

PRICE : Rs. 2-00

**UPHOLD MARXISM - LENINISM  
- MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT !**

**FIGHT AGAINST THE MODERN  
REVISIONIST DENG CLIQUE**

**Resolution adopted by the C. C, C. P. I. (ML) (P W)  
on 19-2-83**

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**[ An assessment of the History Resolution adopted  
by the 6th plenary session of the 11th C. C  
of CPC on 27-6-'81. ]**

**C. C., C. P. I. (M.L) (PEOPLE'S WAR)  
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**T**he Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) has carefully studied the resolution of the Communist Party of China entitled "On Certain Questions of Party History" (History Resolution) adopted by the sixth plenary session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on 27th, June 1981.

The CC, CPI (ML) (PW) (our CC) recognises Mao Zedong Thought as Marxism Leninism of the present times.

Our CC accepts and upholds in toto the following definition of Mao Thought adopted by the CPC in its 9th National Congress.

*"Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory"*.

As such, it is but natural to examine the above mentioned History Resolution of the CPC with special attention and care.

#### **HISTORY RESOLUTION OF THE CPC**

Whatever may be the title of this resolution, we understand that the essence of this resolution is to radically destroy Mao Thought while at the same time chanting the very name of Mao Thought.

Similarly, it is also the aim of this History Resolution to pave the way for taking the capitalist road instead of socialist road and to restore the bourgeois dictatorship undermining the proletarian dictatorship.

Anybody acquainted with the history of the CPC for the last three decades, and who sincerely believes in Mao thought, cannot but come to the above conclusions after a study of the History Resolution.

This is not the first time that the CPC has adopted a resolution 'On Certain Questions relating to Party History'

The CPC has adopted a resolution under the same title in its 7th plenary meeting of the 6th CC in 1945. Though the title

of both the resolutions is almost one and the same, the two are diametrically opposed to each other both in their content and aims.

While the 1945 resolution established Mao Thought on firm foundations and adopted it as a guide to the CPC, the June 1981 resolution undermines Mao Thought while chanting its name.

While the earlier resolution has very much accelerated and advanced the fulfilment of the democratic revolutionary tasks in China and paved the way to the ultimate victory, the present resolution is pushing counter-revolution in the very guise of revolutionary phraseology.

While the earlier resolution has helped the quicker achievement of the victory of Democratic revolution thus leading to the establishment of socialist society by firmly enforcing proletarian dictatorship, the present resolution is dedicated to revive bourgeois society in China in the place of Socialist society and to restore bourgeois dictatorship in place of the proletariat dictatorship

The earlier resolution was aimed at squarely refuting the wrong trends of right opportunist and left adventurist deviations in the leadership that dominated the CPC before 1935, and to win victory in the New Democratic Revolution in pursuance of Mao Thought. The present resolution openly fosters the counter revolutionary line of Liu Shaoqi to successfully complete the restoration of capitalism by denouncing and undoing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This GPCR is a necessary pre-requisite to strengthen proletarian dictatorship, to guard against capitalist restoration and to successfully complete socialist construction. It is a must particularly in the context of the two line struggle that was being waged within the Chinese revolution for a very long time and especially since 1956, (i. e.) ever since the inception of socialist society. The struggle was being waged between the capitalist roaders under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi on the one side and the proletarian revolutionaries fighting for building socialist society under the leadership of Com. Mao Zedong on the other.

Only when we examine this History Resolution in the background of the long drawn out two lines struggle in the CPC between the capitalist roaders under the leadership of Liu-Shaoqi

and the proletarian revolutionaries under the leadership of the great Marxist teacher Mao Zedong, which has been more fierce since 1956 i. e., since the initial stage of socialist society upto the death of Com. Mao Zedong, we will be able to understand its counter revolutionary character.

## THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN CHINA

As the class struggle in society intensifies, the differences that arise between correct and incorrect ideas inside the party also invariably get intensified. Internal struggle between them is also inevitable. If the ideological struggle thus emerging inside the Party is not waged according to Marxist-Leninist methods and if the comrades holding wrong ideas do not correct their erroneous ideas in time, the non-antagonistic contradiction which could be solved by persuasion and mutual convincing will turn into antagonistic contradiction corresponding to the course of intensification of the process of social revolution. It is no wonder if this happens. Such a situation is inevitable during the period of proletariat dictatorship too. Com. Mao has clearly brought out in the following sentences the importance of antagonism in contradiction.

*“So long as classes exist, contradictions between correct and incorrect ideas in the communist party are reflections within the party of class contradictions. As first, with regard to certain issues, such contradictions may not manifest themselves as antagonistic. But with the development of the class struggle, they may grow and become antagonistic. The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shows us that the contradictions between the correct thinking of Lenin and Stalin and the fallacious thinking of Trotsky, Bukharin and others did not at first manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, but that later they did develop into antagonism. There are similar cases in the history of the CPC. At first the contradictions between the correct thinking of many of our Party comrades and the fallacious thinking of Chen Tusin, Chang Kuotao and others also did not manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, but later they did develop into antagonism. At present the contradiction between correct and incorrect thinking in our Party does not manifest itself in an antagonistic form, and if comrades, who have committed mistakes can correct them it will not develop into*

*antagonism. Therefore the party must on the one hand wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking, and on the other give the comrades, who have committed errors ample opportunity to wakeup. This being the case, excessive struggle is obviously inappropriate. But if the people who have committed errors persist in them, and aggravate them there is a possibility that this contradiction will develop into antagonism"*

(Mao Selected Works—Vol 1, pp 344)

The line adopted by Liu Shaoqi for a long time inside the CPC is in essence nothing but a bourgeois opportunist line. A long drawn out struggle has been going on inside the CPC between that line and Mao Thought.

The struggle between those two lines had begun even before the second world war.

While the CPC was carrying on the anti-Japanese national liberation struggle from 1936, Liu Shaoqi had given a call in 1939, sabotaging the broad anti-Japanese united front based on worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat, to capitulate before the reactionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang.

While Mao said it was necessary to "*mobilise people with all our effort to expand the revolutionary forces under the leadership of the proletariat around, to defeat the enemy and to build a new China*". Liu Shaoqi gave a call, to enslave the revolutionary forces to the US imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, declaring that '*armed struggle is not the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution at that time and that the parliamentary line which has nothing to do with arms is the main form of struggle*'. In accordance to that call he intended to merge the Chinese revolutionary armed forces with the Chiang Kaishek's national armies. Thereby he intended to wipeout the working class leadership over the people's armed forces.

After the completion of Democratic revolution in China in 1949, according to the essence of Mao Thought, it should advance forward utilising, restricting and transforming the existing private capitalist industries. But according to Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois right opportunism "*since capitalism is still in its infant*

*stage in China, it should be given opportunities for unlimited big expansion; capitalist exploitation in that stage is only progressive and not a crime at all".*

The above two lines are mutually contradictory, one can not coalesce with the other in any way. If one line has to proceed ahead it should invariably defeat and crush the other. While the one is capable of transforming the new democratic revolution into socialist revolution, the other is the best instrument to turn the victory of the Democratic revolution of 1949 into an efficient bourgeois dictatorship. While Mao Thought is the core of the former line, Liu Shaoqi's reactionary ideology is the basis for the second line.

The CPC accepted Mao Thought and rejected the reactionary ideas of Liu Shaoqi. That is why individual ownership of the means production has been abolished in the main in agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industries, and trade by 1956. Collectivisation in agriculture had come into vogue all over the country. By 1956 the transformation of the new democratic revolution into a socialist revolution was completed. Socialist society had primarily come into existence. The 8th Congress of the CPC was successfully concluded in September 1956 hailing this great victory.

But the two line struggle inside the CPC did not end there. The struggle between Mao Thought and the reactionary line of Liu Shaoqi had got further intensified after the 8th Congress of the Party.

The 8th Congress of the CPC could not lay down a very clear understanding about the class contradictions in socialist society. Taking advantage of that weakness, Liu Shaoqi's bourgeois opportunism had begun to grow in strength.

Thereby the internal struggle between the two lines within the CPC had become further intensified. What was the position of China at that time? What are the actual policies pursued by those Chinese which lost power? Considering the situation what ideological decisions have to be adopted towards them in the socialist society advancing ahead with the aim of establishing Communist society? These issues came to the fore-front as



problems to be resolved in the internal struggle being waged inside the Party.

Within a few months of the conclusion of the 8th Congress of the Party Com. Mao published his thesis entitled "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people" to deal with the various problems confronting the internal struggle in the party and various tendencies arising in the course of class struggle there. Infact, he said that :

*"In China although socialist transformation has in the main been completed as regards the system of ownership,.... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started..... The class struggle between proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at time even very sharp".*

(Mao Selected works, Vol 5, Beijing Ed.  
1975. pp 409 )

While Mao said this, Liu Shaoqi began arguing that there are no classes at all in China after 1956 and therefore, there is no scope whatsoever for a two-line struggle inside the Party as a reflection of it.

In the next five years the two line struggle in the Party, on the above issues became more acute both in the practical and ideological fields. In order to achieve unity in the Party, Com. Mao has formulated, in the 10th plenary meeting of the 8th Central Committee, a fundamental general line applicable to the entire period of socialist society. Since then, that remained the guiding line of the CPC till the death of Com. Mao. After his death, that line was gradually sabotaged and with the 12th Congress it was completely abandoned. Though the present CPC leadership has totally abandoned that general line in practice, our CC still recognises it as the fundamental general line applicable, not only to China but to the whole world, for the entire period of transition from Socialist Society to Communist Society.

## THAT GENERAL LINE IS :

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

In 1963 May, under the leadership of Com. Mao the CC of the CPC had formulated a ten-point programme ‘on some problems concerning our rural work’. That was the basis for the socialist education campaign. Although the internal struggle regarding the method of resolving the contradictions between different classes in the socialist society was going on inside the CPC, this campaign was launched to raise the people’s ideological level in tune with that internal struggle and to develop socialist consciousness in a big way in the country-side.

In support of the capitalist roaders hiding within the Party, Liu Shaoqi launched a series of repressive measures against this campaign. He directly took cudgels against the oppressed people.

At the end of 1964 the CC of the CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao summed up the socialist education campaign and adopted a 23 point document entitled “Some current problems raised in the Socialist education movement in the Rural areas”, to solve the immediate issues raised in that campaign.

That campaign was for the first time directed against the capitalist roaders hiding inside the Party.

Thus the intense internal struggle being waged since 1957, between the bourgeois opportunists under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi and the proletarian revolutionaries under the leadership of Mao, assumed a mass character by the end of 1964. The struggle was carried forward as an open mass struggle between the innumerable masses under the leadership of proletarian revolutionaries and the bourgeois head quarters under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi which occupied key positions in the Communist Party. Not only that, it can be said that, the seeds for the on coming GPCR too, were sown during this campaign. The struggle between these two camps were waged very fiercely till the end of 1965. Liu Shaoqi became enraged and began to taunt the revolutionaries openly declaring that *"those who do not follow his line are not eligible to remain in leadership positions in the Party"*.

As a part of that struggle only, the 12th enlarged plenary meeting of the 8th Congress of CPC removed Liu Shaoqi from all positions of authority both inside and outside the Party. It declared him as a renegade and counter-revolutionary. Though Liu Shaoqi was removed, the bourgeois camp he built inside the Party from top to bottom through conspiratorial methods still remained intact. Though it is a fact that the percentage of such persons was quite meagre, it should not be forgotten that they occupied key positions in the Party.

## THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

On September 16, 1966 the CC of the CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao formulated a circular detailing the theory, line, principles and programmes for the GPCR. That circular directed that a revolution be launched against the capitalist roaders in the Party. A committee was also elected to direct that revolution.

Gradually, an organisational form also evolved to carry on that revolution. Party cadres, People's Army representatives and revolutionary people's representatives, who were prepared to fight and resist bourgeois opportunism, formed into revolutionary committees with equal representation. This became the organisational form to carry on the cultural revolution.

Thus all the requirements for that revolution — a line, an organisational form, and a form of struggle based on massline came into existence.

The aims of this cultural revolution were—

— to bring a revolution in the super structure in order to facilitate the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship and thereby to advance the existing socialist economy towards the building up of a Communist society.

— by bringing a revolution in the superstructure to build the proletarian dictatorship as a strong and effective weapon to achieve Communism in that country, and to enable it to fulfil its tasks as a base area to complete the world socialist revolution as soon as possible, and

— to carry on uninterrupted revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to completely wipeout all opportunities for the erstwhile abolished classes to reappear and to frustrate all their dreams, schemes and efforts to restore capitalism.

The eradication of revisionism, a complete smashing of the bourgeois headquarters that had come to stay in the party itself and to wrest back the positions of leadership occupied by capitalist roaders in the party by employing mass strength against them — these constitute its immediate goal.

Within four years the GPCR could fulfil its immediate goal. The 9th Congress of the Party was successfully concluded in 1969 hailing the victory of the GPCR under the leadership of Com.Mao and resolving to consolidate the results of that revolution to surge forward towards the building of a Communist society.

The history of the CPC for the 12 years from its 8th Congress to its 9th Congress in 1969 is simply the history of the struggle between the two lines - the counter revolutionary policies pursued by the capitalist roaders under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi who took advantage of the weaknesses of the decisions of

the 8th Congress held at the end of 1956 and attempted restoration of capitalism on the one side, and on the other, the GPCR, under the leadership of Com.Mao which aimed at smashing the bourgeois headquarters employing the methods of massline and thus clearing the way for the ultimate victory of socialist revolution.

After the death of Com. Mao once again the domination of counter revolutionaries gained strength in the CPC. Deng Xiaoping, who expressed repentance for his errors and came back to leadership positions in the State and the party during Mao's lifetime, became the leader of the bourgeois camp, carried out successive attacks against revolutionary forces according to a scheme and gradually brought into his grip both the state machinery as well as the party organisation. Thus counter-revolutionary forces captured state power and the party organisation in China.

This became evident with the adoption of the History Resolution by the 12th Congress of the CPC.

As such it is clear that the internal contradictions between the wrong ideas and theories of Liu Shaoqi and the correct ideology of Mao Thought, which had been there even before the victory of the new democratic revolution, had become acute after 1957. Then with the capitalist roaders under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi having wormed their way into key positions of leadership both in the party and State and having begun open sabotage and counter revolutionary activities, that internal contradiction which, until then, was in the stage of pursuation and mutual convincing had turned into an antagonistic contradiction. Therefore, the history of the CPC from 1966 to date is the history of struggle between revolution and counter-revolution waged in a socialist society. The following lines from a speech delivered by Com.Mao in February 1967 makes this point clear

*"In the past, we have waged the struggle in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural fields and we carried out a socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem, because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly in an allround way and from below"*

*"Now we have found this form, it is the great cultural revolution, it is only by arousing masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big character posters, and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents and the capitalist roaders in power who have wormed their way into party can be exposed, and their plots to restore capitalism smashed."*

(Beijing Review, No. 18, 1969)

To put it briefly, the internal struggle within the party between the capitalist roaders and the proletarian revolutionaries which had been going on for a long time had become acute after 1957 and gradually turned into an antagonistic contradiction. That contradiction cannot be solved in any way other than by abolishing the domination of the capitalist roaders in the party mechanism and positions of leadership in the party organisation.

The CPC had given many opportunities to Liu Shaoqi to rectify his erroneous ideas in the light of Mao Thought. But he did not rectify his mistakes. Moreover after the 8th Congress in 1957 he began to more blatantly follow the footsteps of Khrushchev to restore capitalism. In a conspiratorial manner he began to establish his domination both over the party and the government by slyly introducing his followers - the representatives of the bourgeoisie - into key positions of power both in the party and government.

As a result the internal struggle against capitalist roaders inside the party has become more intense. The ultimate result of all this was the call for the GPCR under the leadership of Com.Mao in 1966. In 1969 the CPC held its 9th Congress hailing the victory of this revolution under Com.Mao's leadership and resolving to consolidate its results to advance towards building a communist society.

In fact, only after the removal of the capitalist roaders who occupied key positions in the party and government and after putting an end to their counter-revolutionary activities with the successful completion of the GPCR under the leadership of Com.Mao, (i. e.) only after the successful completion of the 9th Congress in 1969, the way paved to strengthen the foundations of socialist society in China and to advance it towards

building communist society so that it could fulfil its tasks as a base area in the world socialist revolution. Thus carrying out revolution uninterruptedly under proletarian dictatorship and thereby smashing completely the remnants of capitalism and all its attempts at restoration and thus building a strong society enabling it to establish communist society on a sound basis - is the additional contribution of Com.Mao to the armoury of Marxist ideology. That this is a very sharp and effective weapon added to the armoury of Marxist ideology was proved by the GPCR itself.

Marxism always develops creatively corresponding to the advancement of revolution. According to Marxism proletarian dictatorship is inevitable throughout the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Otherwise capitalism will be restored.

However, the leadership of the Second International while claiming to be the heirs of Marxism, rejected the necessity of proletarian dictatorship and thus betrayed revolution and Marxism. Com.Lenin not only fought back that betrayal and emphasised the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship but also implemented it in actual practice. That credit belongs to Lenin. He said that :

*“Those who recognise, only the class struggle are not yet Marxists.....only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat”.*

(LCW, Vol 25) (emphasis by Lenin)

Now with the experience of the Chinese revolution, our CC considers it necessary to add a few more words to the above definition to read as follows :

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

## BETRAYAL OF DENG XIAOPING

After the death of Com.Mao, due to lack of sufficient experience on the part of the leadership in understanding the class struggle going on in their society and its consequences, and the policy of continuing that revolutionary struggle under proletarian dictatorship; and since the counter revolutionary character of Liu Shaoqi was not completely removed from the party although he was removed from party leadership, the CPC failed in consolidating the result of cultural revolution in accordance with the decisions of the 9th Congress. Taking advantage of that failure, the counter-revolutionary forces under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping have again gained domination in the CPC. Undermining Mao Thought systematically according to a scheme, the History Resolution was passed as a climax of that process and it was ultimately adopted by the 12th Congress of the CPC. Our CC considers that by these acts counter-revolution has temporarily succeeded in China and that the leadership of the CPC has become the stronghold of the capitalist roaders.

How could this undesirable thing happen? How should the revolutionary communists understand this development? Is it an illusion to consider that the Cultural revolution was successful by the end of the 1968? These issues will confront everyone. If we notice the caution raised by Com. Mao Zedong in October 1968 in the following lines, there is no need to get confused with the above questions.

*"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and still this class exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades, we must not loose our vigilance. According to 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 involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts".*



Com. Mao's caution that the victory is not final and that we should not consider the restoration of capitalism hereafter as impossible is proved correct. While the victory of the Cultural revolution in 1968 is a fact, equally, it is also a fact that even after that, the existence of the exploiting classes did not end radically. If we realise, as stated by Com. Mao in the words quoted above, that the existence of exploiting classes will continue at some level until the world socialist revolution is completed successfully, it will be clear that, as a matter of fact class struggle will inevitably continue all along, and that, as a reflection of that class struggle, the two line struggle inside the party will also inevitably continue until such time. Not only that, it will also be clear that, if the vigilance of the proletarian class loosens even by a small measure the seizure of power by capitalist roaders is also not impossible. That is why the 9th Congress of the CPC had cautioned :

*"There will still be reversals in the class struggle. We must never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of carrying out our policies at present, there still exists the struggle between the two lines and there is interference from 'Left' and 'Right'. Much effort is still required to accomplish the tasks for all the stages of struggle - criticism - transformation. We must closely follow Chairman Mao and steadfastly rely on the broad revolutionary masses to surmount the difficulties and twists and turns on our way forward and seize still greater victories in the cause of socialism".*

After the death of Com. Mao, because of the failure of the CPC in carrying out revolutionary tasks following the principle of struggle - criticism - transformation in accordance with the above caution, and due to the failure in fighting back the counter revolutionary forces depending on the broad revolutionary masses, the capitalist roaders hiding inside the Central leadership of the Party could again seize Party and state power completely.

### **BRINGING BACK LIU SHAOQI'S THEORY OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES**

The present leadership of the CPC, led by the notorious capitalist roader, Deng Xiaoping and his gang is now bringing back into full play the once refuted theory of productive forces

which renegade Liu shaoqi pushed through all the methods available to him.

The theory of productive forces being brought back by Deng clique means giving primacy of place to modernisation against class struggle. Advocating the theory of limited class struggle, they are in actual fact denying class struggle. They further assert, in the History Resolution, that *"class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes"*. This theory of productive forces is a negation of the Marxist - Leninist concept that class struggle is the motive force even in socialist society.

Marxists never negate the the necessity for the development of the productive forces. But, there are two methods of developing the productive forces...the bourgeoisie method and the proletarian method. The productive forces consist of two aspects - man and the instruments of production of which man is principal. The bourgeoisie gives primacy to the development of the instruments of production (and profit), while the proletariat gives primacy to man. Revisionism (which is the bourgeoisie within the working class movement) gives primacy to modernisation and profit and seeks to increase productivity through material incentives. The CPC under Deng adopted precisely this method of modernisation.

The proletarian method to develop the productive forces on the other hand, relies primarily upon the development of the social organisation of labour. As Lenin says, besides the class struggle *"another task comes to the forefront just as inevitably and ever more imperatively as time goes on, namely, the more important task of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations, of a new society"*. Lenin further states that *"the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organisation of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable"*

(LCW, Vol 29. pp 419)

On the question of the method of developing the productive forces, let us remember Lenin's great teachings. He says "in order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must fulfil a two-fold or dual task : first it must, by its supreme heroism in the revolutionary struggle against capital, win over the entire mass of the working and exploited people ; it must win them over, organise them and lead them in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and utterly suppress their resistance, Secondly, it must lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people as well as all the petty bourgeois groups, on to the road of new economic development, towards the creation of a new social bond a new labour discipline, a new organisation of labour, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist industry'" (LCW, Vol. 29, pp 423)

**CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIALIST  
SOCIETY ARE INEVITABLE UNTIL THE WORLD  
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS  
SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED**

Before achieving final victory in the socialist revolution the bad qualities acquired by man during the earlier exploitative societies, such as jealousy, selfishness etc., should be wiped out completely and a new man who does not find his own interests in contradiction to the collective interests and acquires such an attitude as a natural quality of mind should emerge. Until such time there will continue to be the danger, at some level, to the final victory of socialist society. This is inevitable. The history of Chinese revolution has once again demonstrated this truth.

That is why Mao Thought directs that uninterrupted revolution should continuously be carried on in the super structure under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The following words of Com. Mao, uttered in 1956, condemning the wrong arguments of Liu Shaoqi emphasise this fact from another angle.

*"The question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism is not really settled". "The class struggle between different political forces and the class struggle in the ideological field between the*

*proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times even become very acute”.*

Not only that, while Com. Mao could say only so much in 1956 (i. e.) the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in different fields will be very severe and intense before the issue whether socialism or capitalism wins is finally settled, later, based on the experience accumulated there after, he clearly showed that during the socialist revolution, before final victory is achieved the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie may, at times, necessarily reach such a stage that it will be inevitable for the proletariat to mobilise all other revolutionary people also to wage another revolution. He observed :

*“The current great cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism”.*

That is why Mao's teaching that revolution should be uninterruptedly carried on under the leadership of the proletariat until socialism finally triumphs applies not only to China but to the entire world.

But the present leadership of the CPC, which wants to reject Mao Thought in order to revive the policies of the renegade Liu Shaoqi argues that :

*“The ‘Cultural revolution’ which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976 was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state, and the people, since the founding of the people's republic”.*

*“The history of the ‘cultural revolution’ has proved that Mao Zedong's principal thesis for initiating this revolution conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality”.*

The essence of the arguments of the present leadership of the CPC is that, the cultural revolution led by Com. Mao has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism but only a blatant betrayal which sabotaged the peaceful socialist advancement. That is why, they argue, that although Mao Thought was correct

upto 1957, afterwards it became defective, lost its links with the masses, became a victim of subjectivism and became a bundle of wrong decisions. It is with these arguments that they denounce the GPCR as a counter-revolutionary action.

Severe condemnation of the GPCR and Mao Thought means, in other words, direct revival of the counter-revolutionary theories and policies pursued by renegade Liu Shaoqi in the Chinese revolution since 1957.

The present leadership of the CPC under Deng Xiaoping condemns the GPCR saying that *'due to the cultural revolution carried out between 1966 to 1969 the Party, government and people have suffered severe losses and experienced lot of difficulties'*. But contrary to this, item 23 of their own History Resolution says that :

*"Some progress was made in our economy despite tremendous losses, grain output increased relatively steadily. Significant achievements were scored in industry, communications, and capital constructions, and in science and technology. New railways were built and the CHANGJIANG River bridge at Nanking was completed, a number of large enterprises using advanced technology went into operation, Hydrogen bomb tests were successfully undertaken; and manmade satellites successfully launched and retrieved; new hybrid strains of long grained rice were developed and popularised. Despite the domestic turmoil, the people's liberation army bravely defended the security of the motherland. And new prospects were opened up in the sphere of foreign affairs. Needless to say none of these successes can be attributed in any way to the 'cultural revolution', without which we would have scored far greater achievements for our cause"*.

The above lines unequivocally declare that many great victories were achieved during the cultural revolution. But they put forth a lame excuse saying that many more great victories could have been achieved if the Cultural revolution was not there. Such flimsy arguments can never diminish, even by an iota, the greatness of those victories.

*"The 'cultural revolution' was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road"*.

To counter the above definition, the present leadership of the CPC says that, actually there was no scope at all in the social conditions of China either for the revisionist line or for the capitalist road.

Obviously this is a lie and a lame excuse for their present stand.

Can they ever deny that under the leadership of Com. Mao, large scale propaganda and education was conducted both inside and outside the party against the anti-Marxist and revisionist policies pursued by Liu Shaoqi from 1957 to 1966? What was the purpose of the last 12 articles in Volume 5 Mao's of selected works? Can they hide the fact that those articles were published under difficult circumstances only when all the efforts of the revisionist leadership to filter them did not succeed? What exactly was the wrong trend opposed by the Great Socialist Campaign? If it is not a fact that there was revisionist practice in China under the leadership of the capitalist roaders, then why did the CPC and its Congress support the GPCR waged under the leadership of Com. Mao? It is impossible to hide and drown the historical facts with simple lies and denials.

It was only after all the attempts by Com. Mao to amicably correct the growing bourgeois right deviationist policies by arousing socialist revolutionary consciousness among the masses had failed, it was only after Liu Shaoqi openly resorted to victimisation declaring that *"those who do not follow my policies and line can not remain in positions of leadership in the party"*, it was only after the counter-revolutionary forces launched violent repressive measures against proletarian revolutionary forces who were fighting back the crooked plots of the revisionists, in other words it was only after the internal ideological struggle within the party had turned into an antagonistic contradiction due to the counter revolutionary activities pursued by Liu Shaoqi, it was only then that Com. Mao had to launch the cultural revolution. Pushing aside all these historical facts, the present leadership of the CPC simply says that *"capitalist roaders occupying positions of leadership in the party organisation"* is itself a lie. This is nothing but completely burying Marxism-Leninism and painting a rosy picture of the counter-revolutionary history of Liu Shaoqi, and trying to

white wash his anti-Marxist theories. The present leadership of the CPC further states that :

*"After the state power in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship was established in China and especially after socialist transformation was basically completed and the exploiters were eliminated as classes..... there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which one class overthrows another".*

This is the reactionary theory introduced by the capitalist roader Liu Shaoqi couched in the guise of Marxist phraseology to sidetrack the masses of China and the revolutionary proletariat and to mobilise them in counter-revolution. This formed the basic and fundamental theory for all his vicious capitalist theories which he sought to propagate in the name of Marxism.

If anybody mechanically repeats that theory, separating it from its essence, it can be viewed as an erroneous deviation. But when these words are repeated mechanically without reference to their essence, even after prolonged discussions, even after the serious political revolution for a whole decade, and when all sorts of wrong interpretations are resorted to, then it cannot but be called revisionism and betrayal of revolution. This wrong understanding was responsible, in some measure, for the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union also. Though Com. Stalin severely condemned this erroneous understanding, he did not mainly depend on the masses and the massline to prevent this deviation. In other words, he did not realise in practice the need for carrying out a revolution in the super-structure also corresponding to the revolution in the economic base. He took it for granted that it will accomplish automatically. Not only history has shown this to be an error; but the capitalist forces took advantage of that weakness, occupied key positions in the Party and Government and easily converted the proletariat dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. In spite of this grim experience, this counter-revolutionary renegade mechanically repeated this theory over and over again, and sought to crush the cultural revolution launched by Com. Mao who had taken lessons from the Soviet failure and had recognised the need to carry out a revolution in the superstructure corresponding with the revolution

in the economic base. Now again, the History Resolution of the present CPC leadership repeats the very same wrong theory. It argues that in a socialist society there is neither an economic nor a political basis for one class to overthrow another class and seize political power from it. This is not only directly opposing Marxism Leninism but also denying the obvious facts of current history present before our eyes.

### THE HISTORY RESOLUTION SAYS :

*"We have built and developed a socialist economy and have in the main completed the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production into public ownership and put into practice the principle of 'to each according to his work'. The system of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and exploiters no longer exist as classes since the overwhelming majority have been remoulded and now live by their own labour". Further it states that "Com. Mao Zedong's principal thesis for initiating this revolution (GPCR) conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the party and State".*

In other words, the present leadership of the CPC argues that after the transformation of private ownership of the means of production into public ownership, classes cease to exist. Now let us see how Lenin defines classes and how he emphatically asserts the existence of classes even after the private ownership of the means of production have been abolished and the necessity of continuously carrying out class struggle under the leadership of the proletariat to abolish classes.

Lenin says that, *"classes are large\ groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases, fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different*



*places they occupy in a definite system of social economy"*, (LCW, Vol 29, PP421). This shows that the existence of classes should not be seen merely in relation to private property. As Lenin has shown above, classes are determined (a) by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, (b) by their relation to the means of production, (c) by their role in the social organisation of labour, and (d) by their share of the social wealth and the mode of acquiring it. So, even after the abolition of private property in the main, classes still exist. So, to deny the existence of classes in Chinese society is totally false.

Regarding class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin, while criticising the second International (Berne', yellow International), says that *"Its leaders accept the class struggle and the leading role of the proletariat only in word and are afraid to think it out to its logical conclusion. They are afraid of that inevitable conclusion which particularly terrifies the bourgeoisie and which is absolutely unacceptable to them. They are afraid to admit that the dictatorship of the proletariat is also a period of class struggle, which is inevitable as long as classes have not been abolished and which changes in form, being particularly fierce and particularly peculiar in the period immediately following the overthrow of capital. The proletariat does not cease the class struggle after it has captured political power, but continues it until classes are abolished of course, under different-circumstances, in different form and by different means"*. Further he adds that *"in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time. In order to achieve this, an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces. it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals."*

(LCW, Vol. 29, pp. 420-21)

From this it is obvious that classes do exist in Chinese society today and that class struggle is inevitable under the dictatorship of the proletariat to advance socialist society forward, towards communism. The struggle between the bourgeois path and the socialist path will continue for a long time. Therefore, the History Resolution's contention that class struggle and the cultural revolution does not conform to Chinese reality and Marxism-Leninism is totally false. In fact the above statement of Lenin shows that it is the present leadership of the CPC under Deng and the History Resolution that are totally negating Marxism-Leninism.

If it is true that there is no material basis in a socialist society for one class seizing political power from another class then how did the socialist society under the leadership of Com.Stalin turn into a bourgeois society after his death? Did this happen with out any material basis either economically or politically? Or is the assesment, of the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole world, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought that the proletariat dictatorship in the Soviet Union has turned into a bourgeois dictatorship, itself wrong? The present leadership of the CPC has to squarely answer this. If it was impossible for material conditions, both politically and economically, to exist in a society which is transformed from a democratic society into a socialist society, then why did Lenin repeatedly caution the world proletariat that there is every danger of capitalism being revived if proletariat dictatorship is loosened even slightly? As such, it cannot but be concluded that the present leadership of the CPC under Deng Xiaoping, although claims allegiance to Mao Thought in words, in actual fact has completely given up Mao Thought and is pursuing the counter revolutionary theory of renegade, Liu Shaoqi.

The pseudo theory of the present leadership of the CPC that the theory of class struggle in socialist society is itself completely opposed to Marxism-Leninism is also a hoax and a white lie. In this connection it is very much necessary to take into consideration the experience of Comrades Lenin and Stalin

and the historical experience of the Soviet Union. Com. Lenin said that :

*“The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration”.*

(Emphasis by Lenin) (LCW, Vol 28, pp254)

The above lines clearly point out the danger of capitalist restoration in the entire period of transition (i. e.) upto the establishment of communist society.

However, it may be argued that this caution was given in 1936, (i. e.) at a time when individual ownership was not completely abolished in the Soviet Union and, therefore, this does not apply at all afterwards since the bourgeoisie is exactly not in existence as a class. In fact the History Resolution is exactly arguing like that. Without giving any scope for such silly arguments, Com.Lenin said as follows in another context :

*“.....Com. Rykov, who is closely familiar with the facts in the economic field, told us of the new bourgeoisie which have arisen in our country. This is true. The bourgeoisie are emerging not only from among our Soviet government employees - only a very few can emerge from their ranks - but from the ranks of the peasants and handicraftmen who have been liberated from the yoke of the capitalist's banks, and who are now cut-off from railway communication. This is a fact. How do you think you will get round this fact? You are only fostering your own illusion or introducing badly digested book-learning into reality, which is far more complex. It shows that even in Russia capitalist commodity production is alive, operating, developing, and giving rise to a bourgeoisie in the same way as it does in every capitalist society”.*

(Emphasis by us) (LCW, Vol 29, pp 189)

On an other occasion Com.Lenin observed that as long as the use of big modern machines do not become a general feature in collective farms there would be a strong basis for the development of capitalism. It is a fact that Chinese agriculture has not reached that stage as yet.

*"While we live in a small-peasant country, there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for Communism. That must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the country-side as compared with life in the cities, knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis, of the internal enemy. The later depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture on a new technical basis, that of modern large scale production",*

(LCW, Vol 31, pp 516)

Not only that in the same speech, Com. Lenin explained small peasant country as :

*"Communism is Soviet Power plus the electrification of the whole country. Otherwise the country will remain a small peasant country, and we must clearly realise that",*

(Emphasis by Lenin) (Ibid)

One year after the Socialist Constitution was adopted, (i.e.) after one year after it was declared in the constitution that there are no mutually opposed and contradictory classes in Soviet Society, Com. Stalin cautioned thus :

*"It is necessary to shatter and discord the rotten theory to the effect that with every step of progress that we make the class struggle here is bound to die more and more, that in proportion to the growth of our success the class enemy becomes more and more tamed....."*

*"On the contrary, the greater our progress, the greater our success, the more embittered the remnants of the smashed exploiting classes will become, the more quickly they will resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more they will do damage to the Soviet state, the more they will clutch at the most desperate means of struggle as the last resort of the doomed",*

*We must bear in mind that the remnants of the routed classes in the USSR ARE not alone. They have direct support from our enemies beyond the borders of the USSR. It will be a mistake to suppose that the sphere of the class struggle bounded by the fron-*

*tiers of USSR. While one end of the class struggle operating within the USSR, its other end extends into the bourgeoisie states around us.*" (The Moscow Trials and speeches by Stalin - pp 262)

It is a world renowned fact that with the seizure of power by bourgeoisie in USSR after Com. Stalin's death, proletariat dictatorship there has turned into bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore it is clear beyond any doubt, that the danger of capitalist restoration will always be there until the victory of world socialist revolution and the establishment of communist society.

Then where do the bourgeoisie remnants in a socialist society derive such enormous strength ?

*".....the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by their overthrow (even if only in a single country), and whose power lies, not only in the strength of International capital, the strength and durability of their International connections, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small scale production. Unfortunately, small scale production is still widespread in the world, and small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these reasons make the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate life-and-death struggle which calls for tenacity, discipline, and a single and inflexible will"*- (LCW Vol 31, pp. 24) (Emphasis by Lenin).

As Com. Lenin explained, the material basis for restoration of capitalism lies not only in small scale production but also in the force of habit. Therefore, besides strong proletarian dictatorship, revolution in the superstructure to overcome the force of habit and tradition etc., also is necessary to achieve final victory over capitalism.

By denying the possibility of the remnants of the erstwhile exploiting classes gathering strength and attempting to restore capitalism in socialist society the History Resolution is not only rejecting Mao Thought but at the same time it is directly supporting the counter revolutionary theory of renegade Liu-Shao-qui. The above mentioned Marxist teachings of our great teachers clearly prove this.

While explaining the Cultural revolution, Com. Mao said that *"capitalist line has come to stay in the party and the struggle waged against it is the Cultural revolution"*. Condemning this, the History Resolution is theorising that *"there is no scope at all to assert that capitalist line has taken strong roots in Communist Party"*. In essence, that resolution, asserts that when bourgeoisie and landlords classes were eliminated as classes, there is no meaning in saying that they occupied a strong place in the party. It is also justifying many revisionist trends condemned earlier as Marxist socialist principles. However, being unable to justify its arguments, the resolution is wrought with many contradictions.

Describing the historic role of Com. Mao Zedong, item 6 of point 29 of that resolution says as follows :

*"On party building it was a most difficult task to build a Marxist proletarian party of a mass character in a country where the peasantry and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie constituted the majority of the population, while the proletariat small in number, yet strong in combat effectiveness"*.

While accepting this on one hand, how is it possible to deny the possibility of alien class trends growing in the party when internal struggle in the party is not carried on proper lines? It will not be a surprise if left nationalist erroneous trends become dominant in party leadership during the sweep of anti-imperialist, national democratic revolutionary movement. So also during the period of proletariat dictatorship mechanical materialist deviations may appear in the party both as left and right deviations. If internal ideological struggle is not conducted against them in time, they may get settled as wrong trends and as Com. Mao said, the internal struggle going on until then may turn into antagonistic contradiction. Such a thing is possible even after the inception of socialist state. Com. Lenin had been cautioning about this from the very beginning. The assertion of the present Chinese leadership, that after the abolition of classes there is no possibility of capitalist roaders dominating the party, is, infact, a rejection of the cautions of Com. Lenin. Bureaucracy and redtapism lingering in administrative machinery will

gradually creep into the Party also. Thereby counter-revolutionary forces will take shelter inside the Party in various disguises. After all, this is not impossible. In this connection, Com. Lenin cautions as follows :

*"In 1917, after we seized power, the government officials sabotaged us. This frightened us very much and we pleaded: 'please come back'. They all came back but that was our misfortune, We now have a vast army of government employees, but lack sufficiently educated forces to exercise real control over them. In practice it often happens that there at the top, where we exercise political power, the machine functions somehow, but down below government employees have arbitrary control and they often exercise it in such a way as to counteract our measures. At the top, we have, I do not know how many, but at all events, I think, no more than a few thousand, at the outside several tens of thousands of our own people down below, however there are hundreds of thousands of old officials whom we got from the Tsar and from bourgeois society and who, partly deliberately and partly unwittingly, work against us".*

(LCW Vol 33, pp. 428)

*It was only to be expected that redtape in the Soviet apparatus would penetrate into the Party apparatus, for these apparatuses are interwoven most intimately. The fight against the evil could and should be placed on the order of the day....."*

(LCW vol 31, pp 435). (Emphasis by us).

Regarding the consequences of bureaucracy and red-tapism in the administrative machinery and the Party Com. Lenin observes as follows :

*"All the work of all our economic bodies suffers most of all from bureaucracy. Communists have become bureaucrats. If any thing will destroy us, it is this".*

(LCW Vol. 35, pp 549).

*"When we are told,.....that the state farms everywhere are hiding places for old land-owners who are slightly disguised or are not disguised at all, that nests of the bureaucracy are being built there, and that similar things are often to be observed in chief administrations and central boards, I never doubt that it is true".*

(LCW Vol. 30, pp 245).

The above teaching of Com. Lenin make it clear that it would not be true to say that there is no possibility in Socialist Society for capitalist roaders to creep into the party and occupy leadership positions.

Especially even after seeing the great socialist education campaign launched under Com. Mao's leadership after 1957 and the violent repressive measures resorted to by renegade Liu-Shao-qui to resist that campaign; and even after seeing the GPCR launched by Com. Mao with the call "smash the bourgeoisie head quarters" when it was completely exposed that renegade Liu-Shao-qui was trying to capture the party and the government utilising his position of leadership in the party, the History Resolution still blindly argues that there was no scope for the existence of material condition for the restoration of capitalism. This is nothing but renouncing and going back from Marxism. The C.C., CPI (ML) (PW) once again makes it clear that the History Resolution is, in this way, denouncing Mao Thought singing the chorus to the counter-revolution of renegade Liu-Shao-qui.

## RENOUNCING THE GREAT DEBATE

The present leadership of the CPC led by Deng Ziao-ping has not only denied the existence of classes and the necessity of class-struggle and denounced the GPCR, but went a step further and renounced all the Marxist Leninist positions defended under the leadership of Com. Mao during the Great Debate, on the path to be pursued by the international communist movement. Thus the present CPC leadership has finally embraced modern revisionism.

This History Resolution has been deliberately silent on the struggle against Kruschov's modern revisionism waged by the CPC led by Com. Mao.

After the death of Stalin the Krushchov revisionists together with the other international revisionist leaders (eg. Togliatti, Tito, Thorez etc.,) put forward their counter revolutionary theories of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition", and



“peaceful transition”. Khrushchov also declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the Soviet Union and advanced the absurd theories of the “the state of the whole people” and “party of the whole people”. And they propagated the theory of the dying out of class struggle in the socialist society in their effort to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union into a bourgeois dictatorship.

These revisionist theories have been fought systematically by the CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao which has gained the name of the Great Debate.

The theory of “peaceful transition” advocated by the modern revisionists advocates the peaceful transition of capitalism to socialism through parliamentary methods. In fact, they have repeated the theories of the opportunists of the Second International on the question of the State and revolution. In essence this theory denies the class character of the state machinery and its coercive nature which necessitates the need for the communists to smash it. In practice it advocates the possibility of seizing power by the proletariat through a parliamentary majority.

In the name of the theory of “peaceful coexistence” advocated by the Khrushchov revisionists, they subverted the revolutionary struggles of the people of oppressed nations and capitulated to imperialism. This theory creates the illusion that imperialism has lost its war mongering character and aggressive nature. Also through economic competition between the two social systems the socialist system can demonstrate its superiority over the capitalist system and so facilitate peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

By advocating these theories the modern revisionists have not only restored capitalism in the Soviet Union but also tried to divert the entire proletariat movement into the bourgeois path. The CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao fought a ruthless and uncompromising battle against these revisionists and saved the international proletarian movement and the national liberation movements from capitulation to imperialism. But for Mao’s revolutionary line the entire proletarian and national liberation

movements of the word would have suffered a serious set back. Further, Com. Mao by summing up the experience of class struggle under the leadership of the proletariat in both Russia and China, has pointed out that in socialist society class contradictions will remain and class struggle does not die out after the socialist transformation of the means of production.

This historic role played by the CPC led by Mao has been totally ignored in the History Resolution. In fact they have gone to the extent of withdrawing all the Great Debate documents unilaterally. This is not surprising as the present Deng leadership of the CPC is continuing in the path of the Krushcov modern revisionists.

## A SERIOUS SET BACK AND A GREAT LESSON TO WORLD REVOLUTION

The counter-revolution that has occurred in the Chinese revolution is a serious set back not only to Chinese revolution but to the world socialist revolution itself. The refusal of the present CPC leadership under Deng Xiao Ping to recognise the existence of exploiting classes in the process of transformation of socialist society into Communist society, their refusal to recognise the danger of restoration of capitalism if the dictatorship of the proletariat is loosened even in a small measure, and their adoption of the counter revolutionary line of the renegade Liu Shaoqi amounts not only to the sabotage of the socialist revolution in China and thereby the world socialist revolution, but it amounts to complete negation of Marxism itself.

This counter-revolutionary betrayal under the leadership of Deng XiaoPing was not a sudden occurrence nor was it staged, while the people remained offguard and unaware. It was accomplished after the conclusion of the great socialist education campaign under Mao's leadership; it was accomplished after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had been waged for a full decade and successfully completed; it was accomplished after Liu-Shaoqi, the founder of revisionism in China was removed from the party and exposed and declared as a counter-revolutionary; it was accomplished after a large scale propaganda had been

conducted about the danger of the existence of capitalist roaders inside the Party and about the danger of a new bourgeois class emerging from the bureaucracy and becoming dominant both in the party and government machinery; and it was accomplished even after Deng Xiao Ping-the leader of the present counter-revolution-was exposed before the people as a capitalist roader and had earned their wrath; it has been accomplished after all these developments. Even when the Chinese people are fully aware that Deng XiaoPing could stage a come back and again occupy the leadership utilising Mao's slogan that 'all those who repent for their mistakes should be readmitted into the Party', the present leadership of the CPC under Deng could dare to stab the socialist revolution in the back and say goodbye to Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought. That means, while the GPCR was waged and successfully completed under the leadership of Com. Mao when the internal struggle between capitalist roaders and socialist revolutionaries inside the CPC had turned into an antagonistic contradiction due to the sabotage activities of Liu-Shaoqi and the bourgeois head quarters in the party was successfully bombarded, after the death of Com. Mao, the capitalist roaders were able to seize the leadership of the party and the government machinery once again according to a systematic scheme.

As such, this cannot be considered as just one of the many internal struggles that were waged in the history of the CPC before the victory of the democratic revolution. All those struggles before the revolution were also waged because of wrong and alien trends becoming dominant in the party. Those wrong trends too had dominated the party for some time and had immensely hampered the revolution. But still the present counter revolution carried out under the leadership of Deng XiaoPing cannot be equated and confused with those earlier struggles. Our C. C. considers that the present victory of the Deng Xiao Ping's clique which was able to establish its dominance over the party and government even after the conclusion of a prolonged cultural revolution, as a temporary victory of counter revolution.

Once the proletariat dictatorship is established, the overthrown bourgeoisie will concentrate all its energies and try desp-

perately to restore capitalism. It will exploit every available opportunity to that end. The new type of bourgeoisie emerging from the bureaucracy which raises its head in the party and administration will also aid it. Sabotage activities will go on both inside and outside the party. The sole aim of all such activities will be to convert the proletarian party into a bourgeois party and the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeoisie succeeding in their efforts, means the defeat of the socialist revolution and the restoration of capitalism.

That is what had happened in the Soviet Union after the death of Com. Stalin. What is happening in China today under the leadership of Deng XioPing is the same. Therefore now, this should not be considered at the same level as the may internal struggles that had occurred in the CPC before the victory of revolution. This has to be reckoned as an internal war between counter-revolution and revolution. Considered from this view, it is obvious that counter revolution in China has gained the upper hand temporarily.

In view of the experience gained in Russia and China it is evident that without capturing the party leadership, it is not possible for the counter-revolutionary forces to gain control over the armed forces and government machinery. The Chinese experience has once again proved that after the seizure of state power by the proletariat, it is possible for the capitalists to occupy the party leadership through a new bourgeoisie emerging from the bureaucracy in the party and government machinery.

The victory of socialist revolution is one thing, but afterwards, continuing the proletarian dictatorship firmly until the socialist society transforms into Communist society is yet another and more difficult thing. Not only that this second stage will be much more protracted; and during this entire period, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie, which desperately attempts to restore their power, and the proletariat, which undertakes to build communist society by completely eliminating all the remnants of the exploiting classes of the old society both from the base and the superstructure, will be the principal

contradiction. Therefore the proletariat must inevitably take the following precautions until seizure of power internationally.

I. In socialist society, corresponding to the revolution that occurs in the economic base; uninterrupted revolution should be carried on against the remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes of the old society.

II. Continuous socialist propaganda campaign should be carried on.

III. The countries where socialist revolution has been victorious should always prepare their people to fulfil their tasks as a base area for winning victory of the world socialist revolution. Those countries must realise it as their fundamental task. They must continuously go on teaching their people that there is no guarantee for building communist society in their country as long as the world socialist revolution is not successful.

IV. All precautions must be taken to guard against bureaucracy raising its head both in the Party and the government.

V. To ensure and consolidate proletarian democracy, mass line should be followed. The only method for the masses is to liberate themselves. And any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Special efforts must be made to see that all government activities are carried out with the initiative of the people, for them and through them. Thereby the control of the oppressed people over government machinery should be translated into actual fact.

VI. After seizure of power proletarianization of the Communist party should be pursued with more vigour. So as to arrest the appearance of any bourgeois deviation, communist propaganda must always be carried on inside the Party. Strengthening proletarianization of the Communist party is always a primary task for Marxist Leninist parties. Since it is necessary to admit members into Communist parties from those revolutionary sections as the middle classes, oppressed peasantry etc., care must always be taken to guard against the erosion of the proletarian character; and to that end, there is always the necessity of waging a sharp internal struggle against all erroneous and alien class trends.

However, it is a fact that there is a lot of lacuna in this regard due to the dominance of alien class trends in parties with regard to policies of party and its constitution. This difference will be most striking between legal and secret parties. So also there is a stark difference between parties in power and those still carrying on revolutionary struggle for state power.

In legal parties and in parties in power undesirable elements could sneak in in large numbers. In secret parties, though there will not be much opportunity for such elements to get in, in those parties too there is not as much attention given to eliminating bourgeois trends as there is keenness to observe traditional principles of bourgeois morality. Since such repression will not be there for the legal parties and parties enjoying state power there will be comparatively greater opportunities for undesirable elements to grow in these parties. Even in the secret parties all precautions are geared to withstand the enemy's repression but similar precautions are not adopted to strengthen its proletarian character. As such, special regulations must be enlisted to enrich the proletarian character of the party even after the victory of revolution. Special care must be bestowed to build the party with those who firmly stand in the class struggle in socialist society, those who recognise carrying out class struggle depending on the broad masses of the people as the key link to the development of socialist society, those militants who voluntarily give up their bourgeois right and come forward to contribute more labour for the early victory of the world socialist revolution and with those new militant forces which emerge from the continuous revolution waged to smash remnants of the exploitative class ideas in the superstructure.

VII. Not only it suffices to destroy the remnants of the exploitative class ideas in the superstructure through uninterrupted revolution, but also the proletarian outlook should be strongly established. Thus, enhancing the socialist consciousness of the people is the only and the best guarantee for the final victory of socialist revolution and this should be grasped firmly.

## MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT IS NOT LIMITED TO CHINA ALONE

Contrary to the 9th congress resolution of the party, the present leadership of the CPC led by Deng Xiaoping has limited Mao Thought, which is the Marxism - Leninism of the present era, as simply applying to Chinese experiences alone. Since the Chinese People have enormous love and confidence in Mao Thought, the present leadership of the CPC is paying lip service to Mao Thought and flattering it outwardly, only as a part of their crooked ulterior scheme to destroy it in actual practice. This is evident both, in the History Resolution and in the implementation of various economic and political policies.

## THE PATH OF WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS UNFOLDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Whenever revisionism raises its head, always confusion arises in the communist movement, mainly, on two important issues. They are, first, the relation between the Socialist revolutions in various countries and the world socialist revolution, and second, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the first world war period, the Second International leadership had dogmatically argued that revolution in a single country is impossible and to think of such a thing is itself anti-Marxian. So also they opposed proletarian dictatorship. To support their assertion, they turned the words of Marx into a dogma. Marx spoke those words at a time when capitalism was still in the lessier fair stage, when it did not yet grow into imperialism and when it was not possible to imagine in advance the peculiar specific features of imperialism. Insisting that revolution should take place in the entire world simultaneously and that there is no other way, they simply wasted ripe opportunities for socialist revolution in several countries of Europe. Revolutions which succeeded in some places also failed in its very inception due to lack of proper guidance.

While the Second International leadership has betrayed revolution during the period of the first world war with bourgeois

right opportunism, the Trotsky clique has hampered revolution by rejecting the Brestlistovsk treaty and pushing forward the theory that through revolution succeeds in a single country it is not possible to sustain it.

So also, another dogma also was brought forward saying that even if revolution were to succeed in one country, it is possible only in such countries where the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production became most acute, and where capitalism is developed to the highest stage. The Second International leaders also advanced this arguments to oppose revolution in Russia. After studying the specific features of capitalism in the era of imperialism Com. Lenin and Stalin have theorised that due to the phenomenon of uneven development, which is a characteristic feature of capitalism, the development of revolutionary consciousness throughout the world will also be inevitably uneven. Therefore, corresponding to it, it is possible that revolutions may break out in one or more countries first and can become successful; and that these revolutions will break at the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism. By establishing these theories Coms. Lenin and Stalin have bombarded the bourgeois headquarters built by the Second International leaders in the International Communist movement. They have mobilised and organised the revolutionary upsurge of the first world war period and won victory for revolution in Russia. Since then, while the Second International has remained as a sign of counter revolution in history, the Third International has come into existence as a revolutionary force which advances marxism in a living way creatively.

But however, Coms. Lenin and Stalin never denied the world revolutionary perspective or its importance. They never fancied that revolution, victorious in one country, can develop self-sufficiently and transform itself into communism without concerning itself with world revoltion. What they wanted to say was that due to the peculiar features of imperialism it is not possible for revolution to triumph all over the world at the same time and that it will break-out in one or more countries first and



then gradually become victorious throughout the world. Com. Lenin said that

*“The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This is bound to create not only friction, but a direct attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the socialist state’s victorious proletariat.”* (emphasis by Lenin) (LCW Vol. 23 pp. 79)

World revolution will not occur all at a time. It will be completed as a process over a prolonged period of time. Until such time it will advance according to a specific programme, strategy and tactics. If it advances under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, the social revolutions in different countries will advance on the basis of its own programme as part of the world revolution and in accordance with its strategy and tactics. Coms. Lenin and Stalin explained this very clearly. In ‘Problems of Leninism’ Com. Stalin wrote that :

*“The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of the revolution in one country, in the present case Russia, is not only the product of the uneven development and progressive decay of imperialism; it is at the same time the beginning of and the precondition for the world revolution”.*

(stress by Stalin) (Problems of Leninism—Page 155)

Com. Lenin has stressed the same point in the following lines :

*“The final victory of socialism in a single country is ofcourse impossible”.* (LCW Vol-26, pp 470).

*“Every one knows the difficulties of a revolution. It may begin with a brilliant success in one country and then go through agonising periods, since final victory is only possible on a world scale, and only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries”.*

(LCW Vol—27, pp 372, 373) . (emphasis ours)

Speaking about the Russian revolution Com. Lenin said that :

*“We have however always said that we are only a single link in the chain of the world revolution and have never set ourselves the aim of achieving victory by our own means”*

(LCW Vol—32, pp 431). (emphasis ours)

The following lines of Com. Stalin, explaining the third stage of the Russian revolution, very clearly brings out the fact that not only the success of revolution in one country is not self-sufficient, but also the final victory of revolution in that country depends on the victory of world revolution, also the world socialist revolution proceeds according to a specific strategy and tactics. The following lines show how profoundly they believed in this facts :

*“Third Stage : Began after the October Revolution, Objective : to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the defeat of imperialism in all countries. The revolution spreads beyond the confines of one country: the epoch of world revolution has begun. The main forces of the revolution : the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves : the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, and the liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeoisie democrats, and isolation of the Parties of the Second International, which constitutes the main support of the policy of compromise with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces : alliance of the proletariat revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries”.* (emphasis by Stalin)

(Stalin, J. V., Problems of Leninism, Peking Ed. 81 & 82)

While explaining the first two stages of Russian revolution (i.e) from 1903 to 1917 and from March to October 1917, Com. Stalin had given a detailed account about the four main aspects of strategy (viz) Target, main forces, main direction of the blow and the plan for deployment of revolutionary forces. Saying that the third stage in the Russian revolution has begun after October

1917 he mentioned its target for that entire period as consolidating the proletarian dictatorship in that country and defeating imperialism, spread over the rest of the world, utilising it as the base. This should be noted significantly. From this assertion it follows that world socialist revolution will commence in one or more countries first and then gradually, win victory throughout the world. Also, he clarified, that the socialist revolution which succeeds in one country is not self-sufficient and that it is only a lever to accelerate the defeat of imperialism in the rest of the world. From this the attitude of Coms. Lenin and Stalin towards world socialist revolution is quite obvious.

From the above teachings of Coms. Lenin and Stalin it will be clear that they considered world socialist revolution not just as winning victory in different countries one after the other successively and thus becoming successful finally in the entire world in some time, but that the world socialist revolution will advance ahead according to a specific strategy and tactics under the aegis of the International Communist movement taking the first socialist country as its base to defeat imperialism in the rest of the countries of the world.

That is why the Third Communist International formed under the leadership of Com. Lenin after the victorious Russian revolution declared its tasks as follows in the very first article of its constitution.

*“The Communist International, —the International Workers’ Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a world communist Party. As the leader and organiser of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the upholder of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society”*

(emphasis ours)

The meaning of the above article is clear. It need not be stressed separately that world revolution is not a thing to culminate by itself automatically one day, but it is a task to be fulfilled by the world communist movement in pursuance of definite strategy.

When it is said that socialist revolution will begin in one or some countries and gradually win victory throughout the world, it is clear that the socialist revolution successful in that one or more countries, is not only the beginning and basis for the world socialist revolution but it is also a pre-condition for it. That means it is not at all possible for the world socialist revolution to win victory without thus beginning in one or more countries first. As such the democratic and socialist revolutions going on in different countries all over the world in the era of imperialism are all inseparable parts of the world socialist revolution. Therefore, wherever socialist revolution wins victory first, its final victory will be completed only with the victory of world socialist revolution as a whole, since its final victory is dependent upon and indivisibly linked up with the destruction of world wide imperialism.

While Com. Lenin had declared that the victory of the October revolution in Russia is the beginning of the world socialist revolution Com. Mao has categorically clarified in 1940, in his famous work "New Democracy", that the new democratic revolution going on in China is an indivisible part of the world socialist revolution.

The Marxist understanding regarding world socialist revolution has thus developed creatively and became very comprehensive with Mao Zedong thought.

To realise the speciality and significance of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, this aspect has to be appreciated from another angle also. It has to be appreciated from the angle of the shifting of the epicentre of revolution from the developed west to the colonial east, the weakest link in the imperialist chain.

In the pre-imperialist era Marx envisaged the possibility of simultaneous revolution in all the capitalist countries of the West. After that with the advent of imperialism Lenin discovered the law of uneven development under imperialism and established the possibility of breaking the imperialist chain at the weakest link. He also indicated the shifting of the epicentre to Russia. However, on the question of what course the world revolution would take in future, the assessment that revolutions will occur in the advanced countries continued to pervade the thinking of that day, and Lenin looked forward for revolutions in the imperialist countries of Europe. He said that :

*‘The Russian Revolution can achieve victory by its own efforts, but it cannot possibly hold and consolidate its gains by its own strength. It cannot do this unless there is a socialist revolution in the West’*  
(LCW, Vol—10, pp. 280)

But after seeing the betrayal of the Second International and the failure of revolutions in Europe, and on analysing the objective situation of world imperialism, Lenin stressed the importance of the national liberation movements of the East. He declared that *‘the national colonial question is a component part of the general question of international proletarian revolution’*. Though Com. Stalin defended Lenin’s teachings on the national and colonial question, the Third International under Com. Stalin’s leadership still looked towards the possibility of revolutions breaking out in the advanced West and did not attach necessary importance to the fact of the epicentre of revolution shifting to the East. As such, after the victorious October Revolution, it was not possible in those times to clearly state that revolutions thereafter also will certainly breakout in the weakest link in the chain of imperialism and to chart out the path of revolution on those lines. Such a clarification has begun only with Com. Mao. In his renowned article entitled *‘A single spark can start a prairie fire’* Com. Mao wrote in 1930 as follows -

*Although the subjective forces of the revolution in China are now weak, so also are all organisations (organs of political power, armed forces, political parties, etc.) of the reactionary ruling classes, resting as they do on the backward and fragile,*

*social and economic structure of China. This helps to explain why revolution cannot break-out at once in the countries of Western Europe where, although the subjective forces of revolution are now perhaps some what stronger than in China the forces of the reactionary ruling classes are many times stronger. In China the revolution will undoubtedly move towards a high tide more rapidly, for although the subjective forces of the revolution at present are weak, the forces of the counter revolution are relatively weak too'*. (emphasis ours.) (Mao, selected works Vol. 1, Page 119).

Once the conclusion that revolutions will breakout at the weakest link in the chain of imperialism is accepted, then to assess which is that weakest link and the comparative balance of strength between the reactionary ruling classes and the revolutionary forces in the respective countries also becomes an important factor for consideration. After the Russian revolution, the entire history of world revolution had advanced according to the above principle only.

As such it becomes clear that the two factors-the uneven development of imperialism and the comparative balance of forces between the reactionary classes and the revolutionary forces in the respective countries - these two factors are deciding the course of the onward march of the world revolution.

Further strengthening the thesis of Com. Lenin, that in pursuance of the uneven development of imperialism, revolutions breakout at the weakest link of imperialism, Com. Mao Zedong has clarified that the centre of revolution has shifted from the developed countries to the backward countries and from the continent of Europe to Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Not only that, applying the same law of uneven development to internal conditions of China Com. Mao made it clear that it is not possible to liberate entire China at one time but by building base areas first in the vast backward rural areas of China where the enemy is weak and creating a nation wide upsurge. Then expanding these from one point to many points, and from small ones to extensive areas, the countryside has to be liberated first and then ultimately nationwide victory can be won through

encircling the cities. Com. Mao has also said that since the character of revolutionary war and its features will generally be the same in all colonial semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, this path applies not merely to China, but to all these countries. Thus Mao developed the theory of protracted people's war.

While the Second Communist International made a dogma out of what Marx said at a time when there was no possibility to understand the specific features of imperialism, and argued that revolutions in individual countries are impossible. After the death of Com. Lenin although Third Communist International recognised in the programme adopted at its sixth congress that *"USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the centre of international revolution, the greatest factor in the world history"* it failed to educate through concrete steps and make the oppressed people realise the truth that although revolution succeeds in one country it can only become the beginning of world socialist revolution but it can never be self-sufficient and its final victory is inevitably linked up with the victory of world socialist revolution. It could not prepare the people for that. Whatever has been said in words, that the revolution victorious in a single country could be self-sufficient and complete in itself has taken root in the minds of the people and the truth that it is not self-sufficient but it is inseparably linked up with world revolution has not made sufficient impact on the minds of the oppressed people. The practice of the proletarian parties also did not accord with that truth. In Russia where socialist revolution was victorious first, excessive complacency has been exhibited in the matter of carrying out revolution in the Superstructure corresponding to the revolution in economic base. This complacency tantamounts to the consideration that the development of productive forces itself will automatically usher in the necessary changes in the superstructure. That is why after the death of Com. Stalin, it was easy for renegade Krushchov to convert the proletarian Party into a bourgeois Party and the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship.

Com. Lenin taught us that in order to achieve final victory of Socialism, as a part of the world socialist revolution, in any country where revolution succeed first, a revolution has to be

carried out in the superstructure also corresponding to the revolution that occurred in the economic base. He said that in the ideas of the people and in the theoretical and political spheres also a revolution has to be carried on under the leadership of the proletariat depending on mass line, and the vast masses of people should be prepared to increase production not merely for their own interests but to shoulder additional responsibilities for the collective interests and thereby gradually overcome the reactionary ideas of the past exploitative class societies which hinder them in fulfilling such tasks in the larger interest of the community and realise the necessity of establishing and maintaining their own control over the administrative machinery. Congratulating the Moscow railway workers for their voluntary extra labour during the civil war after the victory of revolution in Russia, Com. Lenin observed :

*"Evidently this is only a beginning, but it is a beginning of exceptionally great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism. Only when this victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, socialist discipline, be created; then and only then, will a reversion to capitalism become impossible communism will become really invincible".*

(I.C.W Vol-29pp. 411) (Emphasis ours)

The revolution in the consciousness of the people envisaged by Com. Lenin in the above lines is the cultural revolution launched by Com. Mao. Although Com. Stalin supported all the above in toto, in practice his concentration on these things was little. To achieve these goals he depended more on the Party mechanism and government machinery rather than on the strength of the masses.

It was only at the time of Com. Mao Zedong that the cultural revolution, envisaged by Com. Lenin, gained importance.

*"When Lenin called for a 'cultural Revolution', he realised that for the complete victory of socialism it was necessary that the*



*masses of the workers and peasants should take the work of government into their own hands and that to achieve this they must raise their cultural level to the point at which they could impose their own proletarian ideology in place of the old bourgeois ideology and so clear away the bureaucratic obstacles behind which the bourgeoisie had entrenched themselves”.*

*“These, too, were the aims of the Chinese cultural revolution. It was designed not merely to eliminate the elements hostile to socialism, but to enable the working class to ‘exercise leadership in every thing’, and to ensure that everyone serving as an official should remain one of the common people.”*

*“In order to achieve these aims it was necessary to launch an all out offensive against bourgeois ideology in such a way that the masses would be actively involved”.*

*“Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds, and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do just the opposite. It must meet head on every challenge, of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole society”.*

*“In the great proletariat cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.”*

*“Trust the masses, rely on them, and respect their initiative, cast out fear. Don’t be afraid of disorder. Let the masses educate themselves in these great revolutionary movements and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.”*

(Peking Review No. 33, 1966 PP 7).

So also it is only in the times of Com. Mao that the dogma of the Third International regarding the path of revolution was corrected by overcoming the hurdles resulting from it and advancing the world socialist revolution concretely.

The Third International under the leadership of Com. Stalin became a victim of the dogma that revolution in other

countries also, will follow the path of general insurrection as in Russia. It attempted to impose that on the parties of all other countries. However, the laws of social development are inviolable. They will operate irrespective of the wishes of human beings. The revolution in China became victorious in accordance with the specific conditions of China, pursuing the path charted out by Com. Mao, contrary to the biddings of the Third International. Com. Mao formulated the path of protracted peoples war, worthy of practice for all backward countries in the era of imperialism. According to this. "*Seizure of power through armed force and settling the issue by war*" this is the key task in revolution and its highest form. However, although this principle is the same for all countries, the method of application and enforcement of it by the proletarian parties in different countries may differ corresponding to their specific conditions.

If in a country with bourgeois democratic rights, the proletarian party will mobilise the working class and its allies and prepare them through open and legal struggles (i. e) through parliamentary, trade union and such other activities and in that process steel them to wage a general insurrection, at the time of a revolutionary crisis, to seize power in key cities first and there after to extend their authority to the entire country.

On the other hand if it is a country being ruled by one or more imperialist powers, directly or indirectly, and if a semifeudal system is prevailing there and consequently if there are no bourgeois democratic rights at all, then the proletariat Party will, from the beginning arouse and prepare the people for armed struggle depending on the peasantry the main motive force of revolution making the backward rural area its main theatre of activity, building peoples' armed forces and base areas in the countryside, extending them in the course of protracted peoples' war and encircling the cities at the end and thus seizing power finally through out the nation it will successfully complete the New Democratic revolution. In this second category of countries armed struggle is the main form of struggle. But other forms of mass struggles and mass organisations also will be inevitable. These mass struggles and mass organisations will be the preparation

for it, before the armed struggle is started; and afterwards, they will directly and indirectly support and aid the armed struggle. The glorious Chinese revolution which shook the entire world became victorious in 1949 by advancing along this very path.

In fact, not only the Chinese revolution, but the world socialist revolution which has begun with the victory of the October revolution is also following this course. It will be clear from a close study of its course that the world socialist revolution also follows the path of protracted peoples war charted out by Com. Mao, (i. e), depending on the peasantry as the main motive force in the revolution: adopting the countryside as the main area of activity, building peoples armed forces and base areas there, and extending these gradually in the course of protracted peoples war, encircling the cities in the end and thus achieving complete victory all over the country; and advancing according to the general principle of revolution - defeat, victory, defeat, victory, again defeat and ultimate victory.

If we consider the entire world as a single unit, then the countries of Europe, North America, Japan etc , where capitalism has developed to the highest stage, (in other words the first and the second worlds, following Com. Mao's division of the present world into three categories), can be considered as cities; and the backward countries of the third world as the countryside. Again within these third world countries those areas which are comparatively more developed can be reckoned as rural areas where the government machinery is well entrenched due to the development of capitalism and better communication systems; rest of the third world countries can be considered as backward rural areas where the enemy is very weak. Revolutions have occurred so far only in such countries, likened to the backward rural areas. The history of revolutions so far show that hereafter too, the course of revolution will proceed along the above lines. With revolution extending at last to the well developed capitalist countries, which can be likened to cities, and thus finally the world socialist revolution will consummate to ultimate victory. That means, the world socialist revolution will be victorious following the path of protracted peoples war formulated by Com. Mao.

To sum up, while the Second International leadership betrayed revolution from one angle, after the death of Com. Lenin, the leadership of the Third International also hampered the world socialist revolution from another angle, by its defective guidance regarding the path of world socialist revolution and by its erroneous ideological understanding regarding continuing revolution in the superstructure which considered that changes in the superstructure will automatically usher in with the development of productive forces. The task of setting right that damage, preserving and creatively developing Marxism Leninism, and advancing world socialist revolution, fell on the shoulders of Com. Mao. The ideology that emerged out of the fulfilment of that task is itself Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought. That is why its validity and application is not just confined to China alone as the present leadership of the CPC under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping maintains in its History Resolution. It is universally applicable to all countries of the world and is the Marxism of the present times. Contrary to this truth, trying to limit it to China alone is nothing but obstructing the creative development of Marxism and betraying it.

## **MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT ALONE IS THE MARXISM OF THE PRESENT TIMES :**

Mao thought has emerged from the revolutionary practice of overcoming the hurdles facing the world socialist revolution that had begun in October, 1917 in Russia. It has emerged from overcoming the hurdles, such as the dogma of the Third International leaders that the Russian path of the revolution is the only path applicable to the entire world etc, and by advancing revolution in China along the path of protracted peoples war. So also, it has emerged through establishing and demonstrating the theory that revolution should be carried on uninterruptedly under the aegis of proletariat dictatorship, while revolution is carried on uninterruptedly under the leadership of the proletariat to smash the reactionary ideology and all its vestiges of the erstwhile exploitative class societies from the minds of the people

and from all the ideological, cultural and political spheres in order to destroy even the last available opportunity for restoration of capitalism, modern revisionism is resisting it at every step with blind and dogmatic arguments that there is no scope at all for class struggle in socialist societies in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. Since there are no classes there and that the revolution which occurred there in the economic base will automatically transform into Communism simply by developing productive forces. By carrying on cultural revolution to root out this modern revisionism and through establishing the theory that uninterrupted revolution should be carried on under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao thought has developed as the Marxism Leninism of the present era.

While it is so, the denouncing of Cultural revolution by the present leadership of the CPC as reactionary and its redefining and praise of Mao thought as the ideology applicable to Chinese revolution alone are nothing but simply deceiving the Chinese people and the revolutionary forces of the whole world. While denouncing the theory that even after the victory of socialist revolution in one country, it is necessary to carry on uninterrupted revolution under the leadership of the proletariat along the path of Cultural revolution upholding class struggle as the key link in order to achieve final victory of socialism there as a part of the world socialist revolution and while denouncing the GPCR on one hand, if at the same time some one pretends, as if owing allegiance to Mao thought, it will be simply ridiculous and as much a betrayal of revolution as that of the Second International leadership which denounced proletariat dictatorship but at the same time claimed allegiance to Marxism. But what the present leadership of the CPC is doing is just the same.

As the Chinese people have enormous love and confidence in Com. Mao and his theories, the present leadership of the CPC could not dare to condemn Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought openly. But as a part of their crooked scheme to destroy it systematically, they are unashamedly denouncing the GPCR and the theory of inevitability of class struggle in socialist

society as counter-revolutionary but at the same time pretend that they are still adhering to Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought. Whatever might be the reasons for their pretensions, an examination of the policies of the present leadership of the CPC, ever since the death of Com. Mao shows that these pretensions also are a part of their scheme to systematically destroy and completely root out Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought as quickly as possible. First they directed their attack against the "gang of four" only keeping Com. Mao apart. Then they began saying that although the Cultural revolution was alright the "gang of four" have perpetuated unimaginable atrocities in the name of that revolution and thus concentrated on exaggerating those alleged atrocities and excesses. Thereafter they came out with the conclusion that Mao Zedong thought was correct upto 1956 only and that it went wrong afterwards. Afterwards they came out with a resolution affirming that Mao's theories after 1956 were solely responsible for the present "ills" of China. To-day, they are condemning the GPCR as a catastrophe and theoretically denouncing it as a counter-revolution, which they have been owning and supporting, at least in words, for some time after the death of Com. Mao. Considering all this practice, it is not difficult to understand that all this is a well knit conspiracy purposely intended to completely root out Mao thought according to a systematic scheme.

In fact, four C.C. did not take either a supporting or an opposing stand with regard to the "gang of four". It is not due to lack of any particular opinion towards them and their activities. Considering it as an internal affair of that party was the only reason for not expressing our stand on that matter. Defects and short-comings in any movement are not matter for surprise. If the aim and purpose of that movement is accepted as correct, then identifying the defects and shortcomings in its implementation and practice and dealing with them would be an internal matter for the Party which led it. Such an examination will be possible for that Party alone. It is only in this view, we did not publish any literature either hailing the "gang of four" or the several tons of literature dumped out condemning them. Still we feel that it is correct to have shown such a restraint in that matter at that time. It is not taking a neutral stand on concrete issues. It is only a part of International Communist

tradition of not interfering in the internal affairs of fraternal parties without close examination and deep study. But continuing class struggle in socialist society and carrying out Cultural revolution in order to achieve final victory of socialism there is an ideological issue concerning all the revolutionaries all over the world. Every Communist Party has the right, and also the duty, to express its opinions on these issues.

So also, the controversy that arose between Com Mao and renegade Liu Shaoqi with regard to the principal contradiction in the society where socialist revolution was completed in the main and the method of resolving it also is not a matter concerned to China alone. All the revolutionaries all over the world have also to resolve it. So also, the rehabilitation of renegade Liu-Shaoqi into the party, after the death of Com. Mao, by the present leadership of the CPC led by Deng Xiao Ping, where as the party had already exposed his theories as counter-revolutionary theories and condemned him as the leader of the bourgeoisie conspiring to restore capitalism in China and had summarily removed him from the party, and concluding that the thesis of both Com. Mao and renegade Liu Shaoqi regarding the principal contradiction in socialist society are wrong but that of Liu Shaoqi is nearer to reality, these also are not issues limited to China alone. These issues are concerned to all the revolutionaries all over the world. They are related to the entire communist movement of the whole world clearly stating their opinions on these issues is a task for everybody. That is why, though we have purposely refrained from taking sides in the so-called "gang of four" affair, we have been frankly expressing our opinions, within the available limits, to the CPC as a fraternal Party, on all the issues, continuing of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying on cultural revolution in the superstructure corresponding to the revolution that occurred in the economic base, that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the one between the proletariat advancing towards the final victory of socialism and the bourgeoisie desperately making efforts to restore capitalism etc. In that context, we have been discharging our responsibility as a fraternal Party, in accordance with international traditions,

The present leadership of the CPC under Deng Xiaoping, on one hand declares, of course only in words, that they always adhere to Mao thought but at the same time, their History Resolution has totally changed the definition of Mao thought and made it topsyversy. It has rejected the definition adopted in the 9th Congress. It defines Mao thought as simply applicable to Chinese revolution alone. When this is questioned, pretending very modest they put a naive query: "*How could we ourselves claim that it applies to the whole world ?*" If it is real modesty, why did not this modesty come in their way when they annulled the unanimous resolution of the 9th Congress. All this is nothing but an international plot under the modern revisionist leadership of Deng XiaoPing to systematically destroy Mao thought completely. They are adopting dubious methods since they could not dare to attack Mao thought directly and openly because of its strong roots in the Chinese masses.

Modern revisionism in the Soviet Union could physically bury the body of Com. Stalin and gradually restore capitalism there. But in China, due to the impact of the long drawn out GPCR, waged against modern revisionism, under the leadership of Com. Mao, it is not possible for the counter revolutionaries there, as in the Soviet Union, just to bury Mao's body and to directly attack and destroy Mao thought. That is why these counter revolutionaries are making all efforts to pollute and undermine the socialist consciousness of the people by offering the prey of monetary incentives and to hood wink the masses with the prop of the new bourgeois class emerging from the bureaucracy with in the party and government, and thus to prepare the necessary material conditions for the restoration of capitalism and thereby to gradually root out Mao thought completely. The difference between the two methods the Russian method and the Chinese method - is only in the tactics adopted by each according to the different objective conditions, but the aims of both of them is one and the same - the restoration of capitalism.

Restoration of capitalism, transforming the proletarian Party into bourgeois Party and the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship, depending on the new bourgeois class emerging on the basis of bureaucracy which dominates the Party



mechanism and administrative machinery, is the common feature both to Russia and China.

Explaining the significance of theory, Com. Lenin said that :

*“Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement”.* (LCW Vol 4, pp.380).

It is also equally true that revolution cannot be destroyed without destroying revolutionary theory. That is why, the 9th Congress resolution on the definition of Mao thought is rejected and Mao thought is redefined as applicable to the Chinese experience alone, that too only to the experience up to 1956 alone, and thus while paying lip-service to Mao thought it is sought to be distorted and its life vigour sought to be drained out. All this is a grand plot to gradually destroy Mao thought and to bury it deep permanently.

In the present struggle going on in China between the onward march for the final victory of socialism and the desperate efforts for restoration of capitalism, either the reactionary theory of Liushaoqi should completely assert, or smashing it completely, Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought should triumph. Contrary to it, both of them cannot be some how reconciled and made to stand together. That is simply impossible, pretending to do so, is nothing but hood winking the people to ultimately bury Mao thought. This is also a part of the grand strategem of the present Chinese leadership. Without radically destroying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, it is not possible to fulfil the restoration of capitalism. So also it is impossible to achieve final victory of socialism without completely routing the counter revolutionary theories of Liu Shaoqi and its heirs the Deng Ziaoping clique. That is the key issue of the current history going on in China.

In the internal war between revolution and counter-revolution now being waged in China, counter-revolution under the leadership of the modern revisionists has, for the present, gained an upper hand. This is an undeniable fact. However bitter the truth might be, it cannot but be accepted that under the aegis of

the modern revisionists, the Communist Party of China has turned into a bourgeois party and the proletarian dictatorship there has turned into bourgeois dictatorship.

Right from the day of the establishment of the First International under the leadership of Marx till today, in the course of the protracted worldwide fierce struggle between the decaying bourgeoisie and the ever growing proletariat, Marxism is getting more and more steeled and being creatively developed further, and to-day it is developed as Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought. Corresponding to the course of that development, the definition of a real Marxist and a real Communist also has been changing accordingly. The definition that one who accepts Marxism is a Marxist and Communist had to be changed after the Second International leadership betrayed revolution. After exposure and refutation of that betrayal, Marxism was preserved and creatively developed and Marxism Leninism has become the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. So also, Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought has become the Marxism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world wide victory.

### SOME DISCORDANT NOTES :

With the counter revolutionary forces gaining upper hand for the present in China, naturally the revolutionary forces all over the world are very much disheartened. Even the world bourgeois revolution could win victory only in a protracted process winning victories and suffering defeats in a prolonged series. The bourgeois revolution that began in England in the 17th Century could not win victory all over the continent of Europe until the end of 19th century. Any revolution has to suffer many ups and downs before it reaches its final victory, as long as the influence of the exploiting classes do not fully cease to have its impact on the people of that class or classes in whose interest that revolution is being waged. That is why Com. Mao taught us that defeat, victory, again defeat and ultimately victory is a universal principle of revolution. This is more so a fact in respect of the proletarian revolution. Unless the wrong ideology inherited from the exploitative societies which prevailed for thousands of years is

completely rooted out from the oppressed masses, it is not possible to achieve final victory, for socialism.

The difference between other revolutions and the proletarian revolution in this respect was very clearly brought out in the Communist Manifesto thus :

*“All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurance of, individual property”.* (Manifesto of the Communist Party, Peking ed. pp. 47) (Emphasis ours)

Even the proletariat cannot be immune to the erroneous ideology, based on private property that swamped the human society with its emergence. All that wrong ideology will greatly help the counter revolution to create innumerable hurdles to the proletarian class on its way of achieving its goal. Therefore, the proletarian revolution cannot advance ahead without encountering many more hurdles than any other revolution that preceded it.

Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong that teaches us that under such circumstances we have to grasp the above universal truth more steadfastly and advance ahead ever more courageously developing socialist consciousness in the oppressed masses and strive hard with redoubled Bolshevik dedication and unflinching determination to convert the defeat into victory. It is but natural that wrong theories always rear their heads when ever setbacks occur in the onward march of revolution. So also, it is not surprising that now, again certain wrong trends are raising their heads to take advantage of the present failure of revolution in China and to undermine the morale of the proletariat by spreading despondency. The discordant notes of the Trotskyites are also a part of this.

Taking advantage of the failure of revolution in China they are again bringing forth their rotten theory that the theory of revolution succeeding in a single country is itself wrong. Also some futile attempts are being made to prove that Marxism is wrong and Trotskyism is right. In our country some such cries of disharmony are being heard. Are these arguments of the Trotskyites in anyway scientific? Does the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries in anyway deny the laws of development of society? While examining these reverses, should we examine the particular problem concerned with socialist construction or should we question the very laws of development of society itself?

As Com. Mao said "*qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods*". The Trotskyites have always ignored this general law of development. They never concentrate on resolving particular contradiction in particular way.

First, do the reversals in Russia and China negate the law that it is possible to build socialism first in one or two countries, and utilise these as a base for world socialist revolution? It does not. In the era of imperialism the law of uneven development still applies. And because of this uneven development, revolution will breakout in the weakest link in the imperialist chain and not simultaneously in all countries or in the most developed capitalist countries. The laws of imperialism and social revolution as outlined by Lenin and Stalin still hold good. Secondly, there is no other possibility than for the revolutionary movements to develop independently in each country according to the stage of development of the productive forces in that particular country. Society has to be developed according to certain laws, from one stage to the next. It is for the revolutionaries to understand these laws and act in accordance with them. Trotskyism fails to recognise that society develops only according to stages and so their actions do not conform with the general laws of development of society and are so doomed to failure. In a semi-feudal semi-colonial society the revolution has necessarily to pass through two stages the bourgeois democratic (under the leadership of the proletariat) and

then the socialist. These two stages are inevitable because the society passes through different stages of development and as such, there can be no such thing as accomplishing both at one stroke. The first provides the condition for the second and the two must be consecutive without allowing any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship. The present day Trotskyites still argue that revolution will breakout in the most developed capitalist countries. They refuse to recognise that Asian, African and Latin American countries are the storm centres of revolution, even where they deny the two stages of revolution and advocate socialist revolution.

Also, Lenin and Mao have repeatedly warned that as long as socialism is not victorious all over the world, the danger of capitalist restoration will always remain.

Thirdly, the reversals in Russia and China are because of the specific problems of socialist revolution, i. e., of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theory of uninterrupted revolution is diametrically opposed to the Trotskyite theory of 'permanent revolution'. The theory of continuous or uninterrupted revolution propounded by Comrades Lenin and Mao involves continuously carrying out class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing towards communism by solving the contradictions step by step. Internally, this must be done through a continuous transformation in the superstructure in order to serve the developing socialist economic base, and externally, by assisting all the proletarian and national liberation movements of the world. Thus, the socialist countries internally advance towards communism and internationally act as the base for defeating imperialism and advancing the world socialist revolution. Both these tasks are inseparably linked to maintain its socialist character. Such is the theory of Lenin and Mao of continuous revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. On the contrary, the Trotskites deny that socialism can be consolidated in one country and talk of a permanent revolution. This means :

Firstly, it denies uneven economic development under imperialism and therefore denies the possibility of revolution breaking out in one or two states.

Secondly, it denies the *"dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, as the leader and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian class (the peasantry etc.) as the led"*. And on the contrary, Trotskyites see *"a hostile collision"* between the proletarian vanguard and the broad masses of the peasantry. And therefore, according to Trotsky *"the necessary struggle can be found only in the arena of the world proletarian revolution"*. So, as Stalin says Trotsky's theory means in essence, that revolution must *"vegetate in its own contradictions and not away while waiting for the world revolution"*. In other words the *"permanent revolution"* of Trotsky means no revolution.

The restoration of capitalism in Russia and China have in no way decried the Marxist Leninist understanding of the general laws for the development of society, or even, those of socialist construction. They have only thrown up new problems before the international proletariat.

From the defeats suffered by Proletarian revolution in Russia and China, drawing such a lesson that the very occurrence of revolutions in that way is itself wrong, is nothing but subverting, in other words the proletarian revolution. Such an argument is directly opposed to Marxism-Leninism itself. In fact, the occurring of those revolutions is not wrong. If those revolutions were not at all there, world socialist revolution would not have developed to the present stage. That is indisputable. In fact, not paying heed to the repeated precautions of Com. Lenin regarding the consolidation of the fruits of those revolutions is the real mistake. Not realising the significance of those teachings and cautions which clearly said that in socialist society also classes will persist and that the overthrown classes will desperately strive to destroy proletarian dictatorship is a still bigger mistake. Failure to implement these precautions and, failure in strengthening the proletarian dictatorship is the biggest mistake. Complacency to the many sided teachings of Com. Lenin and the failure to grasp the danger of bureaucracy arising in the Party and government, and the counter-revolutionary strength of the new bourgeoisie that arises out of it is a much more towering mistake. The absence of any attempt to consciously wage a continuous revolution in the superstructure also, corresponding to the revolution that

occurred in the economic base to effectively eradicate the wrong ideology deeply embedded in every nerve of the vast oppressed masses, ever since the birth of private property as a heritage of the erstwhile exploitative systems of human society, and to establish in its place socialist ideology, is another stupendous mistake. Failure in strictly implementing proletarian democracy firmly basing on mass line in order to establish the real control of the oppressed masses over the administrative machinery is another very serious mistake which the communists should never commit. Any revolutionary who aspires for the victory of world socialist revolution will take these lessons from the failures of revolution in Russia and China. These are the real lessons to be drawn. The essence of all these lessons, is the teaching of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought that after the seizure of power, continuous and uninterrupted revolution has to be carried on under the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to win final victory for socialism. That is why Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought is the Marxism of the era of total collapse of imperialism and worldwide victory of socialism.

If the scientific outlook regarding the world socialist revolution is blurred, no wonder, such a lot of despair and despondency would set in, consequent to the failure of revolution in China, that the aim of revolution itself gets obliterated. Some who are thus disheartened and dispirited easily get flabbergasted with this failure and conclude in despair that all the gains of the world wide communist movement ever since the October revolution of 1917 were totally lost with this failure. They come to the assessment that the world socialist movement has slipped back to the stage prevailing before the beginning of revolution in Russia. Even they loose the confidence and hope that it can ever recoup. As such they become inexorably despondent.

The failures of the Russian and Chinese revolution are very serious setbacks to the world socialist movement. But it is one thing to recognise them as serious set-backs and yet it is another to conclude that the world socialist revolution has dropped down to the stage of pre-October revolution days. That is only a mechanical materialist assessment. While enjoying state power, considering the strength of state power as everything and not

recognising the deficiencies of the movement, and when the power is lost considering that everything was lost and not able to see the inherent revolutionary mettle of the revolutionary people who experienced revolutionary authority till the other day, this is only a mechanical idealist feature and not at all a dialectical materialist feature.

Both in victory and defeat, the negative and positive aspects of both the enemy and ourselves have to be taken into account. For instance, take a look at the Chinese revolution. All of us know very well that Chinese revolution, different than the Russian revolution, advanced along the path of concentrating on the weak spots of the enemy, building base areas wherever possible by annihilating the enemy forces, extending such base areas and encircling the towns and cities at last to win nationwide victory finally. However, in the course of the development of revolution, due to the wrong decisions of the then leadership of the CPC under the guidance of the Third International, the Chinese revolution had to suffer many a debacle. It was cornered to the position of abandoning all the existing base areas and run for shelter in Yen-an after retreating hundreds of miles. Party membership and armed forces which were in lakhs have drastically diminished into few thousands. But can any body say that due to all that it was driven back to the stage pre-first civil war days? If that is so, how can we explain its tremendous by 1945, that by the end of the world war it was already in a position to completely rout the armed forces of Chiangkai Shek to achieve nationwide victory, bewildering not only the US imperialists but even Com. Stalin in our own camp.

In fact, the situation of the world revolution, today, after the failures of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, is just like the Chinese revolution which took shelter in Yen-an after the extraordinary fete of an arduous long march leaving all the base areas through unprecedented valour.

However, to understand the totality of the situation we must assess the situation of the enemy camp also. On that side, the enemy situation is much worse. World imperialism is very weak today than ever before. Though the failure of Chinese revolution created a very favourable situation to imperialism,



to day imperialism does not have the capacity to consolidate and utilise, it. It is already neck deep in crisis - a crisis unprecedented in history, It is enmeshed in an unending arms race. Having no other way to riggle out of that difficult situation it is driving itself to the door of another world war.

As against this, the world revolutionary forces, compared to the times of the two world wars, have expanded to several countries. In almost all the countries of the world, Communist parties are well established. In the earlier two world wars, imperialism could exploit the backward countries, which are today called the third world, as its rear. But today, anti feudal movement has developed in all these countries and they have become the battlefields for anti imperialist movements. As such, although the failure of Russian and Chinese revolutions is a great loss to the world socialist movement, it is also impossible for the worldwide imperialism, which is enmeshed in a greater and strident crisis and consequently reached the doorstep of another world war, to utilise it.

The victory or defeat in this glorious battle between the world wide imperialism and the world socialist revolution, the battle that has begun with the victory of October revolution in Russia in 1917 and advancing ahead corresponding to the stage of the present day development of world revolutionary forces and pursuing the path of protracted peoples' war, should not be assessed simply on the basis of the defeat of one or the other base areas (however reputed they might be). Whether the organised strength of the world wide revolutionary forces is advancing or retreating? OR, whether the worldwide imperialism is further sinking into the depths of crisis or is it stepping out of it? Basing on these considerations only the situation has to be assessed.

While this is so, the revisionists, on the other hand, are displaying their meanness in a most silly way. They are gloating and gleaming that Mao thought was completely given up in China that China and Russia will soon come together, and then the Marxist Leninists in India have either to windup and go into oblivion or else join the old revisionist parties but have no other go. Once Marxism is forsaken what is the wonder if the Chinese

revisionists join hands with the Russian imperialists. Sooner it materialises, as the Indian revisionists wish it, quicker the foundations of the Chinese revisionists will crumble. That is inevitable. Thereby their real face will be so quickly exposed to the Chinese masses. Then, about the proletarian revolutionaries of India. Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought is their guiding ideology and never the CPC. None of the proletarian revolutionaries in this country have ever been appendages of the CPC. What we learnt from Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought is to think independently and to come to decisions basing on Marxism, but not to serve the parties in power slavishly. Wishing by their own mean fancies that all the Marxist-Leninists in India shall become turncoats as soon as the CPC turns revisionist, the Indian revisionists are only revealing once again their niggardly attitude, their own slavish habit of servitude to Russian imperialism and their inability to think correctly and independently.

At the time of the Second International's counter-revolutionary betrayal, the CPSU led by Lenin is only a small party. However, only by adhering to the revolutionary aspects of Marxism and by courageously fighting against the betrayal of the Second International, it could advance revolution. Again, in the context of Chinese revolution when the Third International adopted a dogmatic position to Marxism, only by fighting against those un-Marxian dogmas, and by advancing the Chinese revolution along the path of protracted peoples' war under the leadership of the CPC headed by Com. Mao the world socialist revolution could advance. This was achieved only by depending on the people, by adopting peoples' interests as the interests of the communists and by strictly adhering to the fundamental principles of Marxism Leninism. All the proletarian revolutionaries of India, however small their parties may be, will strive with all their might, fearing no sacrifice what so ever and fight shoulder to shoulder with all the proletarian revolutionaries all over the world, under the guidance of Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong thought, to resist, at every step, the modern revisionism which has stabbed the socialist revolution in the back by turning the Communist Parties into bourgeois parties and the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship after the success of revolutions in Russia and China.

They will never bow to the slavish consideration of playing it safe by clinging to the apron strings of the 'mighty' and never betray revolution by joining the bandwagon of the modern revisionists of China.

History always advances along the path of progress. The world revolutionary forces are sure to surge forward breaking through the curtain of thick fog of revisionism that temporarily clouded the revolutionary movement to-day. One who lost that confidence and hope cannot be a Marxist at all. Let us earnestly hope that the revolutionary people of China will again come to the front line in that glorious onward march. The people of China are a very great people. The temporary impact of despondency and dampening of spirits caused by the failure of revolutions in China and Russia, cannot be certainly so heavy on the people of China, as it could be on the peoples of other countries. Chinese revolution itself, won victory, only after experiencing many ups and downs. Their revolution won victory only after losing every base area to the enemy many times and again winning it back several times thus undergoing a number of cruel tests. As such our C.C., earnestly hopes that, although they may temporarily fall victims to the deception of monetary incentives offered by the counter-revolution that gained an upper hand today, the revolutionary masses of China, will soon understand the betrayal of the modern revisionists and very soon beat back the counter revolution masquerading in communist guise. We hope that they will come to the fore-front of the struggle very soon to reestablish China on sound foundations as a revolutionary base to advance world socialist revolution and to achieve astounding victories to it.

**LONG LIVE — Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.**

**LONG LIVE — World Socialist Revolution.**

**DOWN WITH — Modern Revisionism.**

**LONG LIVE -- Cultural Revolution.**