the revolution, when private ownership was abolished and public ownership established.

Stalin pointed out that Trotsky's false theory was the same as that propounded by the social democrat economist, Sukanov who held that, because production was not well developed therefore the October Revolution could only pave the way for capitalism and not socialism. Therefore, the position of Trotsky was that he was opposed to socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Trotsky's false theory had nothing in common with the theory put forward by Lenin that the period from capitalism to communism was a whole historical epoch. It was also opposed to the theory enunciated by Comrade Mao Tsetung that this period will take several decades or one century or several centuries. Both Lenin and Comrade Mao Tsetung were discussing how long the period would be between capitalism and communism.

Those who distort these facts and try to slander Comrade Mao Tsetung by identifying his views with those of Trotsky are not really attacking Trotsky but merely trying to prettify him. They are doing it either through ignorance or a deliberate intention to slander Lenin and Comrade Mao Tsetung.

Stalin had already dealt with this false theory of Trotsky and identified it as the same as that put forward by the social democrat, Sukanov who gave two reasons why soci-

alist revolution and construction could not succeed in Russia. The first was that capitalist production was not sufficiently developed. The second was that the peasants in Russia were backward and their cultural level was low.

In his work, "On The Revolution In Our Country" Lenin pointed out that although the cultural level of the Russian peasantry was low, it had made the revolution along with the proletariat and that it was in favour of socialism. Lenin admitted that it was true that capitalist production was not so developed in Russia as in some European countries. But why was it impossible to greatly develop production after the proletarian revolution and under the dictatorship of the proletariat. From which book had Sukanov learnt that things could not be done this way. It was Napoleon who said: "Plunge into battle first before you want to see the outcome of it."

Lenin maintained that after the means of production of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and the land of the landlords had been confiscated, it would be possible to develop production greatly.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated by Comrade Mao Tsetung is precisely directed against the fallacy of Kautsky, Sukanov, Trotsky and Bukharin which is a thesis opposing taking the socialist road and advocating taking the capitalist road.

The representatives of these views in China is Liu Shao-chi. In the summer of 1949 when China just won liberation, Liu Shao-chi said that because capitalist production was not sufficiently developed in China it was not possible to take the socialist road. He said then that the problem in China was not that there was too much capitalism but too little. He also said that capital exploitation was not a crime but a credit and that the workers were not against exploitation but would welcome it. Therefore, he held that, after liberation, China should take the capitalist road instead of the socialist road.

This is exactly the same theory as put forward early in respect of the Soviet Union by Kautsky, Sukanov, Trotsky, etc. and which was known as the theory that production was everything. The Thought of Mao Tsetung and the line advocated by Comrade Mao Tsetung is sharply contrary to and diametrically opposed to the theory of these people. The Thought of Mao Tsetung is the same as that of Lenin when he pointed out that, after the October Revolution, they should firmly take the socialist road.

What was the basic difference between the two lines that contended in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? The main question was the struggle between the two roads: should China take the capitalist road or the socialist road? The struggle between these two lines existed in the past. It exists at the present and will exist in the future also.

That it why Comrade Mao Tsetung has said that the present cultural revolution is only the first one that, in the future, there would be many more.

The reason for this is that it is not merely a question of overthrowing the old exploiting classes and finishing with revolution for all time. New exploiting elements always crop up and a new bourgeoisie is always created. When Lenin dealt with this question in his book, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" he pointed out that, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, the former exploiting classes will try to stage a come back and that they will try to turn their attempts into action. Here Lenin was referring to the former exploiting classes.

But in "Left-Wing Communism, And Infantile Disorder" he pointed out that not only will the old exploiting classes try to stage a come back but that, in socialist society a new bourgeoisie would be created. Lenin raised these questions but, as has already been pointed out, died too early to have been able to solve these problems.

Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who, as the People's Daily editorial referred to earlier points out solved a num-

ber of theoretical and practical problems connected with proletarian revolution and the question of building socialism in one country. But, on the theory of the class struggle he made mistakes.

It is not correct to say that, after the October Revolution, Stalin completely neglected the question of the class struggle. Actually, before 1928, Stalin stressed very much that class struggles should be carried out in the Soviet Union. Stalin's speeches before 1928 to the Komsomol and to the Control Commission dealt with this problem. He criticised certain people for forgetting class struggles in times of peace.

But, what was his shortcoming? After 1928, when the problem of the kulaks had been solved, when collectivisation of agriculture was completed, when the first 5-year plan was completed, he said classes had been entirely eliminated and no longer existed. This incorrect idea was clearly expressed in his report on the Soviet Constitution in 1936.

Stalin's shortcoming was that in the field of theory he did not recognise that, throughout the entire historical epoch from capitalism to communism and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes and class struggles would continue to exist in society. While Stalin recognised the existence of classes and class struggles before 1928, he did not recognise their existence after that period.

But the fact was that, even after collectivisation of agriculture and after the new Soviet Constitution the class struggle against the bourgeoisie still existed. The danger of a restoration of capitalism still existed. However, facts taught Stalin and, in his last years, he was conscious of this in some ways.

Stalin perceived the truth about the existence of classes and class struggles one year before he died. He then said that in socialist society contradictions still exist and that if such contradictions were not properly handled they could become antagonistic ones. This view was expressed in his last work "Some Problems of Economy in the Soviet Union".

In the present era, Comrade Mao Tsetung paid attention to all the historical experiences of the Soviet Union. The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated under conditions where the revisionists have seized power and carried out the restoration of capitalism. This is a bitter experience and deserves the serious attention and study by all Marxist-Leninists. There is also the experience of the Chinese Revolution.

It is a result of studying these experiences that Comrade Mao Tsetung has held that, in a socialist society and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes and class struggles exist although the form is different. Comrade Mao Tsetung has not only elaborated this theory in his works but also by personally initiating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he has correctly solved a whole series of questions concerning how to make revolutions under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is the most important landmark in the development of Marxism-Leninism by Comrade Mao Tsetung. It indicates that Marxism-Leninism has developed to an entirely new stage. Marxism, which was first developed to the stage of Leninism, has now been further developed to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which it adopted on August 12, 1966, states the question as follows: "Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tsetung has inherited defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tsetung's Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country".

CHAPTER V

ON THE PARTY

One of the historical tasks performed by Comrade Mao Tsetung is to re-affirm quite clearly the Leninist teaching on the necessity for a communist party to guide the working class and to have concretised them and raised them to an even higher level. One of Lenin's contributions to the treasure house of Marxism is his teaching that, just as an army needs a general staff, so also the working class needs a political party of a new type to lead it to seize power. The Bolshevik Party, fashioned under the guidance of Lenin, armed with Marxism, based on democratic centralism, with an iron discipline and having close ties with the masses, was a new Party of such a type. It was this Party that carried through the Great October Revolution.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has re-affirmed all of Lenin's teachings on this subject. He has pointed out that, "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism". Further he has stated that, "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs".

He has given a classical description of the three main weapons with which the Chinese Communists defeated their enemy. This is a quotation that merits the serious study of all revolutionaries. He has said: "A well disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has always placed great stress on the importance of discipline inside the Communist Party. He has stated that, "We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely: (1) the individual is subordinate to the organisation; (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority; (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.

He has also stated, "One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

He has also pointed out the harmfulness of making criticism without regard to organisational discipline. Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organisation and increasing its fighting capacity. Therefore, criticisms should be made inside and not outside the Party.

The Communist Party functions on the basis of democratic centralism. It is a fusion of democracy with centralism. Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us that, in the sphere of organisation, we must ensure democracy under centralised guidance".

He has also pointed out that "Democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other". Again, "We cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has always stressed the Leninist teaching of the necessity for all communist parties to practice criticism and self-criticism. He has pointed out that, "The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side". Again, "We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good".

He has further explained, "Conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties. As we say, dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb "Running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten" means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms. To check up regularly on our work and in the process develop a democratic style of work, to fear neither criticism nor self-criticism, and to apply such good popular Chinese maxims as "Say all you know and say it without reserve", "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not"—this is the only effective way to prevent all kinds of political dust and germs from contaminating the minds of our comrades and the body of our Party."

Again he has clearly explained the purpose of making criticism and self-criticism and how it must be done. He

has said, "In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient." The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticise what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method".

He has also explained: "Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organisational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organisational mistakes, there is no need to be over-critical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautions and forget the Party's political tasks".

He has further pointed out, "As we Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms? Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them—can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?"

Also, "We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticise our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean". "As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticising only after the event". "Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has always stressed the necessity for the Party not to convert itself into a close-door organisation but to go out to the people and to base itself on them. He has said, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history".

Again, "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge".

At the same time he has also taught us that, "If we tried to go on the offensive when the masses are not yet awakened, that would be adventurism. If we insisted on

leading the masses to do anything against their will, we would certainly fail. If we did not advance when the masses demand advance, that would be right opportunism".

He has taught that the correct method of leadership should be, "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership—such is the basic method of leadership".

From the above it must be quite clear that not only has Comrade Mao Tsetung abundant faith in the masses but also that he is opposed to all forms of putchism. He has always taught that the party must rouse the masses in their millions. The party without a mass following or mass activity without a proper political leadership will both be useless. He has pointed out this clearly when he said, "However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organise their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level".

He has also pointed out that the party must be able to make a correct analysis of the masses and their respective level of consciousness and to unite with them accordingly. He has said, "The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements".

These views of Comrade Mao Tsetung on the necessity for a communist party to lead a working class is essential to be grasped by the revolutionary movement today because of the prevalence among certain sections of the people of

the wrong, peti-bourgeois and anti-Marxist-Leninist views on this subject associated with the name of Che Guevara or otherwise known as the Cuban line.

This theory is basically an attempt to oppose the growing influence of Mao Tsetung Thought. This theory attempts to reject both the necessity for a revolutionary party and the participation of the masses. Because certain communist parties had gone revisionist, an attempt is made to make use of this fact to reject the Leninist theory for the necessity for a revolutionary party to guide the working class. Just as one does not throw the baby out with the dirty bath water so also one does not reject the necessity for a communist party merely because certain communist parties have gone bad and revisionist. If, in any given country, the communist party has gone revisionist, the duty of the revolutionaries in that country is to form a genuinely revolutionary communist party—not to reject the necessity for a party.

This erroneous theory is based fundamentally on romantic and peti-bourgeois ideology which is characterised by a lack of faith in the masses. It places its main reliance on a band of swash-buckling "Three Musketeers" type of bravadoes who are expected to perform miraculous exploits against terrific odds.

This theory attempts to popularise the thesis that, irrespective of the maturity or otherwise of the revolutionary situation in any given country, that is, notwithstanding the readiness of the people to carry out revolution, and without a revolutionary party to lead the people, a band of determined revolutionaries can overthrow the existing state machinery, capture power and thereafter attract the people to their side.

It advocates actions which can be carried out by few individuals without the need for popular support and which can cause enemy losses without securing the support of the proletarian masses. "This is the peti-bourgeoisie's favourite type of struggle, reflecting its individualism and its misgivings

about joining the proletariat". It is precisely this kind of peti-bourgeois ideology which Comrade Mao Tsetung condemned as the "ideology of the roving rebel band" as far back as 1929.

It must also be pointed out that this has nothing in common with Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory on people's war which is based on complete reliance on the masses. It urges revolutionaries to go and work among the masses, particularly with the peasants, to integrate themselves with them, to set up rural revolutionary bases, build a people's army and wage a protracted people's war and finally surround the cities by the villages and liberate them.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has clearly said that "the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them". Thus, the theory of people's war is based on the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party and is aimed at the seizure of power. It seeks to awaken the masses, to help to organise and mobilise them and to teach them to dare to struggle against an enemy which is initially more powerful and to develop their own forces in combat with the enemy till they gain the superiority which makes it possible for them to crush him decisively.

This has nothing in common with the so-called Cuban theory which negates the role both of the working class party and that of the masses and places reliance on individuals or groups of individuals.

All Marxist-Leninists must be ceaselessly on guard ideologically and must be able to distinguish the genuine article from the faked one which the neo-revisionists are attempting to substitute.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, like Lenin before him, has placed great emphasis on the fact that the communist party should be armed with the most advanced revolutionary theory of our time — Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Just as a house needs a solid foundation so does a revolutionary movement and a party need a sound ideological foundation. Otherwise, the house will collapse. It was Lenin who taught us that "without revolutionary theory, there cannot be revolutionary practice".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught: "The victories of the revolution and construction in our country are victories of Marxism-Leninism. It has been the consistent ideological principle of our Party to closely integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution".

That is why every member of the communist party must be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. One of the main reasons for the degeneration of several communist parties into revisionist parties was due to the lack of correct ideological training of their members. It is not enough to have the name board of the communist party. Anyone can do that. What is important is to equip every party member with the correct theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and turn every one of them into genuine revolutionaries. The attitude towards the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is an important aspect of party building. It must neither be mechanical nor cease at any particular point. It is not a dogma, like the sutras to be learnt by heart and repeated. It is a guide for action. Marx once said: "Philosophers hitherto have only interpreted the world. Our duty is to change it."

Particularly, in view of the strenuous efforts made by the bourgeoisie to influence and misdirect the minds of the people, particularly the youth, through such media as the press, television, cinema, the pulpit, the schools, bizarre hair styles, crazy dances like the twist and so-called modern dresses, it is important to wage a resolute counter-attack on the ideological front against the penetration of bourgeois ideas and influence.

There is never a vacuum in our brains. Either the bourgeois ideology wins out. Or else the proletarian ideology wins out, particularly inside the party. But this can be

done only by a consistent and relentless ideological struggle and also by combining theory with practice. Theory without practice and practice without theory are both useless. Without a party, there cannot be struggles. But, without struggles a communist party cannot develop.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught: "Without armed struggle neither the proletariat nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years (the 18 years since the founding of the Party) the development, consolidation and bolshevisation of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood".

We must not allow a big gap to develop between our words and deeds, between theory and practice. Theory must be translated into practice and tested in the course of it. Once a correct political decision has been taken, it must immediately be supported by an organisational decision to implement it. As Comrade Mao once pointed out, once we have taken the decision to cross a river, we must either build a bridge or find a boat to cross it.

In order to achieve this, we must build a party of revolutionaries. That is, members of the communist party must be dedicated people, devoid of selfish interests or desire for personal glory or fame and not desiring material benefits or an easy life. They must subject their personal interests to the common interests of the revolutionary movement. They must "be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount all difficulties to win victory".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught: "A communist should have largeness of mind and should be staunch and active looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect

ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the party and the masses; he should be more concerned with the party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself". Only thus can he be considered a communist.

Once a solid ideological foundation has been laid, we must find good bricks to build the house. We must train capable and good cadres who form the steel frame on which the party rests. They are the people who interpret the policy of the party to the masses. Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us that, "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution".

He has also taught: "What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat ?

"They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

"They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

"They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the party and the state at any level.

"They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses" and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

"They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

"Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and judge cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle"

"The proper selection, training and promotion of cadres are among the most important tasks of a revolutionary party. Proper guidance and a check-up of their activities, and not finding fault after they had floundered themselves into mistakes, should be the correct attitude of a party towards its cadres.

A communist party should consist of the best sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia. Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught that, "The party organisation should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organisation capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy". We must also have in mind that, in a communist party, we must go after quality and not quantity.

Such comrades are usually thrown up in the course of struggles although a few come out of intellectual conviction or from inspiration from struggles. Some people debate the

question as to whether a comrade should be trained and qualified before he joins the party or whether he should join the party and be trained inside its ranks.

This is an artificial and wrong way of posing the question. There is no question but that, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us, only the advanced elements can be taken into the party. The communist party should not be an organisation which should be easy for anyone to join. One should qualify for the honour of joining it. We must also be vigilant against the entry of spies and agent provocateurs into our ranks.

But, at the same time, comrades cannot be taught in class rooms or lecture halls. They can temper themselves only in the storms of class struggle. Therefore, the education of a comrade and his Bolshevisation can proceed only through his participation in struggles. Just as the quality of gold is tested in fire, so also the revolutionary spirit of a comrade can be tested only in the crucible of action. Therefore, ideological education must never be in the abstract and should never be divorced from participation in struggles.

Some others are worried about bad elements creeping into the party. They have bitter memories about the disruption caused by repeated sets of disruptors and anti-party elements. As Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught us, "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end".

Therefore, we should not be afraid or disheartened about inner-party ideological struggles. But they must be fought out politically. While we must be more bold in recruiting members from the proletariat and the other toiling masses, we must be more careful about recruitment from non-proletarian ranks. The latter must be made to go through a longer period of apprenticeship inside the party.

The party must constantly replenish its ranks with new blood and eliminate useless comrades who remain party members only in name. Comrade Mao Tsetung has put this point brilliantly when he said, "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon monoxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour".

Along with revolutionary cadres and a militant membership, a communist party must also have a tried and tested leadership which is capable of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete revolutionary situation in one's own country. On no account can we negate or belittle the importance of a correct leadership. Without a correct leadership, the party will be like a rudderless ship floundering in the sea.

The outstanding role played by Comrade Mao Tsetung in founding the Communist Party of China, in fighting against all types of deviations, in correctly leading the Chinese revolution to victory through all its tortuous paths, in mastering and formulating the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war, and, even after the socialist revolution, in safeguarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in China—all these show us how very vital it is for a communist party to have a correct and revolutionary leadership.

Finally, a revolutionary communist party must be quite different from the revisionist parties in its organisational methods and styles of work. In his day, Lenin advised the new left groups that emerged out of the old parties of the Second International not only to break with revisionism politically but also organisationally.

The revisionist parties are all parliamentary parties. Their one aim is to get as many seats as possible in parliament. Therefore, they do all their work in the open,

legally. But the aim of a revolutionary communist party is to carry out revolution. You cannot do this under the nose of the police. That is why every communist party in a capitalist country—whatever be the form of government—must function as a secret party. It should not expose all its cadres or members to the enemy nor reveal all its plans openly. From its position as an underground party, it should engage in certain legal activities, such as contesting one or two parliamentary seats, detailing some comrades to do trade union work, running a newspaper, etc.

But this should not be our main job. Nor should we waste our energy, time, money or our most important cadres in this sphere. Our main job should be to patiently gather together all the revolutionary forces and prepare for the revolution.

We must have no illusions about bourgeois parliamentary democracy. While there is no doubt that we must make the best use of bourgeois democracy in the interests of the working class whenever we can, we must clearly have it in our minds that bourgeois democracy is a trap laid by the bourgeoisie to keep the revolutionaries under surveillance so that, when the occasion needs it, they could behead us at one stroke. This was what happened in Indonesia and we must draw the correct lessons from that tragedy.

All Marxist-Leninist parties must learn to skilfully combine legal work with illegal work and open work with secret work. But, basically, they must proceed from the basis of building a secret organisation which shall be capable of eluding the police and of carrying the revolution forward to success.

These are some of the principles of party building that have been taught us by Lenin and further concretised by Comrade Mao Tsetung. Comrade Mao has taught us that, "The united front, armed struggle and party building are the Chinese Communist Party's three "magic weapons", its three principal magic weapons for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution".

In these wise words we have the key to the success of revolution in any country.

CHAPTER VI

ON PEOPLE'S WAR AND A PEOPLE'S ARMY

ONE of the most important contributions made by Comrade Mao Tsetung to the development of Marxism-Leninism is his formulation of the theory of a people's war and his teaching about the necessity for building a people's army if we wish to triumph over our class enemies.

Today, not only in the imperialist and metropolitan countries but even in the dependent or semi-dependent countries, too, the repressive state machinery of the imperialists, feudalists and the capitalists—principally the armed forces—are being highly militarised and brutalised. We saw it during last year's May "revolution" in France. We see it in the increased brutality practiced against the Negroes by the American racists. We see it in the hundreds of brutal murders committed by the army and the police in almost all the states in India.

We saw it in Ceylon too during the General Strike of 1947, during the Hartal of 1953, the strike of the employees of the private and public sector in May-June 1958, the more recent strike in the private sector in December 1967 and the strike in the public sector in November-December 1968—armoured cars rolling down the streets, the parading of troops and tanks, armed police and troops stationed at all important junctions, armed protection given to all employers affected by the strike, banning of all meetings,

demonstrations and even picketing during strikes, rule under the State of Emergency for months on end, the promulgation of the notorious Public Security Act, police use of brutal force to disperse demonstrations as happened during this year's May Day and even shooting to kill as happened during the Hartal and on January 8, 1966 — all these things are beginning to become normal features even during a strike for economic demands.

Under these circumstances when the brutality and militarisation of the repressive state machinery of the reactionary ruling classes is increasing to unprecedented levels, what are the oppressed peoples to do? During the May "Revolution" in France last year, 10 million out of 14 million workers in France struck work for over two weeks and practically paralysed the French economy. The young workers and students displayed great courage and heroism in fighting the police. But De Gaulle's riot squads proved equal to them, using unprecedented and merciless brutality that shocked even bourgeois journalists. Finally De Gaulle succeeded in transforming this great struggle into an election farce with the help of the French revisionists.

What, then, are the oppressed peoples to do? Comrade Mao Tsetung, as a result of the investigation of Chinese experience, answered this question correctly. He stated that all the imperialists and their lackeys, "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after their fashion". In other words he taught that armed counter-revolution can only be met and defeated by armed revolution.

This is the basic difference between the Chinese revolution and the October Revolution which preceded it. As Stalin pointed out, in the Chinese revolution, from the very beginning, armed counter-revolution was confronted by armed revolution. This is one of the peculiarities and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution, he said. The Chinese revolution, of course, is a continuation of the great October Revolution. The revolutionary path blazed by the October Revolution is the

common road for all revolutions by oppressed peoples. As Comrade Lin Piao points out in his "Long Live the Victory of the People's War", "In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one".

Comrade Lin Piao points out that, "It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tsetung using the simplest and the most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Comrade Mao Tsetung has clearly pointed out: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries".

In order to understand more clearly the contribution of Mao Tsetung to the development of Marxism-Leninism on the subject of people's war, let us briefly note the similarities and dissimilarities between the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao has listed them in the abovementioned book. The common features are: (1) Both were led by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist Party as its nucleus; (2) Both were based on the worker-peasant alliance; (3) In both cases state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. (4) In both cases the socialist system was built after the victory in the revolution; (5) Both were component parts of the proletarian world revolution.

But, the Chinese revolution had its own peculiarities. The October Revolution took place in imperialist Russia, but the Chinese revolution broke out in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The former was a proletarian revolution, while the latter developed into a socialist revolution

after the complete victory of the new democratic revolution. The October Revolution began with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese revolution won nation-wide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities".

This peculiarity of the Chinese Revolution arose from Comrade Mao Tsetung's evaluation of the situation in China. He pointed out: "Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength is inadequate".

This important theory, which has today become universally applicable, is based on the correct understanding that in all dependent and semi-dependent or colonial and semi-colonial countries, the power of the imperialists and their lackeys is concentrated in or around the big cities—the army and police headquarters, the radio station, central post office, main railway junctions, government departments, the seat of the central government, etc.

Therefore, what Comrade Mao Tsetung advises is that it is foolish, at a period when, at the initial stages (as it must always be) the enemy enjoys a temporary superiority of forces over us, to knock our heads against the enemy's strongholds. We must learn to convert this temporary disadvantage for us into a disadvantage for the enemy.

This, we can do if we do not give battle to the enemy at a place and time when he enjoys a superiority over us; but, instead, if we move away to the "backward" rural areas where the enemy is relatively weak and turn them into advanced revolutionary base areas for the people. It is common knowledge to every one that the further away one moves from the big cities, the lesser army units one sees and the lesser are the police men who man the scattered police stations. The reactionaries can never find sufficient repressive forces to suppress all the people all over the country at the same time if the people learn to use correct tactics.

The failure of the U. S. imperialist's attempt to herd the Vietnamese people into what they called "strategic hamlets" but which were really concentration camps and the success of the Vietnamese people in converting these camps into people's strongholds and finally smashing them proves this.

Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of people's war is inseparably linked with his theory of "rely on the peasants and establish rural base areas". Unless revolutionaries learn to go to the rural areas while continuing and not neglecting secret and underground work in the cities, integrate themselves with the rural masses, rouse, politicalise and mobilise them and build up revolutionary base areas where a people's army can be built up and trained, people's war would become impossible.

While Comrade Mao Tsetung has stated that although "from 1927 to the present (i.e. March 1949 - author) the centre of gravity of our work has been in the villages—gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and taking the cities", "stressing the work in the rural base areas does not mean abandoning our work in the cities and in the other vast rural areas which are still under the enemy's rule; on the contrary, without work in the cities and in these other rural areas, our own rural base areas would be isolated and the revolution would suffer defeat. Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is the capture of the cities, the enemy's main bases, and this objective cannot be achieved without adequate work in the cities".

Revolutionaries have to learn to do patient work over a long period among the rural masses and win them over to our side. Thus, we convert what was an advantage to the enemy, which was his superiority in the cities, into an advantage for us, which is superiority in the rural areas.

Besides, now, the enemy will have to come in search of us; and he can't bring his whole army. The more bases we build, the more the enemy will have to disperse his forces, while we will be able to concentrate a superior force against the enemy—provided we have correctly mobilised the masses on our side.

As Comrade Mao Tsetung has pointed out, "In order to annihilate the enemy we must adopt the policy of luring him in deep and abandon some cities and districts of our own accord in a planned way, so as to let him in. It is only after letting him in that the people can take part in the war in various ways and that the power of a people's war can be fully exerted.

A people's war can only be fought by the people—not by a handful of bravadoes as suggested by those who advocate the so-called Cuban line. Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them". Again he has said: "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China".

The confidence reflected in this question is based on Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of "despising the enemy strategically but taking him seriously tactically". Without despising the enemy strategically we cannot give confidence

to the people about ultimate victory and rouse them to fight. But, at the same time, in every encounter with the enemy, we must take him seriously tactically and pit our forces against him accordingly.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has always held that the people, and not weapons, are the decisive factor in any war. He has said: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is the people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people".

In other words, weapons are important but not decisive as the man who wields them; and when that man is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, he is well nigh invincible.

It is because, as pointed by Comrade Lin Piao, some people were afflicted with fear of the imperialists and reactionaries that Comrade Mao Tsetung put forward his famous thesis, that "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful".

While the imperialists are afraid of this theory, the modern revisionists have slandered it as an under-estimation of the strength of the enemy. They have even sneered at it by saying that the paper tiger has got 'nuclear teeth' in an attempt to discourage struggle against the imperialists and to dampen people's spirits.

But Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers" is of enormous significance in giving hope and courage to the oppressed people in that it infuses them with faith in ultimate victory.

But Comrade Mao Tsetung never under-estimated the strength of the enemy. He has explained: "Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature

(this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites—the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat—grew in strength step by step, struggled against them more and more fiercely, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they devoured people by the millions and tens of millions. The course of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulty and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical (short-term point of view—author) thinking”.

The point cannot be made clearer.

The theory of protracted guerilla warfare is an integral part of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of strategy and

tactics of people's war. Comrade Lin Piao quotes Engels as having said: “The emancipation of the proletariat in its turn, will have its specific expression in military affairs, and create its specific, new military method”. This prediction was proved in China by the strategy and tactics of people's war worked out by Comrade Mao Tsetung. This theory consists of using a whole series of strategy and tactics of people's war by which the people utilise their strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points.

During the War of Resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Tsetung laid down the following strategic principle for the communist-led armies: **“Guerilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions.”**

Thus, as Comrade Lin Piao points out, Comrade Mao Tsetung “raised guerilla warfare to the level of strategy, because, if they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilise and apply the whole strength of the people against the enemy, the only way to expand our forces in the course of the war, deplete and weaken the enemy, gradually change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, switch from guerilla warfare to mobile warfare, and finally defeat the enemy.”

Comrade Mao Tsetung worked out the basic tactics of guerilla warfare as follows: **“The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue”.**

This is very simply put and easily understood. Further guerilla tactics and ingenious methods of fighting were developed, like “sparrow warfare” (it means flexible operation, like the flight of sparrows, appearing and disappearing unexpectedly and wounding, killing, depleting and wearing out

(the enemy), landmine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage warfare, and guerilla warfare on lakes and rivers.

When, in the later period of the anti-Japanese war, they changed from guerilla warfare to mobile warfare, Comrade Mao Tsetung laid it down that the fundamental guiding principle of all military operations should be "war of annihilation". "Superior forces should be concentrated in every battle so that the enemy forces can be wiped out one by one". He has pointed out that "all the guiding principles of military operations grow out of the one basic principle: to strive to the utmost to preserve one's own strength and destroy that of the enemy".

He has taught: "A battle in which the enemy is routed is not basically decisive in a contest with a foe of great strength. A battle of annihilation, on the other hand, produces a great and immediate impact on any enemy. Injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing ten divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them".

In his celebrated ten cardinal military principles, as pointed out by Comrade Lin Piao, Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught: "In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has provided a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can and move away when we can't." This policy has been lucidly explained by Comrade Lin Piao in the following words: "In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is a pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior he may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks he may resort to, the enemy will find himself in the passive position of having to receive blows, and the initiative will always be in our hands".

This is a masterly exposition of Mao Tsetung Thought on the strategy and tactics of people's war.

Self-Reliance

Comrade Mao Tsetung has always taught that the people must rely on themselves primarily. The basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is that the liberation of the masses must be accomplished by the masses themselves. As Comrade Lin Piao has put it, "Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way."

External forces and external favourable international situations no doubt influence the internal course of events. But the main factor is the internal one. The Chinese Party had to learn this lesson during the days of the anti-Japanese War and earlier Civil Wars when they were blockaded on all sides and had to rely only on themselves. That is when they put forward the policies of "ample food and clothing through self-reliance" and "develop the economy and ensure supplies", and "better troops and simpler administration".

Comrade Mao Tsetung asked: "How has mankind managed to keep alive from time immemorial? Has it not been by men using their hands to provide for themselves? Why should we, their latter-day descendents, be devoid of this tiny bit of wisdom? Why can't we use our own hands?"

He put the question in the correct perspective when he said that "China has to rely mainly on her own efforts in the War of Resistance". He added, "We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people".

He has stressed that the fundamental policy should rest on the foundation of our own strength. Only by relying on own efforts can we in all circumstances remain invincible.

This wise policy was to stand the Chinese party and people in good stead when the renegade Khrushchov broke off economic relations, tore off all economic treaties, cancelled all aid, withdrew all Soviet experts and tried to bend China's knee. China, under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, overcame this crisis by the policy of self-reliance, by placing faith on the 700 millions of Chinese people and unleashing their creative initiative.

Of course Comrade Mao Tsetung has clearly said the peoples of the world invariably support each other in their struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. "Those countries which have won victory are duty bound to support and aid the peoples who have not yet done so. Nevertheless, for-

ign aid can only play a supplementary role". The principal and fundamental factor are the revolutionary forces in one's own country.

Comrade Lin Piao has lucidly summed up Mao Tsetung Thought on this subject in the following words: "In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution—no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won".

People's Army

"Without a people's army the people have nothing". In this simple, single sentence, Comrade Mao Tsetung gave the answer to the question of how the oppressed peoples are to meet and defeat the temporarily superior might of the repressive state machinery of the reactionary ruling classes. This is his specific contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

Immediately after the break-up of the first united front in 1927 and the out-break of the Chinese Revolution through the Autumn Harvest Uprising, personally led by Comrade Mao Tsetung, he took the initiative in forming China's first Red Army, composed of the miners, peasants and party cadres of Hunan province. It was this army that he led to the Chingkang mountains where it was joined by other similar armies which later grew, in combat with the enemy, to be the mighty Red Army (now re-named the People's Liberation Army—PLA) which was to liberate the whole of China.

Comrade Mao Tsetung conceived of the People's Army as an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of

revolution. That is why he said: "Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party".

He has said: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organising the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organisations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organise them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reasons for its existence".

This kind of a people's army, conceived of and built under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tsetung is an army of a new type. We are used to people being afraid and terrified by armies of the reactionary ruling classes. This is because these armies bully and oppress the people and ride rough-shod over them.

But a people's army springs from the people, is one with them and protects their interests. In turn, the people welcome and support the people's army. The success of the armies led by the Chinese Communist Party are due to the fact that they wholeheartedly served the interests of the people, that they were armies of a new type founded on Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory on building a people's army.

Under the guidance of this theory, the "army was under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and most loyally carried out the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policies. It had a high degree of conscious discipline and was heroically inspired to overwhelm all enemies and conquer all difficulties. Internally there was full unity between cadres and fighters, between those in higher

and those in lower positions of responsibility, between the different departments and between the various fraternal army units. Externally, there was similarly full unity between the army and the people and between the army and the local government".

The armymen strictly observed the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for attention. The Three Main Rules of Discipline are:—

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention are:

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

No wonder that an army which conducted itself in such a manner was welcomed as the army of the Buddha by the people of Tibet.

Further, Comrade Mao Tsetung has taught that the whole party should give close attention to war and study military affairs. Every Party member should be ready at all times to take up arms and go to the front.

Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that "The essence of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of army building is that

in building a people's army prominence must be given to politics, i. e., the army must first and foremost be built on a political basis. Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique, it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses".

It is because of this factor that the People's Liberation Army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China but also played a decisive part in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

No revolutionary party can lead a revolution to success without building a people's army of this new type. Some comrades raise the question as to how to learn warfare in such under-developed countries such as Ceylon where only the sons of the rich are given military training in schools.

The answer was given by Comrade Mao Tsetung when he said: "You learn swimming by swimming. You learn warfare through warfare. You learn to do revolution by doing revolution. It is not a question of first learning and then doing. Because doing is learning."

Lenin has also taught us: "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire them, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we are bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or as at present, on wage labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Our slogan must be arming of the proletariat and disarm the bourgeoisie".

CHAPTER VII

ON THE UNITED FRONT

One of the cardinal points in the strategy and tactics worked out by Comrade Mao Tsetung for the success of the Chinese Revolution is his policy of the United Front. This forms an important contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

The need for a united front arises from the fact that our enemy is strong and that, in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the working class constitutes a relatively small section of the population because of the arrested development of capitalism. Therefore, if the working class is to defeat its main enemies—foreign imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie—it must seek the alliance of other classes and forces which are opposed to these reactionary forces. That means that it must unite with all the forces that can be united against the common enemy.

The policy and tactics of the united front does not mean abandonment of the independence, initiative, separate identity and leading role of the communist party inside the united front. This was the mistake committed by the then general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Tu-hsiu during the period of the first united front between the Communist Party and Kuomintang. It was a policy of all alliance and no struggle. On the other hand, Wang Ming was later to advocate the "Left" opportunist policy of all struggle and no alliance.

Having summed up the experiences of these mistakes and learnt by negative example, Comrade Mao Tsetung put forward the policy of "unity and struggle". He clearly laid down: "If unity is sought through struggle, it will live; if unity is sought through yielding, it will perish".

Comrade Lin Piao has interpreted Mao Tsetung Thought on this topic as follows: "History shows that when confronted by ruthless imperialist aggression, a communist party must hold aloft the national banner and, using the weapon of the united front, rally round itself the masses and the patriotic and anti-imperialist people who form more than 90 per cent of a country's population, so as to mobilise all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate to the maximum the common enemy of the whole nation. If we abandon the national banner, adopt a line of "close-doorism" and thus isolate ourselves, it is out of the question to exercise leadership and develop the people's revolutionary cause and this in reality amounts to helping the enemy and bringing defeat on ourselves.

"History shows that within the united front the communist party must maintain its ideological, political and organisational independence, adhere to the principle of independence and initiative, and insist on its leading role. Since there are class differences among the various classes in the united front, the party must have a correct policy to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and oppose the die-hard forces. The party's work must centre on developing the progressive forces and expanding the people's revolutionary forces. This is the only way to maintain and strengthen the united front".

In the later part of the above quotation, by the progressive forces is meant the communist party and the mass organisations under its leadership. By the middle forces is meant the national bourgeoisie. The die-hard forces are the reactionary forces who constitute our enemy.

It has further to be explained that it is only to the extent that we develop the progressive forces that we can win over the middle forces under our leadership. Otherwise,

we will have to trail behind the national bourgeoisie and the revolution will not lead to success. Whether the middle forces (and, particularly, its more progressive and left sections) can be won over to a united front under our leadership depends on the strength and organisational development of the progressive forces. That is why, in our attempt to build a united front, the greatest emphasis must be placed on the maximum development of the progressive forces.

During the war of resistance against Japan when the Chinese Communist Party entered into a united front with the Kuomintang, Comrade Mao Tsetung emphasised that unless the leading role of the Communist Party is guaranteed organisationally, the war could not be led to victory.

That is why we must realise that the worker-peasant alliance must be the bed-rock of any anti-imperialist, national united front. Comrade Lin Piao has explained: "History shows that during the national democratic revolution there must be two kinds of alliance within this united front first, the worker peasant - alliance and second, the alliance of the working people with the bourgeoisie and other non-working people. The worker - peasant alliance is an alliance of the working class with the peasants and all other working people in town and country. It is the foundation of the united front. Whether the working class can gain leadership of the national democratic revolution depends on whether it can lead the broad masses of the peasants in struggle and rally them around itself. Only when the working class gains leadership of the peasants, and only on the basis of the worker - peasant alliance, is it possible to establish the second alliance, form a broad front and wage a people's war victoriously. Otherwise, everything that is done is unreliable like castles in the air or so much empty talk".

Comrade Mao Tsetung has advocated trying to win over even those who could be only vacillating and temporary allies in the interests of defeating the common enemy. He advocated adjusting the Party's policies in order to unite all the anti-Japanese parties and groups, including the Kuomintang, and all the anti-Japanese strata in a joint fight against the foe.

Analysing Chinese society at that time (an analysis which is valid for Ceylon too) he pointed out that the workers, peasants and the urban petty-bourgeoisie constituted the main force in the fight against Japanese aggression and constituted the basic masses who demand unity and progress.

The bourgeoisie was divided into the national and the comprador bourgeoisie. The comprador bourgeoisie was capitulationist and attached themselves to the various imperialist forces. They were opposed to the Communist Party and were enemies of the people.

The national bourgeoisie had a dual character. It had contradictions with the workers and often vacillated. But it also had a certain degree of readiness to oppose imperialism and could be won over as an ally, even though a temporary and vacillating one. To explain this simply, the national or anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie have two sides. One, a good one and, another, a bad one. One, progressive and the other, reactionary. One, anti-imperialist and the other, anti-working class. Besides this, it is continually vacillating. In pursuit of the policy of uniting all the forces that can be united against our common enemy, the working class must unite with their good side and oppose their bad side; unite with their progressive side and oppose their reactionary side; unite with them when they fight imperialism and oppose them when they fight the working class. This is the policy of unity and struggle.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "Our enemies are all those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty-bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie (i.e. the national bourgeoisie), their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend—but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks".

In order to apply the tactics of the united front correctly we must understand that there are many contradictions in every society and that we must be clever in sorting out the main contradiction and not allow other minor contradictions to develop into major contradictions and thus handicap the resolution of the major contradiction.

For instance, in Ceylonese society, there are many contradictions: the contradiction between foreign imperialism, feudalism and their running dogs like the UNP, FP, etc. on the one hand and the mass of the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim peoples on the other; the contradiction between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, between the Buddhists and the Catholics, between the capitalists and the workers, between the Goigama caste and Karava caste, between so-called high castes and the so-called depressed castes, etc.

But the main contradiction is that between foreign imperialism, feudalism and their running dogs on the one hand and the mass of the Ceylonese people, irrespective of race, religion or caste, on the other. We must concentrate on the resolution of this major contradiction and not allow minor contradictions to develop to the point of hindering the resolution of the major contradiction. We cannot solve all the contradictions at the same time. We can only solve them one by one; and the major contradiction must be solved first.

In other words, we must be able to make correct analysis of the society in which we live and learn to identify our main enemy and to isolate and destroy him. For this purpose, we must build a united front of all the forces that can be united against the common enemy—ignoring minor contradictions among allies.

If we confuse friend with foe, it will only give comfort to the enemy and turn a potential ally into an enemy. This would be wrong tactics.

Therefore, identifying your main enemy and isolating and defeating him by forming a united front of all the

forces that could be united against the common enemy is the cardinal point in applying the tactics of the united front as taught by Comrade Mao Tsetung. He also taught us always to "narrow the target of attack". This means unite as many people as you can against the enemy and isolate him.

In conclusion, it need hardly be pointed out that, when Comrade Mao Tsetung is speaking about a united front, it is not for contesting elections to parliament but to bring about a revolutionary change in society by the forcible overthrow, by revolutionary people's war of all the reactionaries.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GLORIOUS 9th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

THE historic Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, personally presided over by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, Comrade Mao Tsetung, which lasted from April 1st to the 24th, is the greatest political event in recent times.

Introducing his report to the Congress, Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tsetung remarked that the 9th Congress would have a far-reaching influence in the history of the Chinese Party. But the revolutionary influence of this historic conference will spread far beyond the boundaries of China. The report presented by Comrade Lin Piao and unanimously adopted by the Congress is a historic and revolutionary document. It analyses the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It teaches us the lessons to be learnt from it and the wise guidance given to it by Comrade Mao Tsetung. It charts out the course for all revolutionaries inside and outside China. It is a document of great significance which must be studied and thoroughly understood by all revolutionaries.

It is no wonder that the imperialists, the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds are raving at China. It is no wonder that the Soviet renegade chieftain, Brezhnev, going back on his earlier understanding

with other fellow revisionists and ignoring a plea from the Rumanian revisionists, launched a bitter attack on the Communist Party of China and its great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung, at the conference of scabs that is currently taking place at Moscow.

These "gentlemen" had all predicted that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would bring about dis-unity and chaos inside China, that the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung would be overthrown, that China will cease to be a big power and would cease to play an important role in international politics. But things turned out to be different. China has come out of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution more united and more unified than ever before. More than 700 million people of China are today solidly united behind Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung has been made absolute. China is on the verge of a great leap forward in industry, agriculture and technology. Its voice in international affairs is going to be listened to with greater respect and there can be no doubt that China will play a decisive role in international politics.

No wonder, then, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds are raving mad about China. It is because their knees are trembling.

I do not propose to quote at length from Comrade Lin Piao's historic report as we are serialising it in our weekly papers and also it is available in booklet form in all languages. But I wish to draw the attention of our readers to some significant aspects in this report which are of interest to revolutionaries all over the world. Comrade Lin Piao gives a comprehensive report on the preparation, the course, and the policies of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. He also gives a report on the conditions under which the final victory of revolution can be achieved in China. He also deals with the consolidation and building of the Communist Party of China and with China's relations with foreign countries.

Comrade Lin Piao points out that Comrade Mao Tsetung has expounded the dialectics of inner Party contradiction. He has pointed out that opposition and struggle between the two lines within the Party are a reflection inside the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and old society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no struggles to resolve them, and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life will come to an end.

Comrade Lin Piao points out that the history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the right and "left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first "Left" and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist and anti-Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The Party has consolidated itself developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, specially in the struggle to defeat the three renegade cliques of Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, which did the gravest harm to the Party.

Summarising the lessons to be drawn from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Lin Piao tells 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 the Party organisations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members rea-

its own final emancipation". With regard to the struggle against the enemy, he taught that we must, "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one". He also taught that, "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of the enemies to the maximum and attack them".

Discussing the consolidation and building up of the Party, Comrade Lin Piao quotes Chairman Mao as having said, "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian Party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour".

Dealing with the question of the final victory of the revolution Comrade Lin Piao quotes Chairman Mao: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist view-point, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the effort of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also depends on the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated.

Dealing with the question of war Comrade Lin Piao quotes Mao: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war". This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today, the contradiction between the oppressed

nations on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between the socialist countries on the one hand and social imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution.

The report also contains a damning exposure on modern revisionism and in particular Soviet revisionism and its transformation into social imperialism as evidenced by Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and the border aggression against China.

The report concludes with the confident note, "Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long! Workers of all countries, unite! The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! Bury U. S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys!