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Why Maoism?

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In the development of Marxist science assessment of the contributions of Mao Tse-tung is not an academic question or a superfluous mental exercise. It is a question of understanding Marxism in its present stage of development in full measure as a guiding principle for new Proletarian Revolutions. It is a question of understanding the point that when we say today that Marxism-Leninism and Mao thought or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is our guiding principle then what does it mean and what is its significance? Reflecting on Maoism as a noun is basically a question of reflecting on the point that whether it is possible for any party to ignore the teachings of the foremost milestone of Proletarian Revolution that was established in the form of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the guidance and leadership of Mao, and still be able to carry forward a Socialist Revolution and prevent capitalist restoration? It is a question as to whether or not Marxist science was enriched throughout by the experiment of Proletarian Cultural Revolution and also whether or not the acceptance or non-acceptance of Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the dividing line between Marxism and Revisionism?



Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a “policy of non-recognition”. We must recognize difficulties, analyse them and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. It must not be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will go down on their knees of their own accord. In a word, while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns.

— Mao Tse-tung

Publisher's Note

The present essay was published in the Hindi journal 'Dayitvabodh' in its January-April 1994 issue. It was reprinted as a booklet in Hindi in 1996 and several editions have been brought out since then. We have felt the need for an English edition since a long time but it has taken a long time to come out.

It discusses the historical process of the development of the science of proletarian and analyses the epochal contributions of Mao Tes-tung as its foremost milestone. The author argues that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the third greatest lighthouse of proletarian revolution after the the Paris Commune and the October Revolution and the problems of socialism and the causes of capitalist restoration can be understood and new editions of the October Revolution can be created only in its light.

We are publishing two other booklets in the Dayitvabodh reprint series with this booklet, they are: 'Immortal are the Flames of Proletarian Struggles' and 'Problems of Socialism, Capitalist Restoration and the Great Proletarian Cultural revolution.'

We believe that this will be important and thought-provoking material for proletarian revolutionaries and left intellectuals as well as for all those who are interested in reading about the development of Marxist science.

— *Rahul Foundatuion*

31.1.08

REASCENDING CHINGKANGSHAN

May 1965

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds
And I again ascend Chingkangshan.
Coming from afar to view our old haunt,
I find new scenes replacing the old.
Everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart,
Streams babble
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty - eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.

— **Mao Tse-tung**

Motion is the essence of science. Every science is, quantitatively in a state of constant progression. Intermittently, a phase of qualitative change in form of a leap transports it to a new stage. In epochs like these every science produces its own genius who on the basis of the discoveries-accomplishments-theories of preceding scientists study the changes in the material world and in the process take that science to a new, advanced stage of development with new, epoch-making discoveries-accomplishments- theories.

Social science is related to the extension of nature—with society, and with the highest and subtlest motion of matter—with aggregation of human-mind, therefore, it is much more complicated and intricate than natural science. Its laboratory is society and experimental material is the human-mind. Society progresses through those social revolutions that demand the most diverse and skillful exercise of the highest and subtlest energy of mankind. In the crucibles of these intricate, complicated and agonising social experiments new theories are forged, developed and verified. The process of experiment-theory-practice goes on perennially, but it does not follow a straight, smooth path. This journey of progress moves forward through various crests and troughs and traverses a tortuous, spiralling path. After several failed attempts a successful social experiment is conducted whose appraisal gives birth to a new theory. However, often this appraisal is either incomplete or partial and the lacuna is removed by a series of subsequent supplementary experiments and on the basis of this new theory a new experiment begins. Quite often it happens so that the process of verifying a new theory born by experiments becomes inordinately long, several hurdles creep up in its way and by its force of inertia surviving socially regressive forces pose a deadlock in its way.

Scientific Socialism is a social science of the same kind. In the present epoch of world history it is the science of social revolution—the science of Proletarian Revolution. As a revolutionary science of

the most revolutionary class in the history of mankind—the Proletariat, it is the paramount compendium of the journey of progress of mankind and society upto the present stage and therefore it is historically an unprecedented, dynamic revolutionary force. In a constantly changing society, Scientific Socialism as a science of revolution changes constantly. The capitalist world, thoroughly analysed by Scientific Socialism in order to change it, is in a state of constant development and on the basis of this development and experiences of revolutionary social experiments, this science of Proletarian Revolution has been constantly developing itself. Generally, Scientific Socialism is named after its first and foremost discoverer **Marx** and is known as **Marxism** (this has been accepted by Engels himself who assisted Marx). The continuously developing Marxist science took a revolutionary leap and entered a new stage in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It was named **Marxism-Leninism** after the name of **Lenin**, the epochal genius who fulfilled the role of a leader and theorist in this kind of social experiment and revolutionary development in the resulting theory. Marxism-Leninism became the science of Proletarian Revolution in the new stage of Capitalism. This signifies that the contribution of Lenin in the development of Marxism is epochal as he took it to a new stage of development.

Today, all genuine Proletarian revolutionaries who are determined and restive to create new versions of Proletarian Revolution are appraising every experiments of past, especially, the recent past, those great Socialist experiments to take the Socialist Revolution forward and prevent the restoration of Capitalism that was performed under the leadership of Mao. They are mulling over the question of contribution of **Mao Tse-tung** in the development of Marxism; how far they are important and to what extent they were epochal? Did Mao take Marxism to a new stage of development? And if he has done so then should not Marxism of today be called as **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**, as some Communist revolutionaries of the world are calling it today and as this essay is going to enunciate?

In the development of Marxist science assessment of the contributions of **Mao Tse-tung** is not an academic question or a superfluous mental exercise. It is a question of understanding Marxism in its present stage of development in full measure as a guiding principle for new Proletarian Revolutions. It is a question of understanding the

point that when we say today that Marxism-Leninism and Mao thought or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is our guiding principle then what does it mean and what is its significance? Reflecting on Maoism as a noun is basically a question of reflecting on the point that whether it is possible for any party to ignore the teachings of the foremost milestone of Proletarian Revolution that was established in the form of **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** under the guidance and leadership of Mao, and still be able to carry forward a Socialist Revolution and prevent capitalist restoration? It is a question as to whether or not Marxist science was enriched throughout by the experiment of Proletarian Cultural Revolution and also whether or not the acceptance or non-acceptance of Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the dividing line between Marxism and Revisionism?

No comrade, do not think that here again is a new nuisance, a new debate. It is a debate to know and understand Marxist science as a living science, as a historically dynamic revolutionary force (as Marx himself said), a debate that is a negation of all debates that negate the scientific nature of Marxism and is also a negation of the dogma that gives strength to these debates. Our intention actually is to think in what form the teachings from Marx to Mao are the guiding principle our actions today? Whether Mao Tse-tung qualitatively developed the science of Marxism-Leninism or not and whether his contributions took Marxism to a new (third) and higher stage of development or not? After Marx and Lenin, Mao, while leading the Communist Party in a revolutionary struggle against Imperialism and Feudalism between 1921 to 1949, developed Marxism in various ways. In specific conditions of China and general conditions of colonised countries, he completed the democratic revolution under the leadership of the Proletariat and its party and showed the way in the direction of Socialism, enunciated related strategies as well as warfare strategies and other theories and alongside he continued the work of giving new comprehensiveness and depth to the understanding of the Marxist philosophy. After the victory of the Chinese Revolution of 1949 he provided leadership to Socialist construction and revolution in China and after the death of Stalin and Capitalist restoration in Russia carried a struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and in the long period of Socialist transition provided a general line for the Proletariat, that came forth in its entire form in

the theory and experiment of Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The essence of this whole experiment was—to recognise the presence of bourgeoisie under Socialism, to implement a comprehensive dictatorship on this class and under this dictatorship continue the revolution. Mao while characterising the form, strategy and general tactics of this new Proletarian Revolution, educated the Proletariat on the general direction of the continuing class struggle in the entire historical period of Socialist transition and thereby qualitatively enriched the science of Marxism in all three fields of Philosophy, Political economy and Scientific Socialism. In this regard the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the third greatest Proletarian revolution after **Paris Commune** and **October Revolution**.

And it is needless to say that this is not the end of the development of Marxism. In words of Mao Tse-tung himself, “**Any philosophy is in the service of its contemporary task.**” (*A Critique of Soviet Economics, Monthly Review Press, 1977*). The Marxist science developed at the present stage is doing precisely this and is further developing in the process.

When we talk about applying the name to the philosophy and theory of Proletarian Revolution as **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism** or briefly as Maoism, then we do not speak of it as merely a mode to present the sum total of all the contributions of Mao. Under this rubric we want to accumulate the entire and comprehensive progress in Marxist science from Marx to Mao and declare that the contributions of Mao is a new stage of progress in Marxism. We see it as complete-collected and as a dynamic science in the development of which Marx, Lenin and Mao have most of all performed the role of the vanguard and guide by summarising the class struggles of the Proletariat and of mankind, struggle for production and entire experience relating to scientific experiments in past one hundred and fifty years. In the last nearly one hundred and fifty years, all the battles that have been fought by the Proletariat and by common people under the leadership of Proletariat or all the struggles against reactionaries that have taken place in order to take history forward such struggles, the sum of all the positive-negative experiences are a mutual heritage of the International Proletariat. Their essence is the science of today’s Proletarian Revolution, the axis of which is constructed on the essence of Paris Commune, October Revolution

and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In making of the three stages of this science Marx, Lenin and Mao performed the role of leaders and thinkers—the nomenclature, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a statement of this fact. For a thorough, balanced presentation of our proposition it is important that we discuss the historical significance of contributions of Mao in the background of the process of development in Marxist science.

Marxism: When the Science of Proletarian Revolution was born

The development in Marxist science in itself is a historical fact that establishes the veracity of dialectical materialism and the theory of scientific materialism of knowledge. The axis of its development has been the theoretical struggles in solving the practical problems of society.

“The method of Marxism is dialectical materialism which is the most systematic, condensed form of scientific method that has been invented till now and is the most accurate and the most exploratory of scientific tools to understand the entire world, universe and their laws of motion. Marxism is a materialist science, it centres itself on the material world to know the basic reason and path of development of each phenomenon and incident in nature and society. And it is dialectical because it sees all phenomena in their constant movement, transmutability and stage of development. It is dialectical because it studies the struggle of opposing elements inherent in any object or process on the basis of their movement and inherent cause of changes in them. The existence of each object in nature and society is due to unity of their inherent opposing elements and the object can be understood only through the study of the struggle of those opposing elements... Dialectical Materialists accept this truth as a universal law.”

Karl Marx, born in 1818 in Germany, started to participate in revolutionary movement in the 30's, in the 40's he was exiled and this period saw the beginning of that exceptional friendship and historic philosophical-ideological cooperation with Frederick Engels that continued lifelong.

With the help of Engels, Marx developed dialectical materialism

as a comprehensive philosophical system and discovered the fundamental laws that gave definite structure to human history. In this way as dialectical and historical materialism, the most revolutionary science for revolution of the most revolutionary class in history—the Proletariat, the most advanced science of the most advanced revolution came into being. This itself was a dynamic and lively science that declared for the first time that it is important to take command over the laws of motion of human society in order to change it consciously.

Elucidating the general direction of the progress of entire human history and history of class society Marx proved that from the division of society into classes till now its history has been the history of class struggles, class struggle is the causal force behind the forward movement of history, Capitalism is the last class-society and revolutions under leadership of the Proletariat will move the human society forward by exterminating Capitalism and by taking forward steps in the direction of a classless society.

“Indeed private property drives itself in its economic movement towards its own dissolution, but only through a development which does not depend on it, which is unconscious and which takes place against the will of private property by the very nature of things, only inasmuch as it produces the Proletariat as Proletariat, poverty which is conscious of its spiritual and physical poverty, dehumanisation which is conscious of its dehumanisation, and therefore self-abolishing. The Proletariat executes the sentence that private property pronounces on itself by producing the Proletariat, just as it executes the sentence that wage-labour pronounces on itself by producing wealth for others and poverty for itself. When the Proletariat is victorious, it by no means becomes the absolute side of society, for it is victorious only by abolishing itself and its opposites. Then the Proletariat disappears as well as the opposite which determines it, private property.”(*The Holy Family:Marx-Engels*)

The historical mission stated above was not propounded by Marx and Engels in some study room, but by living through the class struggles of their time and by participating in it. They established the first international organisation of the working class— the ‘**Communist League**’. In 1848 they prepared the ‘**Communist Manifesto**’ which was the first and most concentrated (still the most

concentrated) expression of the principles of Communism and which is still entirely relevant as the manifesto of the historical mission of the international Proletariat. In 1848 itself entire Europe was stirred by a wave of revolutions, in June 1848 there was an explosion of workers' revolt in Paris that was hailed by Engels as the "First great struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Preface to the 1888 English edition of the 'Communist Manifesto'). After the suppression of this revolt the next decade was a period of descent in the workers' movement of Europe during which Marx-Engels completed the work of laying a strong foundation for the principles of Communism.

Three volumes of '**Capital**' was a result of historic intellectual labour of Marx in the study of Capitalist political economy, he went into the deepest crevices of the entire Capitalist system and completely unravelled the internal motion and direction of capital in a most thorough and minute manner and laid it threadbare. For the first time, Marx told that the cell of Capitalist economy is commodity and seeds of capitalist contradictions are inherent in commodity relations, therefore the departure point of study in Capitalism should be an analysis of commodity. And doing this Marx proved that the contradiction between private labour and social labour is the basic contradiction of commodity production—money is a natural product in the development of commodity exchange and law of money is indeed the economic law of commodity production. In this way, Marx demystified commodity fetishism, completely shredded the veil of social life strengthened by bourgeois social relations promoted by the bourgeoisie and he explained the laws and movement of social progress. He showed that the surplus value usurped by the capitalist comes from the exploitation of the workers. Unravelling the inherent anarchy and contradictions within capitalist mode of production and exploitation of the Proletariat Marx presented an exposition of the fundamental laws of proletarian revolution. Along with this he established the method of Dialectical Materialism in thought and analysis of all fields—Politics, literature-art-culture, aesthetics, jurisprudence, ethics—thereby thoroughly enriching Scientific Socialism. Marx and Engels summarised the bourgeois revolutions, Proletarian struggles, ongoing struggles in colonies and wars of national independence of their time, they pulverized all opportunistic

attempts to circumscribe workers' movement to mere reforms in the condition of wage slavery diverting it from its fundamental aim, they combated the joint intellectual force of bourgeois intellectuals and traitors explaining fundamental Marxist propositions on State and Revolution, and along with enriching the philosophy of the Proletariat they provided a treasury of strategies and tactics. Marx-Engels in this process continued their attempt to organise the Proletariat and had a leading role in the formation of the First International. Summing up the first epic attempt by the Proletariat to capture state power, Marx for the first time developed the basic principle of bourgeois state and dictatorship of the Proletariat that was to be established by displacing the former.

After the demise of Marx, **Engels** completed his incomplete theoretical works, defended the Proletarian ideology and objectively assessed the historical contributions of Marx and coined it as Marxism. This was the **First Milestone** in the journey of progress of proletarian ideology.

Marxism-Leninism: Science of Proletarian Revolution in its second phase of development

As we have mentioned before, the progress in Marxist science itself establishes the veracity of Dialectical Materialism. The principles of Marxism originated in social experiments. These principles gave birth to new experiments and these new experiments further gave birth to new principles. In this way Marxism as a science of revolution developed by the process of negation of negation. However, as Marxism itself states, the laboratory of its principles—human society, is dynamic as well, therefore in this scenario, as the logic of dialectical materialism itself suggests—thought from matter and expression from thought always lag behind. Only those thoughts can be living that are actively dynamic in filling this hiatus. Marxism is a living science and therefore some of its propositions and corollaries that were previously understood to be correct or taken to be basic, recognised statements have been proved to be either wholly or partially incorrect or incomplete with the progress in History. For example, on the basis of

assessment of their times, Marx and Engels were of the view that Proletarian revolutions would be accomplished in the most developed Capitalist countries and these revolutions would emerge victorious only when they occur simultaneously in various countries. However, this estimation of Marx and Engels was proved incorrect by the movement of history. But, actually this was not a failure of Marxism. During the lifetime of Marx and Engels Capitalism was in the age of “free competition”, the global system of monopolistic and finance capital as yet was not developed and the battlefield for deepening capitalist contradiction was Europe where organised industrial Proletariat maintained tremendous pressure on the bourgeois system. It is noticeable that Europe in this entire period continued to be the centre of storm of Proletarian struggles in actuality, but the proletariat could not succeed in capturing state power. Amidst all this, Capitalism continued to develop by its internal motion and entered into the stage of monopoly, global system of finance capital was erected and in this stage of Imperialism, there was a moderation in the contradiction within developed countries at the cost of deepening and intensifying contradictions in exploited countries. The centre of revolutionary storm now shifted from the West to the East and nations of the East became the weak link of bourgeois system. Therefore, the assessment of Marx-Engels proving incorrect was actually as a result of new assessments of changed conditions and in a different manner was a verification of Marxism. Born in 1870 in Russia, Lenin provided the analysis of this changed condition with the help of Marxist method only, he analysed how and why these global conditions changed and most importantly what would it signify for the contemporary and future practice. In this process he qualitatively enriched Marxism, novelly and thoroughly.

In a short politically active period of nearly quarter of a century, Lenin led the Proletarian revolutionary movement in Russia, waged a struggle against revisionism in the International Communist movement and developed Marxism to an altogether new level.

Lenin thoroughly analysed all the typical characteristics of Imperialism for the first time, its difference from the preceding age of world Capitalism—the age of “free competition”, its inherent contradictions and obstacles stating it as the highest stage of Capitalism and made it apparent that this age of Imperialism is the age of

Proletarian revolutions. The origin and development of Lenin's thesis about Imperialism and Proletarian revolution came amidst the need of social experiments, intense ideological struggle that presented the general line of global Proletarian revolution, shouldered the task of developing its strategy and general tactics and fulfilled the task of illuminating the path of October Revolution. During this ideological struggle Lenin pulverised the theory of Super-Imperialism propounded by **Karl Kautsky** and his followers in the Second International and revealed from all aspects their essence of class-co-operationism. Disproving the attempts of Kautsky to invalidate the historically progressive role played by the ongoing national struggle for independence in the colonies, Lenin presented this proposition that Socialist revolution in Imperialist-Capitalist countries and ongoing struggle for independence in the colonies were two constituent parts of global Proletarian revolution.

The task of enriching various aspects of Marxist science with his epochal contribution in actuality was taken up by Lenin for quite some time before this. Lenin, waging a struggle against motley forms of bourgeois reformism, right-wing opportunism and middle-class anarchism, comprehensively and fully developed for the first time the concept of a revolutionary party of the Proletariat, its nature, form, process of building and organisation and characterised its role as the steely avant-garde of a class conscious Proletariat. In his book, **What is to be Done?** written a few years before the Russian Revolution of 1905 he propounded the organisational principles of a new type of revolutionary party, and undertook the task of developing and expanding its various aspects after the October Revolution, till the time he breathed his last.

Lenin, along with opposing the mistaken analysis of Imperialism by Kautsky and his followers, corruption of Marxist political economy and wrong strategy of global Proletarian revolution, performed an even more important task of foiling the revisionist attack on the concept of Proletarian dictatorship and in the process articulated more clearly its nature and form, defended the Marxist principles on subject of State and Revolution and developed it to new heights. October Revolution not only proved it but developed it further.

Above all and chiefly, with the victory of October Revolution, Lenin led the Proletariat and its party to capture state power, established

dictatorship of the Proletariat, strengthened its political power and gave a tangible form to Socialist democracy, thereby comprehensively and entirely elevating the theory and practice of Proletarian Revolution to an entirely new level.

Lenin throughout his life not only remained firm on the principle of Proletarian Internationalism, but further developed its theory and practice. In the struggle against Kautskyite revisionists, the important aspects were his opposition to jingoism, to explain-analyse various theoretical practical aspects of Proletarian Internationalism, to keep the interests of global Proletarian Revolution above everything else and to keep its banner aloft. He gave this formulation that the Proletarian State of Soviet Union is the base camp for global Proletarian Revolution and that in the extensive interests of global Proletarian Revolution the Soviet Revolution could be sacrificed. As a consequence of Lenin's continuous, ruthless and uncompromising struggle against revisionism and after the October Revolution decisively established the veracity of his ideological political line the artillery sound of this epochal revolution played an unprecedented role in the spread of Communist Movement all over the world. The struggles of all the exploited people of the world and national liberation struggles for independence were conjoined in the stream of global Proletarian Revolution and the international organisation of Communists—The Third International—was formed. Serving as its guide Lenin not only led Communists all over the world but performed the task of providing a logical general line for International Communist movement for the very first time.

Apart from the important contributions in qualitatively developing the science of proletarian revolution in sync with qualitatively different conditions in the age of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolutions, Lenin explained-investigated numerous phenomena-changes in the socio-political life, philosophical-ideological arena and world-politics thereby enriching in some way or the other each aspect of Marxism. After the debacle of the revolution of 1905 when the philosophical foundations of Marxism were being attacked from all directions then Lenin in an ideological counter-attack developed the philosophical aspect of Marxism. In works of this kind, **Materialism and Empirio-Criticism** occupies the highest place, this process however continued till the closing period of his life. In the field of art-literature-culture

Lenin's '**reflection principle**' applied Dialectical Materialism and gave a new direction to the development of Marxist aesthetics providing a strong ideological base to Socialist Realism that was still in the process of development. Lenin explained the class alliance in Democratic Revolution and Socialist revolution and the role of peasant classes in either of them. For the first time Lenin presented a complete and comprehensive Marxist political economic summarisation of the land question and continuously enriched the ideas on question of land programme within the party of the Proletariat. Additionally, on the question of nationality he carried forward the preliminary thoughts of Marx and developed the Marxist position fully.

After October Revolution the state that came into being in Soviet Union despite being in sync with the greater meaning and essence of the Marxist concept of state there were differences in its nature and form vis-à-vis the projections and expectations, also on the practical level there arose some unexpected problems. Lenin in the process of analysing them and struggling against famine and other immediate crisis as well as long-term fundamental economic problems began to think on the theoretical aspects and practical forms of Socialist transition. He continued to think about the nature and problems of Socialism till his last breath. Marx and Engels on the long-term nature and form of Socialist transition—on its economic, political and other superstructural aspects presented some general propositions and approximations and just about indicated the general direction of its progress. Lenin combated against the practical problems of building Socialism and for the first time gave a solid exposition on the politics and economic policies of Proletarian dictatorship. He underlined those bureaucratic distortions and bourgeois deformities that were present in the party and state system as a consequence of pre-revolutionary vestiges and presence of myriad forms of private property in a Socialist society and as influences and impact of bourgeois thoughts and institutions. It was another first when he told that Socialism is a long historical time period of transition from Capitalism to Communism during which class struggle continues unabated and the danger of capitalist restoration remains for a long time owing to the multidimensional conspiracies, sabotage or open attack by Imperialist nations as well as from the dislodged exploiters and depraved bourgeois political elements that spontaneously come into

being in the ranks of working class, party and government officials as a result of the background of small-scale capitalist production and petty bourgeois milieu. Giving these reasons Lenin stated that in the entire period of transition the need for an “Iron hand” of Proletarian dictatorship is indispensable under the leadership of the party of the Proletariat. In the last period of his life, along with dispelling the immediate and practical problems of Socialist transition, he thought deeply about long term strategic and policy-related problems putting them in a larger perspective laying a foundation for complete and thorough formulation for the future.

Today in the light of the first experiment and principle of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution it can be said with confidence that if, due to a long sickness caused by a bullet wound, life of Lenin had not come to an untimely end in 1924, then he would have discovered tangible practical forms for continuation of class struggle, higher forms of ever dynamic Proletarian Dictatorship as well as discovered tangible form of gradual disappearance of class, private ownership and the entire superstructure that results from the former. He would have propounded the general line, strategy and general tactics of the transition to Communism and would have been successful again in elevating Marxism via a qualitative leap to a new stage. However, the obstacles of ‘if’ and tragedies of ‘but’ keep coming up in the path of history. Nevertheless it is certain that Mao in the decade of fifties grasped the ends of the invaluable formulations that Lenin presented thinking over the problems of Socialism, policy of conducting class struggle after the establishment of Proletarian Dictatorship and path of Socialist Revolution. Through extremely complicated and intricate social experiments, Mao led the Chinese people, Proletariat and Party amidst ongoing intense class struggle and completed the journey of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the entire period of Socialist transition he gave the principle of continuing the revolution under Proletarian Dictatorship—especially continuing the revolution on the level of superstructure, he thereby gave an exposition of the general line, strategy and general tactics of Proletarian Revolution during the entire period of Socialist transition. He deployed these new Marxist principles that were born as a result of the summation of all past experiments during the first wave of Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76), proved its veracity and took Marxism-Leninism to an

entirely new level. In this entire process he once again made the science of revolution, in a tangible form, the science of present and (in context of prolonged historical period of Socialist transition) future revolution. Marxism-Leninism remained the guiding principle for action in the form of **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**; it remained a lively, dynamic science.

After the demise of Lenin, **Stalin** played a historical role in defending the Proletarian Dictatorship from its enemies within Soviet Union and outside. By defeating Fascism during the Second World War and in the unprecedented mission of collectivisation of farming and Socialist industrialisation especially by accomplishing the task of socialisation of ownership and unleashing the immense creativity of people, Stalin shouldered the mission of International Proletariat in a significant way. As a deserving successor to Lenin, Stalin defended the fundamental principles of Marxism by waging an indefatigable, ruthless struggle against right and 'left' opportunism and prevented the Bolshevik Party turning into a bourgeois party and Soviet state into a bourgeois state. Stalin rendered ineffective attempts of revisionist to overturn the direction of Socialist progress. Stalin thoroughly summarised the contributions of Lenin and proclaimed it to be the **Second Milestone** in the progress of proletarian ideology. Against any attempts of their distortion, to stamp their indispensable historical significance he said that it is only **Leninism** (or, Marxism-Leninism) that is the science of revolution in the new age of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolutions, it is **Marxism of this new age**. Stalin guided the Communist International and performed a significant role in the expansion and strengthening of the movement worldwide giving vigorous moral and material support to the ongoing independence struggles in the entire world. He was a true internationalist.

Nevertheless, this is also a historical fact that should not and cannot be forgotten as well as it is a fact that has to be analysed and from which lessons have to be drawn that Stalin could not carry forward the thoughts on nature and problems of Socialism after Lenin. He succeeded only within narrow limits in steering the policy of Socialist building in those directions and committed some serious errors in this regard. As a result, in the entire life time of Stalin, although the Proletarian Dictatorship remained firmly lodged and some historical experiments vis-à-vis building of Socialism were also

conducted, but even then the bourgeois elements-tendencies that crop up in a Socialist society and their material base could not be identified and a reasonable strategy for a struggle against them could not be decided upon. The root of the serious errors that occurred with Stalin in the understanding of political economy and the entire nature of Socialism lies primarily in his philosophical deviations, which was his mechanistic materialist thought system as a result of which other errors regarding theory, strategy, organisation and work style occurred. In the period of Stalin's leadership, an absolutist, static understanding of Socialism and Proletarian Dictatorship was dominant, that in different ways, helped the bourgeois elements that cropped within the Party and State in the Soviet Union, which later succeeded in capturing power under the leadership of Khrushchev.

Even so, in totality the achievements of Stalin over his mistakes were many times over. His errors were those of an experimenter, of a scientist. He was a great leader of world Proletariat, a staunch Proletarian revolutionary and an unwavering Internationalist. Stalin defended the Proletarian Dictatorship at all costs, expanded the Proletarian movement all over the world and in this way spread the authority and base of Marxism-Leninism among the working people of the world. Stalin explained Leninism, made it comprehensible for the extensive working populace and for the Communist rank and file, provided a base to enable it to continue as a strong material force. If Stalin would not have done this then revisionists and world Capitalism would have already strangled the Russian Revolution, the path of Chinese Revolution would have become long and difficult and the foundation for impending great experiments would have been destroyed. Stalin combated tough struggles, in unprecedented conditions resolutely held the banner of Leninism and kept it aloft, this was historically his most significant role.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: The highest peak in the development of the science of revolution till now

Born in 1893 in China Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese Proletariat and working populace for nearly half a century during the Democratic

Revolution and in the unprecedented, epic, historical experiments of the Socialist Revolution; and for nearly quarter of a century performed the role of a guide, teacher and a leader to the International Proletariat and to true Communists all over the world thereby taking the science of Proletarian Revolution to an entirely new, qualitatively more advanced stage of development. He was a complete revolutionary, an ideal Communist, true son and true leader of the masses, a daring scientist and the foremost link in the chain of historical men in the entire history of mankind. He was the greatest revolutionary of our time and after Marx and Lenin the third greatest theoretician in the history of Proletarian Revolution.

Mao Tse-tung discovered and proved the veracity of the nature, programme and path of Chinese Revolution showing a new path of liberation not only to the Chinese people but to all colonised people of the world. The splendid, awe-inspiring revolutionary experiments of Mao, the grand scale on which the initiative and creativity of the working masses were awakened, the power to turn the world upside down that came into their hands during this time was unheard of. Mao led the Chinese people during the New Democratic Revolution, guided the worldwide struggle against modern revisionism and discovered the theory, path and form of continuing the revolution under Proletarian Dictatorship enriching the three constituents of Marxism— Philosophy, Political Economy and Scientific Socialism.

The great and epochal October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin proved the Marxist propositions on State and Revolution along with all other fundamental Marxist positions to be correct. This is also a truth that it proved the veracity of Lenin's proposition on Imperialism and the 'weak link theory' on the subject of Proletarian revolution in the era of Imperialism; but this is equally true that Russia was not a representative example of countries that had revolutionary potential. The revolutionary conditions in Russia in itself, were,

In the end the Socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph.

— Mao Tse-tung (6 Nov. 1957)

relatively speaking, a special and transitional phenomenon. With the advent of the age of Imperialism and Proletarian revolutions the centre of revolutionary storm was shifting from the West to the East and Russia, in fact, was a bridge between East and West without completely being a country of the East. The first Proletarian Revolution occurred here only, where productive forces were so advanced even then that merely eight months after the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, the Proletariat concluded the Socialist Revolution. China in the true sense of the term was a representative nation of the East—feudal, destroyed by colonial exploitation, an extremely backward country of repressed masses and with majority peasant population—the kind of country where struggle for national independence was now the constituent element of world Proletarian Revolution, in fact that had become the primary constituent element. In a country like this Mao accomplished the National Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the Proletariat verifying the thesis of Lenin in no uncertain terms, he removed the weaknesses—lacunae in the Communist International and in the formulations of Stalin on the subject of National Democratic Revolution, enriching them in the process and showed a new way to all the freedom-loving people and the Proletariat of the colonies—semi-colonies—neocolonies that were victims of the exploitation of Imperialism and Feudalism. Apart from the mention of other immortal contributions, this is an incontrovertible fact of history that the influence of Mao was far greater than any other revolutionary on the national liberation struggles (even those that were concluded in the leadership of revolutionary or radical bourgeoisie) of the twentieth century in Asia-Africa-Latin America, the victory of national struggles that brought to an end the age of colonialism and neocolonialism in the entire world. Imperialism had to take a few retreating steps and then had to throw in all their might and scheming intellectual force to get over their crises and spread a worldwide wave of counter-revolution the like of which we are witnessing in this new age of economic neocolonialism.

During the indomitable revolutionary battles and wars between 1921 and 1949, Mao further developed the science of revolution primarily by educating the revolutionary masses and the Proletariat of the entire world about the nature, form, path, military strategy, revolutionary culture and forms of cultural movements of the

revolution in colonised countries. In the process of practice-theory-practice he propounded the theory of People's democratic revolution (New Democratic Revolution), developed the strategy and general tactics leading the Chinese people on the arduous, spiralling and circuitous path of revolution. He presented a penetrating class analysis of the semi-feudal- semi- colonial society of China, clarified the form of joint front of the New Democratic Revolution, characterised in a more tangible and clear way than ever before the various aspects of the revolutionary role of the peasant community thereby enriching Marxist theory on workers'–peasants' alliance as also the Marxist thought on Agrarian revolution and Agrarian programmes. The important novel work that Mao did in this area during the Democratic Revolution, in the same vein he carried on the process of ever new experiments during the period of Socialist Revolution as well. On the question of maintaining the initiative, freedom and vanguard role of the Proletariat through the Proletarian Party in the joint front in a backward, agriculture-based society, Mao's experiment and thought were entirely new while first completing the task of democratic revolution and then of Socialist Revolution. During the New Democratic Revolution itself, Mao gave the thesis of “Three Magical Weapons”— Party, People's army and Joint Front, and said that these were indispensable even in those countries where there were special conditions and different path of revolutions (despite differences in form).

In the history of Proletarian Revolutions and ideology Mao Tse-tung for the first time made a formulated summation of Marxist and non-Marxist revolutionaries and thinkers, of the thoughts of Chinese and world experts on war policies, of the mass movements, struggles and revolutions in China as well as the entire world that had occurred in past thousands of years propounding a revolutionary line on the subject of war as well as Marxist war strategy and theory. Hitherto

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

— Mao Tse-tung (5 March 1949)

Marx-Engels emphasised the historical inevitability of armed struggle and revolutionary violence in taking society forward, they logically analysed and summed up the military aspect of the Civil War in the USA, myriad progressive wars in Europe and waves of European revolutions (1848-1850) and especially that of the Paris Commune. Right from the time of the unsuccessful Russian Revolution of 1905, Lenin (who termed it as 'dress rehearsal' for the capture of power in 1917) had started to reflect deeply on the aspect of military strategy of the Proletarian Revolution, that was catapulted to its summit with the October Revolution and victory of the Proletariat in the Civil War and against the aggression of Imperialist countries. Lenin and Stalin developed the theory and practice of popular armed revolt and war in a (backward) capitalist country. This path of revolution through popular armed revolt and its military strategy, despite important differences in situations, has immense significance, in the context of general line and wider form for the developed countries of the West. Also, in the countries of the East the Capitalist socio-economic structure contingent upon Imperialism for past nearly three decades, despite their myriad pre-capitalist vestiges have fundamentally and principally established as an operative tendency.

Today these countries would get significant assistance from the general teachings of the Soviet Revolution on the subject of popular armed revolt for their formulation on the path of Proletarian Revolution and on military strategy.

For nearly twenty years Mao Tse-tung led the Chinese Communist Party, people and the Red Army against warlords, against the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai Shek, against Japanese aggression and once again against Chiang Kai Shek and his American Imperialist masters in a revolutionary war and not only propounded the politico-military theory and military strategy for a protracted peoples' war, not only gave historic formulations on the path of revolution in backward countries oppressed by Imperialism; but in fact, for the first time presented a complete and comprehensive Marxist thought system on Marxist military line and on military affairs.

Mao Tse-tung, on the foundation of class analysis etched a sharp dividing line between revolutionary war and counter-revolutionary war, emphasising with a newer sense the inevitability and the justness of revolutionary violence and told that: "*Power flows from the barrel*

of a gun.” The revolutionary massline and the line of “*politics in command*” that Mao followed without making an exception till the last great struggle of his life for awakening, mobilising and organising the people in all areas including politics, economic policy and cultural policy having an unwavering faith on the people all the while, the same is evident in the area of military policy with equal clarity and purpose. He instructed that in all class-wars the decisive factor is the people and not weapons. Every class fights the war differently in accordance to their character, goals and resources. The military strategy and tactics of the Proletariat is based on rousing the initiative, creativity and revolutionary enthusiasm of the people and by having unwavering faith in them. Mao came up with this dialectical formulation that the strategy and tactics of a people’s war can only be applied by a people’s army, never by an anti-people one. Also, it is the people who are the fundamental strength (in case of aggression) and the impregnable fort (in case of defence) of a revolutionary war. Mao determined that the Chinese Revolution could emerge victorious only by building red zones in the countryside, expanding them gradually like waves, by augmentation of political and armed strength of the people, with political-economic-cultural development and revolutionary transformation of the base areas as a stable foundation for the revolutionary war, with an encirclement of the cities by villages and ultimately with the capture of political power in the entire country. Mao gave this invaluable lesson while determining the revolutionary massline that *in all circumstances gun should be under control of the party and not party under control of the gun.*

The teachings of Mao with respect to a protracted peoples’ war and experiences of the Chinese Revolution gave a new direction and a new impetus to the ongoing struggles for independence in exploited

The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down. They will fight to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout country, they are sure to engage in sabotage and create disturbances by one means or another and every day and every minute they will try to stage a comeback.. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

— Mao Tse-tung (September 1949)

and subjugated countries of Asia-Africa-Latin America, especially in the decades of 50's and 60's; even in those countries where its leadership was in the hands of a radical bourgeoisie. They have had a decisive role in putting the last nail in the coffin of Colonialism-neocolonialism. The possibility of completing democratic revolutions under the leadership of the Proletariat in various backward countries of the world was still quite strong in the decade of the sixties till Khrushchev had not become a traitor of the world Communist movement and of the Proletariat and had not let loose the counter-revolutionary waves of revisionism. Although, it did not happen, the struggle of Mao against revisionist military strategy for national independence surely played an important role in enriching Proletarian military science.

Some elements of the theory of Mao on the subject of peoples' war have had a universal importance then and continues to be so even now, not only for the revolutions of backward and oppressed countries but also for Socialist Revolutions in developed countries. In addition, there is one more thing that is of prime importance in this context. The worldwide circulation of finance capital, the strategies of imperialist countries and the global setting have undergone numerous changes in the last three decades or so after the Second World War. The world today has become a global village and even culture and communication system have come under the worldwide monopoly of the imperialist forces. After crossing the stages of Colonialism and neo-colonialism the world today has entered the stage of economic neo-colonialism where without the need of direct-indirect control the imperialist countries with advanced productive forces, as a result of their monopoly over the global market and technology can plunder the backward, semi-industrialised countries and victimise them with their tactics of political bullying. The share among the global Capitalist class in management of worldwide surplus is being decided today on the basis of the strength of their capital. The indigenous Capitalist class in majority of the third world countries is no longer a strategic ally of the people in the struggle against Imperialism and has now tagged itself to the masters of world Capitalism. All quarrels are now based upon its share in the plunder. None of its faction has a revolutionary or a nationalist role now. At world historical scale the age of national democracy in the

weak links of Imperialism has now come to an end, with an exception of few countries; even the pre-capitalist socio-economic formations that remain in majority of these countries have come under the regime of capital and tutelage of national market system, with a centralised political and economic system having taken firm roots in these semi-industrialised backward capitalist countries. A momentum to history can now be provided only by anti-Imperialism-anti-Capitalism new Socialist Revolutions in these countries based on a three-class alliance.

After the analysis of contemporary world conditions in the briefest manner possible we return to the original context of our discussion. The question that arises here is whether for the new revolutions in this new age of Imperialism, the relevance of the particular teachings of Mao on protracted people's war have come to an end for anti-Imperialism-anti-Capitalism revolution in the backward capitalist countries of the Third World that rely on imperialist finance capital? Definitely not. With a colonial-neocolonial past the society under a handicapped, stunted and congenitally diseased Capitalism that developed in the backward countries as a result of imperialist milieu and pressure, is still primarily an agrarian society. Despite the question of land ownership being mainly solved, despite the tendency of commodity production setting itself in the area of agriculture and agriculture coming under the tutelage of national market, and despite the continued process of division of peasant population because of the fetters on industrialisation and gradual, sluggish process of agricultural Capitalisation, the majority population in the third world countries are dependent on agriculture, agriculture based and allied enterprises and several other types of small enterprise and lives in the countryside. Therefore in the Socialist Revolution of these countries the role of villages and its poor and middle peasantry and rural Proletariat would remain crucial. Consequently, even if we let go the discussion on tangible forms and paths of struggles it could be said with certainty that the path of New Socialist Revolutions in all countries of this kind would not be akin to the popular armed

In China the struggle to consolidate the Socialist system, the struggle to decide whether Socialism or Capitalism will prevail, will take a long historical period.

— **Mao Tse-tung (12 March 1957)**

insurrection like that in the October Revolution or the one that is possible only in developed capitalist countries. The wider framework of military strategy in the revolutions of these countries could be popular armed insurrection but these can incorporate many elements of protracted peoples' war. Here precluding the possibility of straying from the original subject only this can be said that the importance of particular teachings of Mao on the subject of protracted peoples' war (the importance of general teaching are for all Communist revolutionaries of all countries of the world) for the Proletariat and revolutionaries of those countries that are seen today becoming the 'Hot spots' of possible revolutions and that can turn into 'flash points', continues till date and would continue to be so.

In the period of New Democratic Revolution in China, in a succession of intricate and indomitable class struggle, Mao led the party, the Proletariat and the people, he thoroughly analysed the socio-economic structure of a semi-feudal-semi-colonial society enriching Marxist political economy, developed Marxist military science, enriched Socialism through the conceptualisation of New Democracy and enriched and developed the Proletarian philosophy on the fundamental plane as well. He did this by waging an unrelenting struggle against "left" and right deviations and made the Chinese Party ideologically powerful and seasoned. This process after 1949 moved forward with an altogether new impetus culminating at the point of the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** when the philosophy of Marxism attained new unprecedented heights which would be discussed later. Mao through his classical expositions – "*On contradiction*" and "*On Practice*" enriched Dialectical Materialism and Marxist epistemology by his brilliant contributions. He developed the law of contradiction stating that unity and struggle of opposites is the fundamental law that directs nature and society. Unity of opposites is temporary and relative whereas the struggle between them is permanent and absolute that gives birth to qualitative leaps and revolutionary changes. Mao provided depth to the understanding of dialectics stating that in a specific time and space there is one principal contradiction among various basic contradictions, the resolution of which is the central link in the resolution of other contradictions that gives an onward momentum to history. For its resolution it is also imperative to understand the principal aspect of

the principal contradiction. Mao Tse-tung enriched the Marxist epistemology by the application of this new, advanced understanding of dialectics in the interrelationship between theory and practice.

Practice is the source of theory, theory is the condensation or essence of practice. Perception is the raw material of concepts (or rational knowledge) and concept or rational knowledge is the synthesised product of perceptual knowledge. However, concept, perceptual knowledge or theory has to return to practice again, during which it is not only examined-verified but also accumulates new raw material of perceptual knowledge for a higher level of rational knowledge and in this way an endless process of upward spiral development continues. This is the gist of Mao's theory of knowledge that believes practice is the ultimate criterion and the only relevance of theory is to enrich revolutionary practice.

Mao constantly implemented the revolutionary mass line of firm, unerring confidence on people without making an exception from 1921 to 1976 and took it to an entirely new level during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The basic reason behind this was that through Marxist theory of knowledge he gave new ideological depth to the understanding of massline and deepened the feeling that **“People and only people are the motive force of creating world history”**. He told: “For a correct leadership in the entire practical work it is important to adopt the process of ‘taking from the masses and giving back to the masses.’ This means collect the thoughts (fragmented and disorganised thoughts) of the masses and take the gist (change into concentrated and organised thoughts through study), after this go among the masses, propagate these thoughts and make them understand so that they embrace it as their own, be steadfast on these thoughts and implement them, and during this action test the infallibility of these thoughts.” Mao told that thought when reach to the masses turn into a material force. In this way Mao enriched the

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment.

— Mao Tse-tung

explanation of dialectical interrelationship between matter and consciousness developing the understanding of the conscious, living role of human beings in making of history in every field of human life.

While retrospectively the entire journey of the progress of Marxist science one is naturally led to an important point that from its time of inception till now, fierce ideological struggles against alien ideological lines-tendencies within the workers' movement (that were higher, refined and microscopic form of contemporary class struggle) played an important role in its development (that proves the validity of the law of dialectical progress). Mao, anyway, had to wage fierce ideological struggles against deviationists during every social experiment but the struggle against modern revisionism of Khrushchevite revisionists and finally, the fierce, indomitable struggle he waged against the clique of Liu Shao Chi-Deng Xiao Ping were the subsequent links in the struggle waged by Marx-Engels against revisionists like Bakunin and Lasalle and by Lenin against Kautsky and other revisionists of the Second International. As before, these great ideological struggles played an imperatively important role in the development of proletarian ideology and in preparing the background of New Proletarian Revolution.

Mao led genuine Communists around the world in the international struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, he showed them the way of breaking away from the revisionist parties, building new revolutionary Communist parties on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. A new process of polarisation in the proletarian revolutionary forces took place in the entire world to which new impetus was provided later by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the decisive struggle against the revisionism of the Liu-Deng clique.

Mao led the **Great Debate** against the clique of Khrushchev making it clear that the Khrushchevite principle of peaceful transition is a bourgeois principle and it is not a development of the fundamental Marxist principles on the subject of state and revolution but a negation. He proved that the fundamental character of the Khrushchevite principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition is just the same and that modern revisionists through them want to surrender to Imperialism by back stabbing the world workers' movement and want to disintegrate and abandon national liberation struggles by

deviating them from their fundamental goal. Mao exposed the reactionary principles of “party of all people” and “state of all people” presented by Khrushchev and defended the fundamental principles of the party of the proletariat and dictatorship of the proletariat preparing the background for its further development and these were not the only contributions of Mao during this great struggle. Mao analysed the material condition of the acquisition of power by revisionists and restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union and made clear how the Soviet state transformed from being a dictatorship of the proletariat to being the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In this process, on the one hand he defended the great contributions of Stalin, on the other hand presented an objective summation of his mistakes that objectively helped the bourgeois elements to thrive and that they took full advantage of. It is true that Mao reflected on Stalin’s mechanistic materialist deviations in the field of philosophy that corresponded to his flawed thinking on some crucial aspects of Marxist political economy, erroneous economic policies and on the nature of Socialism incorrectly assuming it to be absolute and stable while in a struggle with problems of Socialist Revolution in China and developed to final conclusions during the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism in the process of comprehending its character and social base, however he had started to mull over these issues even before the New Democratic Revolution of 1949. There were two processes that were going on simultaneously, which to grasp is a rather interesting experience in the study related to the development of Marxist science. With the completion of democratic revolution in 1949 a struggle that engulfed all fields started between the two paths that were to do with the era of Socialist Revolution. Mao led this struggle taking full advantage of

It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. The reason is that the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society, the very influence which constitutes their class ideology, will persist in our country for a long time. If this is not understood at all or is insufficiently understood, the gravest of mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging struggle in the ideological field will be ignored.

— **Mao Tse-tung (27 Feb. 1957)**

the Soviet experience and used the experiences of the two-line struggle on the question of Socialist transition in China to understand the nature, origin and development of Khrushchevite revisionism and to summarise more rigorously the negative and positive teachings of the Soviet experiment. This enriched knowledge was then used for Socialist experiments in China and to present an exposition on the ongoing class struggle during this period, the nature and problems of Socialism, its contradictions, reasons for Capitalist restoration and their removal and on the strategy and general tactics for the prolonged period of Socialist Revolution. This was a unique practical example of the dialectical relationship between the experiences of national and international class struggle. As a logical conclusion to this process the greatest contribution with which Mao enriched the proletarian ideology and took it to its summit is the philosophy of the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**. As sum and substance, it is an aggregate of important formulations relating to Socialist society, proletarian State and Party and of propositions on the general line of continuing class struggle, strategy and general tactics of this prolonged period of transition. In a long process of continuing class struggle and ideological struggle at national-international level Mao grasped the loose ends of Lenin's thought on Socialism's nature, problems and key link to the forms of its removal and took it further to the hypothesis, experiment and summarisation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Immediately after the Revolution of 1949 Mao made it clear that after capturing of state power by the working masses in the leadership of the Proletariat, the contradiction between the Proletariat and the bourgeoisie is now the principle contradiction and the struggle is still centred on the question of State power. Mao qualitatively developed Marxist political economy, Marxist understanding of the contradictions and dynamism inherent in production and of the understanding of dialectical interrelationship of the entire ideological-political-cultural superstructural system with production during the experiments and analyses of Socialist transformation. For the first time he clarified that the contradiction between production relations and productive forces and the contradiction between superstructure and economic base—these are the two fundamental contradictions in a Socialist society and only through their constant resolution Socialism can

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

— **Mao Tse-tung (1962)**



In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time, Basically the Socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

— **Mao Tse-tung (12 March 1957)**

develop in the direction of Communism. The breaking of shackles in the development of productive forces by changing the production relations is the goal of every social revolution and this applies during the long transition period of Socialist revolution too. The goal of Socialist Revolution is to ensure the transition towards Communist relations by annihilating capitalist production relations. In the long complex process of Socialist Revolution all three aspects of production relations—system of ownership of the means of production, role of people in production and their interpersonal relationship and the distribution pattern of products, interplay with each other and go through a process of revolutionary transformation. The installation of Socialist public ownership is decisive and fundamental amongst them because it is a negation of private ownership of the capitalist system, but the essential and decisive solution of the question of ownership is enjoined with the revolutionary transformation in other two aspects of production relations. Merely a change in the legal forms of ownership does not all by itself prepare the ground for the destruction of capitalist production system and classes. Even after bringing all property under State ownership or collective ownership the capitalists could be present in various forms and could be conceived especially in the form of state capitalist. The historical role of proletarian dictatorship is not merely to bring about a change in the forms of property, but its actual task is to conduct alongside a complex and prolonged transformation in the social process of appropriation ensuring the transition towards Communist production system. The nature of Socialist production relation is dynamic in itself. In the entire duration of development and strengthening of Socialist State ownership and Socialist collective ownership the struggle between the Proletariat and bourgeoisie for economic leadership continues. The imperative condition for continuation of Socialist transition is that there should be a constant development in the direction of transformation from small scale collective ownership to large scale collective ownership and from collective ownership to that of state ownership. In this entire complex process of transformation of ownership (in backward, and countries with an agrarian economy this process is still more complicated and prolonged) the existence of commodity, albeit in a controlled and restricted manner, continues for a long period of time. The economic units of

collective ownership are not the property of entire people and they exchange **commodities** whereas the economic units of state ownership is the property of entire people and they exchange **objects**.

Mao told that the Socialist transformation of the first constituent of production relations—the system of ownership over means of production is definitely a precondition to the transformation of other two constituents—the role of people in production and their mutual relationship; however, without the Socialist transformation of the other two and without transformation in the system of distribution the first constituent cannot progress beyond a certain stage and society becomes a ‘nursery’ for new bourgeois elements. It means that despite setting up of a system of Socialist State ownership, till such time there is a skewed form of interpersonal relationship (three basic interpersonal iniquities between country and town , agriculture and industry, and mental and physical labour), till such time there is an existence of commodity notwithstanding extreme restriction and control; till such time the law of “from each according to his ability and to each according to his labour” is in effect which despite the negation of capitalist exploitation is a bourgeois right; till such time the law of “from each according to his ability and to each according to his need” is not enforced in the distribution of social products; till such time iniquity in wages and other bourgeois rights would be present; till such time the contradiction between general social needs and personal consumption needs and contradictions arising from division of items of consumption according to work is not resolved; till then, bringing all property under state ownership would not reach the stage of socialisation of property. When along with the ownership of means of production the aforementioned transformation of other aspects of production relations—in interpersonal relations and distribution of products have already taken place, only then bringing all property under State ownership becomes socialisation of property. That is, the role of State in regulating the distribution system of articles of consumption then comes to an end. Socialisation is an objective condition independent of the volition of class and State that demands a certain level of development in forces of production that can ensure production and distribution to the benefit of the whole society. In the development of productive forces an advanced culture is an important factor and an inseparable component.

Briefly, in the contradiction between production relations and production forces the role of production relations is more active. Every qualitative progress in the level of productive forces depends on the revolutionary transformation in production relations—this is true for the entire period of Socialist transition. For a revolutionary transformation of production relations, a transformation of the system of ownership is a primary and paramount task, but this is not all. A constant revolutionisation in other two aspects of production relations is also imperative along with the strengthening of Socialist public ownership and continuously taking it forward in the direction of a unified, unitary Socialist system of State. The real end of all versions of the revisionist principle, “primacy of productive forces”, is to halt the process of transformation in production relations after socialisation of ownership and to give potency to new bourgeois elements, prepare a base for them to capture the power and then to strengthen that power. Those new bourgeois elements are still present and are continuously proliferating in the new Socialist society on the basis of presence of forms of small scale capitalist ownership, interpersonal inequities, presence of bourgeois rights and various forms of unequal distribution of goods for consumption—that is as a result of the contradictory nature of the economic base of Socialism. This is why if capitalist roaders do come to power in a Socialist country it is easy for them to reinstall a capitalist system.

Mao underlined the more active role of production relations during Socialist transition and told that their relation with productive forces is dialectical and clarified that the revolutionary transformation of production relations illuminates the way for the development of productive forces and more developed productive forces prepare the ground for further revolutionisation of production relations. In this way it ensures a constant development of productive forces as also the progress of society towards the goal of communism. This is the foundation of the excellence of Socialist system over any system in the past. Under Socialism the development of productive forces have definite objective laws that are a manifestation of the fact that the resolution of contradiction between the social nature of production and private nature of appropriation and between organised nature of production in private enterprise and anarchic nature of production in the entire society, is possible after the socialisation of ownership of

the means of production. The Proletariat under the leadership of its party and through proletarian dictatorship exercise these laws for a rapid development in productive forces and strengthening of Socialism. Mao also made it clear that the Socialist dynamism, creativity and enthusiasm of the working masses under Socialism is an important factor in the rapid development of productive forces, the precondition of their unfettering being installation of Socialist production relations. However, the revolutionary enthusiasm and dynamism of the people do not become a material force by themselves, for this to happen the Socialist state under the leadership of the party of the Proletariat has to adopt appropriate policies. Mao while discussing these policies places strong emphasis on implementing massline even in the execution of economic projects, in increasing participation of people in deciding projects and in the process of their execution and in raising the political consciousness of the masses and to strike a proper dialectical balance between centralisation and decentralisation.

Now we will discuss the epochal contribution of Mao on the subject of the second fundamental contradiction in Socialist society—contradiction between base and superstructure and the continuous process of their resolution.

Marx-Engels and Lenin shed light on the dialectical relationship between economic base and superstructure making it clear that the superstructure does not have an inert relationship with the economic base from which it originates but the base in return is actively influenced by the superstructure and in the period of revolutionary transformation role of the superstructure is the principal aspect. For a revolution in the production relations a revolution in superstructure (principally a revolution in political superstructure, that is, seizure of state power) is inevitable. Mao Tse-tung deepened the understanding of this dialectical interrelationship and made it comprehensive by clarifying the nature of contradiction between the two under Socialist society and the onward progress of Socialist society by continuous resolution of these contradictions.

Mao, for the first time, made it clear that in a Socialist state the vestiges of pre-revolutionary society in the form of bourgeois thought, traditions and habits are present for a long time. Also, for a considerable period of time in the beginning, as a result of small scale

Capitalist production and interpersonal iniquities and myriad bourgeois tendencies and lines of thought that come into being due to the presence of bourgeois rights, act as adverse material force in the movement towards a Communist society. The representatives of bourgeoisie are present in the organisation of state system and political-legal institutions. The functioning of state system in a bureaucratic style and other bourgeois distortions keep on appearing. Due to all these reasons the contradiction between the economic base and superstructure remain that obstruct the process of strengthening and development of the Socialist economic base. To resolve this contradiction Mao told that it was imperative to conduct a Socialist revolution in the sphere of superstructure till the end. He told that during the entire historical stage of Socialist society class and class struggle remain and new and old bourgeoisie constantly make an effort for a capitalist restoration. During this period the nature of Socialist superstructure is mainly proletarian because the central constituent element is dictatorship of the proletariat, but as a result of the presence of bourgeoisie and bourgeois thoughts and culture among the people there is a constant threat that its character is transformed into its opposite, that is, the possibility of a counter-revolution in superstructure is always present, which can be counteracted only by a continuing revolution in the superstructure and by continuing an all encompassing dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. *“Politics is the most concentrated expression of economics”*—this formulation of Lenin was further developed by Mao who gave the formulation that whether or not the Proletariat is in control over state power and means of production, to make this out the standard and decisive factor could only be the correctness and erroneousness in the ideological-political line. Again, critiquing the revisionist theory of development of productive forces from this angle, he propounded the conclusion that superstructure, consciousness can change the economic structure and political power can develop the productive forces. He gave a profound expression to his proposition in this slogan, **“Take firm hold of the Revolution, promote production.”**

Since under proletarian dictatorship the bourgeoisie cannot openly attack Socialism, therefore it appears by sticking the label of “Communist” and “Proletariat.” Mao said, *“It (meaning the*

bourgeoisie) is inside the Communist party. Those who are in power are themselves adopting a capitalist path.” He gave this clear warning that if the Proletariat would not enforce its all encompassing dictatorship on the bourgeoisie forcefully then the bourgeoisie would come forward and again usurp power. Therefore, the Proletariat should come forward and seize all the controlling summits of society under the leadership of its party, maintain firm control over state power and apart from the economic system it should maintain its resolute and watchful control over education, art-literature, culture, science and all areas of social life. That the character of a Socialist state stays proletarian depends on two factors—Communist party and a heightened Socialist consciousness of people. The necessity of revolutionary leadership and Socialist consciousness of people as well as constant upgradation of culture—both these factors are dialectically interrelated and a Socialist political system of a firm proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and maximum democracy for the people rests on these factors. In the entire period of Socialism the role of the Communist party is that of a vanguard and it is only through the leadership of the party that the leadership of the Proletariat comes into action in a Socialist state. However, it is also true that even the Communist party is not insulated from the class struggle, it also becomes a platform for class struggle and the Capitalist roaders constantly seek to usurp state power by seizing control of the party. Mao told that to maintain a proletarian character of the party it should always practice revolutionary massline, be irrevocably conjoined with the masses, be prepared to face their criticism, become steel through tempering while providing leadership in the continuing class struggle and should learn from the masses before educating them. He cautioned that the party can maintain its liveliness and dynamism only when there is a system of criticism-self criticism in place, it be ready to face criticism of the masses and there is a constant two line struggle through which non-proletarian tendencies and lines are eradicated. To achieve this he emphasised the imperativeness of democratic centralism. He also told that in order to preclude the possibility of democratic centralism changing into bureaucratic centralism it is important that the participation of the cadre be ensured in the process of decision-making and in inter-party struggle and they should be educated continuously. In all circumstances it is only through making

the interparty democracy comprehensive and exhaustive that Centralism could be made resolute and effective. In this way during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution Mao advanced the organisational tenets and taught the Communists all over the world the lessons to build a party that can give the guarantee of stability after the control over state power by the Proletariat and can provide leadership to the continuing process of Socialist transition. Mao told that once the Proletariat assumes power and the party becomes the leading force under a Socialist state then the contradiction between the party and the people become a concentrated expression of those contradictions that mark Socialism as the transitional phase between Capitalism and Communism.

Mao Tse-tung told that a constant advancement in the consciousness of the extensive working people and the process of constantly increasing their participation in decision-making and executive process along with constantly increasing their participation in running the state system, is another fundamental guarantee of the expansion of the base of proletarian dictatorship and strengthening and development of the Socialist society and taking the model of Paris Commune as an ideal, he took to new heights the thoughts of Lenin on the subject. Also the need of a revolutionary leadership and the need to awaken the revolutionary masses from below and to have faith in them—he enriched the understanding and feeling of the dialectical relationship between the two.

Mao underlined in an entirely new sense the conscious and dynamic role of the people in changing the world and told that participation in this process of transformation people too change themselves. He emphasized this point that the Cultural Revolution should be foremost, the crucible to change a human-being. During the Cultural Revolution he encouraged the party workers, the red guards and the people to wage a struggle against the 'self' and to create a new human-being and a new society.

Assimilating the entire journey of progress of Marxist science, distilling the substance of all the experiences of Socialist experiment in China and that of every class struggle from the Paris commune to his own times, Mao took his thought on the nature and problems of Socialism, on the cause and remedy of capitalist restoration, and class struggle and proletarian dictatorship to a stage that became the

departure point of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which in the known history of mankind is the most radical revolution that elevated the theory and practice of proletarian revolution to a new level. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an all-encompassing political revolution started and led by Mao that for the first time provided an exhaustive and comprehensive solution to the problems of Socialism. This great revolution unfettered the immeasurable revolutionary energy, enthusiasm and creativity of the people and made them move forward resolutely on the epic mission of traversing the path of Socialism. In the leadership of Mao millions were awakened and moved forward to annihilate the bourgeois headquarters of capitalist roaders. Mao challenged the capitalist roaders in an unprecedented experiment of popular movement showing the way to the Proletariat and people to enforce the interests of people, their aspirations, will and views in all walks of life, even in those superstructural areas of philosophy-ideology which were considered to be unintelligible and beyond their reach even in a Socialist society. There were important progresses made in the gradual eradication of bourgeois rights and three major interpersonal iniquities that again massively liberated the revolutionary energy, initiative and creativity of the people. For the first time in the history of proletarian revolutions Marxist science was acting perceptibly as an authority and guide for people in all walks of life and was proving that in the present difficult period of indomitable historical class war, despite, various ups and downs, the direction of the progress of humanity is, at last, towards Communism through Socialist transition. During this great historical Socialist experiment of its kind the capitalist roaders were made to bite the dust in a life and death struggle and an extensive part of the masses also conducted newer experiments and new Socialist institutions, social relations, values, beliefs and thoughts came into existence. Class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment—these three movements gave birth to a massive burst of creativity and surge in enthusiasm. There were revolutionary transformations that took place in production relations and management through one member committees of specialists-bureaucrats was taken over by the management through revolutionary committees of workers. Entirely new kind of models of Socialist production enterprises were created—Ta-ching in the field of industry

and Ta-Chai in the field of agriculture.

Despite these unprecedented achievements, despite giving successive defeats to capitalist roaders, and despite presenting logical solution to the first stage(1966-69) of the first wave (1966-76) of this great revolution by the Ninth Congress of the party of China, a fierce and complex class struggle continued in ever new forms, capitalist roaders attacked, ambushed and plotted over and over again. Mao combated in this fierce class struggle and acted as a guide of the Proletariat of China and that of the entire world. He always mentioned the Cultural Revolution as a part of the international struggle of the proletariat and made it into a training centre for proletarian internationalism. During this period he constantly emphasised that the travelers on the way of Capitalism are still on the path of Capitalism and it has not yet been decided as to who would win. For a decisive victory of Socialism he said it was imperative that there should be many cultural revolutions and that many generations should apply themselves for it.

After the demise of Mao the counter-revolutionary coup in China under the leadership of Deng Ziao-Ping-Hua Kuo-Feng does not in any way negates the historical achievement and valuable lessons of the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution rather it only establishes and verifies Mao's thesis on capitalist restoration and conditions after that and on Socialist society and on continuing of the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Not only this, even the incidents in countries of erstwhile Soviet Union and Eastern Europe establishes and verifies the analytical system discovered by Mao on the nature and the direction of progress of capitalist restoration after a temporary defeat of Socialism.

Lenin had said **“only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of dictatorship of the proletariat.”** With the theory and practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Mao stressed this dividing line more clearly and told that only he can be a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of proletarian dictatorship, in the entire prolonged transition period of Socialism extends the recognition of classes, hostile class contradictions and the objective presence of bourgeoisie in the party and the state system, and extends it to the recognition of the continuance of revolution

under an all encompassing dictatorship of the Proletariat over the bourgeoisie in this entire historical period and extends it to the recognition of the inevitability of revolution in the superstructure. Today, this very postulate is dividing and the battle-line between revisionism and Communism. This is the essential conclusion of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through which Mao developed the Marxist science till its third stage—the most advanced stage.

This great revolution appraised about a comprehensive outline for the policies, strategy and general tactics of the Proletariat—about the general ideological-political organisational line for the entire stage from Capitalism to Communism. In the entire history of class society this is the most advanced-sublime and complex world historic epic of revolution. It is the **newest milestone** in the journey of development of the Proletariat, the Communist movement and the science of revolution; an indelible achievement and it is the immortal flame that illuminates the path that has to be traversed to Communism.

Mao Tse-tung any way developed all the important constituents of Marxism-Leninism and all its aspects in a number of stages while leading the Chinese revolution and world proletariat, however, it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that developed the ideology to a stage with a qualitative leap where it can be said that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the Marxism of today. Briefly, Maoism is the Marxism of today. This and only this can be the guiding principle of today's proletarian revolution, science of new proletarian revolution and creation of new editions of the October Revolution.

AND FINALLY...AS A GIST...

1. We can see the epochal, immortal contributions of the greatest revolutionary and proletarian philosopher of his times, Mao Tse-tung, in two stages. First, the stage of enriching the arsenal of Marxism by propounding the strategy and general tactics, the united front and military strategy and on the question of and on the question of culture of the New Democratic Revolution. This was a stage of important, partial, qualitative progress in Marxism-Leninism; the historical importance of this progress was expressed by the term **Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought**. The second stage was the period of reaching the point of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution while

engaging with the problems of Socialist transition. The lessons of this stage thoroughly, qualitatively and fundamentally enriched the philosophy, political economy and Party and State-related questions and entire superstructure-related theories—entire branches-sub-branches of Marxist science and took it to an entirely new stage of development. This new revolutionary development can be made accurately apparent and with real emphasis by the nomenclature of **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**. Only then the epochal importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution can be underlined.

2. After the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**, and the incidents in the world after that established and verified its teachings-estimations without exception, so that the significance of the contributions of Mao is not able to be registered fully by the use of the terminology of Mao thought. This dilutes the historical importance of the principle of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the Proletariat and it weakens and slackens the effort to prepare a generation that could befittingly inherit the tasks of accomplishing this—the long and difficult task of building such a party. The name Mao ideology was in usage only when the Cultural Revolution did not commence and the Chinese Revolution after establishing the thesis of New Democracy was struggling with the challenges to unravel the knots of Socialist transition. After the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, after the characterisation of the general line of proletarian Revolution during the prolonged historical period of Socialist transition, after reaching the summit of Mao's thought on the subject of Socialism, the nomenclature of Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought is insufficient for the science of proletarian revolution.

3. It is an attitude of dogmatism and blindly emulating the past that since during the lifetime of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76) the terminology of “Mao thought” was used despite underlining its importance, therefore we should continue to do the same today. The task of an exhaustive sum up and distillation of the essence of all aspects is not completed in an instant despite an understanding of the historical significance of a revolutionary development in any science. This was established by the **Paris Commune** in the first stage of the development of Scientific Socialism itself by **Marx-Engels** and the sum up made it a complete science of proletarian revolution. Engels after an inferential analysis of the

complete contributions of Marx named it **Marxism** after some time of the Paris Commune and the demise of Marx. **Lenin** made a comprehensive and qualitative development in the Marxist science which was verified by the **Great October Revolution** and subsequent developments, yet the assessment of the contributions of Lenin continued for a long time and after indicating the qualitative progress made in the Marxist science **Stalin** designated it as **Leninism**. The first experiment of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as well as the task of summing up of its teachings was still in progress when a capitalist reversal happened in China. Even then to the extent that the summing up of its teachings happened during the lifetime of **Mao** and to the extent that the Communist revolutionaries could analyse and sum up the capitalist restoration in China, subsequent implementations of policies by the followers of Deng and their outcome and various international experience; on that basis it can be said with certainty that after the Paris Commune and October Revolution, the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** is the third great proletarian revolution that developed the proletarian ideology to a new stage. This is the most radical, comprehensive political revolution in the known history. Now it is the task of Communist revolutionaries worldwide that they situate the teachings of Mao up to the Cultural Revolution in a correct, thorough and historical perspective and do a thorough summing up. *Those who do not understand the teachings of Mao established and verified by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, do not understand the Marxist science.* Those who do not defend it, do not defend Marxism. This is the gist of every class struggle and all the proletarian revolutions till now. Its nucleus is composed by the essence of the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore, it is entirely correct that we call today's science of revolution as **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**. This would be the guiding principle for the party of the Proletariat in this period of Imperialism and the entire period of the Socialist transition.

4. Today when there are no teacher or leader like Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin and Mao to lead the Proletariat, and no authority like Marx, Lenin and Mao and neither any international organisation nor a Socialist country; then in these unprecedented difficult conditions it is imperative to start building the foundation of new editions of

proletarian revolution by again beginning a difficult ideological and class struggle, to unwaveringly establish the authority of ideology by the revolutionary Communist forces and instead of compromising even a grain with revisionism, have to stand against the current drawing a clear dividing line. The revisionism of Dengites is the newest, most lethal tendency of revisionism, whose specimen is still at display in China and is providing solace to the revisionists and the capitalist roaders all over the world. The clique of Deng even today takes the name of “Mao Tse-tung thought.” It is stating that the greatest contribution of Mao—the Cultural Revolution as “apocalyptic” and as Mao’s “historical mistake” and is “singing hallelujah” to his contributions till the democratic revolution. Today, the final battle line in the ideological struggle is drawn between Dengites and the teachings of Mao till the Cultural Revolutions. To project one’s position in a correct way in this war and to underline teachings of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution as Mao’s greatest contribution, it is correct to name today’s science of revolution as Maoism. Because, *today only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the inevitability of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

5. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is that higher plane from where the teachings of all the great teachers of the Proletariat till now, even the teachings that preceded Mao can be assimilated with more depth and in an entirely new sense. The objective conditions of today do not allow that the sum up of past teachings be done at any plane lower than this. It would be “Old Marxism”, depending on which it is not possible to snatch a lively future from the decaying present, cannot be liberated from the eddies of mystification of social relations and scientific theories and could not accomplish entirely new responsibilities .

6. The first world historical cycle of the ongoing great war from middle of the past century between the Proletariat and the bourgeoisie at the global level after establishing the lighthouse of the Paris Commune, October Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has come to an end with restoration of Capitalism in China and this great class war has entered the second world historical cycle. The proletarian revolutions have been defeated temporarily but the Proletariat is not standing where it was before the October Revolution.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the amalgamated light of the lighthouse of the three great revolutions, it is a realisation of the sense of direction of history acquired from the teachings of Marx-Lenin-Mao. Now only with this guidance a new history of new Proletarian Revolutions would be written in the coming century.

It would equip the rebellions and struggles of workers' of the entire world with vision and direction against Imperialism that has been trapped in unprecedented difficult crisis and intractable challenges and would create new revolutions. Maoism reaching the hands of the people would again become a tremendously powerful material force. In the experiment of changing the world it would again develop itself further. Because motion is the essence of science. And this is a science. The science of Revolution, the science of the proletarian revolution.

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