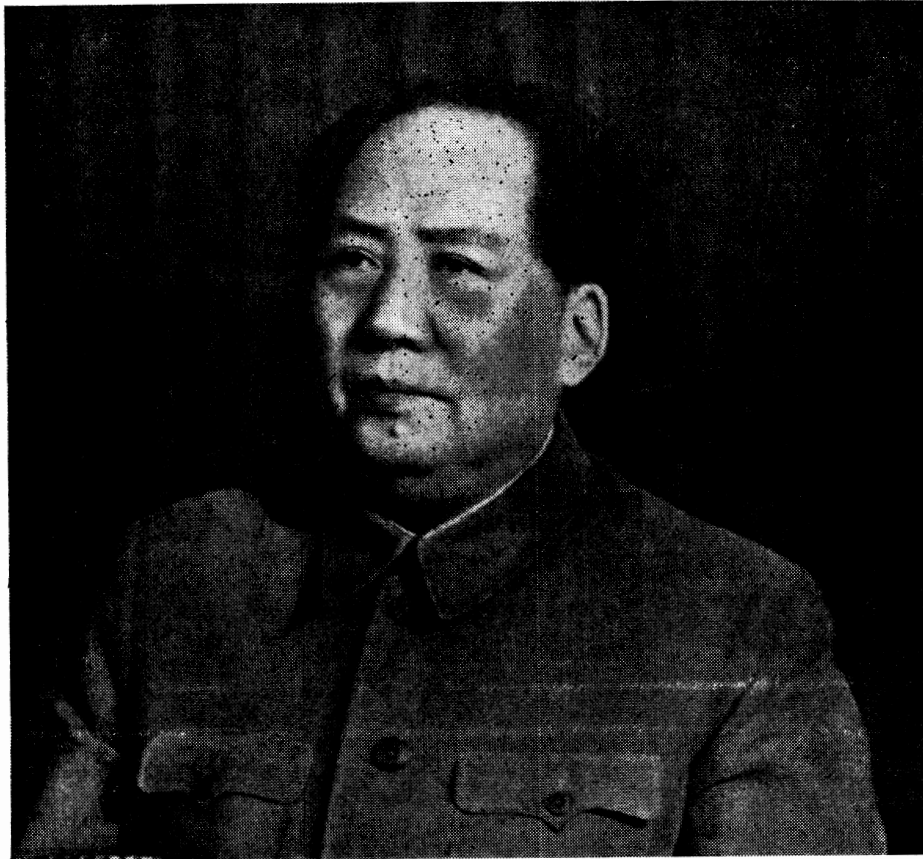


RED SALUTE COMRADE MAO ZEDONG



"But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organisations."

* * *

"Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution."

—Mao Zedong

REMEMBERING COMRADE MAO ZEDONG

An able continuator of Marxism-Leninism

The architect of Chinese Revolution

Holding aloft of noble banner of

Proletarian Internationalism was his behest

On the occasion of Fifteenth Anniversary of the passing away of Comrade Mao Zedong, a giant communist leader of international stature and a great revolutionary having his honoured place in history, we pay our most respectful homage by upholding the red banner of proletarian revolution which was his behest. With profound reverence we recall his life-long struggle which is inspiring to all the genuine revolutionaries. We do this as a part of our revolutionary duty and commitment to the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is Marxism-Leninism and its Dialectical Materialist science, the most comprehensive science, the science of all sciences, that alone can emancipate humanity from imperialist oppression, bourgeois slavery and degenerations all around. It alone can transform the oppressed masses into a dynamo of revolutionary activities and ultimately the material force of change in history. It alone shows the Road to Life from the stupor of despondency and helplessness because of abject surrender to the slavery of capital. Comrade Mao Zedong's life struggle is the concretisation of the essence of the Marxist-Leninist teachings in the concrete conditions of Chinese society. And in that process it has brought enrichment to the treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism.

WHY SHOULD WE RECALL THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES

The world humanity is passing through agonising moments when the vile treacheries of the neo-revisionists have at last caused restoration of capitalism, moving hand in glove with the American imperialists, in Russia and East European countries. The international communist movement suffers, no doubt, severest of blows and reverses although foul attacks and setbacks are nothing unknown to this loftiest of international movements. The imperialists, the bourgeois ideologues, the social democrats, both old and new, who talk of the cause of the working class but serve in reality the exploiters—the bourgeoisie, all rejoice at the reverses of world proletarian movement. They are all sworn enemies of the exploited and the oppressed and of the proletarian revolution that paves the way for an end to exploitation and oppression of man by man. They have, therefore, good reasons to be joyous but what about millions upon millions of exploited and oppressed? Will they allow themselves to sink in despondency and a state of helplessness? Will they accept grinding exploitation and mounting attacks on all aspects in their life as their fate? To resign to fate is to disgrace manhood. Man is the architect of his own destiny. The Chinese people ground down

by indescribable miseries thrust on them by the imperialists, feudal warlords, the compradors and with the proverbial Chinese sorrow, haunting their life stood up under the leadership of the Communist Party of China guided by Comrade Mao Zedong on correct ideological-political lines and like a tornado swept clean the dark days of misfortune. They by sheer human will and iron determination could change their fate. They by their exemplary revolutionary dare, death-defying spirit and fortitude added a glorious chapter to history and held out the imbibing lesson to the oppressed and deprived never to heap on them shame by meek submission. And the life history of the great revolutionaries is the living book for the exploited and oppressed. It gives the insight into the very twists and turns in revolutionary struggles of the countries where they breathed and worked.

We need to recall the experiences of the revolutionary movement in China carried through to success by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. For, the emancipation of the Chinese people from imperialist oppression and feudal bondage was done not so easily. There was the long struggle led by Mao for establishing the correct ideological-political line based on sound grasping of the essence of Marxism-Leninism and its concrete application in the concrete conditions of China. The struggle to establish correct line within the party steering clear both the Right opportunist and Left sectarian trends and tendencies was Mao's life endeavour. It was as important as the very struggle itself for without the correct line, the struggle loses meaning; it cannot bring about victory. Like all the great revolutionaries Comrade Mao Zedong's life struggle provides an invaluable lesson to the revolutionaries and all those who refuse to resign to fate but want to change it by concrete deeds devolved on them as historic task.

CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF CONCRETE CONDITIONS

For the victory of revolutionary movement in any country what is of prime importance is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions of the country from the Marxist-Leninist approach. That is why Lenin said that the very soul of Marxism is concrete analysis of concrete conditions. This means anything and everything said or practised in the name of Marxism-Leninism is not Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism being revolutionary philosophy, a comprehensive science,

it has got to be studied, its essence assimilated and got to be continually improved upon with the development of science. Those who therefore want to copy the revolutionary movement of other countries will miserably fail. Similarly those who in the name of creative application of Marxism deviate from the basic principles of Marxism will reap capitalism in place of socialism. This in essence is the real meaning when we say Marxism is not a dogma. Replying to his detractors Wang Ming and others who accused him of committing nationalist deviation Mao said: "To separate internationalist content from nationalist form is the practice of those who do not understand the first thing about internationalism." Mao observed—Revolution was not to be made by people who parroted empty slogans. They were really arrogant and slothful, for they never used their heads. Revolution was a matter of learning not only the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin but also the heritage of the country. It is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the country. And ideological struggle is a fact of progress.

Comrade Mao Zedong was the first to provide the concrete analysis of concrete conditions of China from a Marxist-Leninist approach. It was he who formulated the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution in China at the stage of democratic revolution. In his work 'Analysis of the classes in Chinese Society (1926)' Comrade Mao giving for the first time a scientific analysis of various classes in the Chinese society as well as their respective roles showed:

"All those in league with imperialism—warlords, the bureaucrats, the compradors, the big landlords and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia dependent on them—are our enemies. The industrial proletariat is the leading force in our revolution. All sections of the semi-proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie are our closest friends. As to the vacillating middle bourgeoisie (Comrade Mao had in mind the national bourgeoisie—Ed. P. Era) its Right wing may become our enemy and its Left wing may become our friends but we must be constantly on our guard towards the latter and not allowed it to create confusion in our front."

The democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country which went by the name 'New Democratic' or 'People's Democratic' Revolution is a unique contribution of Mao to the treasurehouse of Marxism-Leninism. He successfully applied Lenin's thesis on liberation movement in colonies and semi-colonies and Stalin's analysis of different class alignments in those countries enunciated in his speech before the University of the East in 1925. This revolution was novel one inasmuch as it achieved the objectives of democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and paving at the same time the path for socialist transformation in the second stage.

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The transcendence to socialism was ingrained within the people's democratic revolution as the very process of its development

The historical reasons behind the success of the strategy lay in certain facts. First historically speaking since the October Revolution an emergence of the proletarian state the bourgeoisie as a class, generally speaking, lost its revolutionary role. It was not possible for the bourgeoisie to go whole hog against imperialism-feudalism. Its role against imperialism-feudalism could be termed as 'reformist oppositional'. Secondly, the very class aspiration of the bourgeoisie to elevate to the position of big bourgeoisie divested it of the revolutionary role against imperialism-feudalism. It cannot stand by uncom promising fight against imperialism nor can it be for a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution. Thirdly, the link with international capital and fear complex about proletarian revolution stands in the way of the bourgeoisie's taking the revolutionary role in the given historical situation. Comrade Mao concretised historical facts in his analysis of class dispositions in Chinese society before the revolution. Pointing out the cause of instability of the bourgeoisie Mao showed: "When it suffers from the blows of foreign capital and the oppression of the warlords it feels the need of a revolution and favours revolutionary movement against imperialism and the warlords". But at the same time the very development of the national bourgeoisie was connected in some ways with imperialism and feudalism. The class has the natural urge to climb up to the position of big bourgeoisie. Hence it lacks the revolutionary determination. More so "When the proletariat at home takes a militant part in revolution and the international proletariat abroad gives its active support", it senses the threat to the realisation of its class aspiration and grows fear complex about revolution.

CONTINUITY AND BREAK

Wherever the proletarian revolution has been successful, the communists had to prove that the revolution was the logical culmination of the national urge for self-development. The communists are not rootless nor the communist ideology is something superimposed. Rather, it lies both in the continuity as also with a break of the national urge for development and progress. Comrade Mao demonstrated this sense of history when he showed that the New Democratic Revolution had similarity as also dissimilarity with the San Min Chu I (three cardinal principles) of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the nationalist leader who fought for 40 years for the independence and sovereignty of China and for a democratic system. In the original version, the three principles were—nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. In 1924 when Dr. Sun founded a Republican Government he revised the principles as Alliance with the USSR, Cooperation with the Communists and Protecting and Assisting the Peasants and Workers.

Comrade Mao Zedong, in his celebrated book 'New Democracy' wrote: "We communists do recognise that San Min Chu I is the political basis of the anti-Japanese national united front" and that "San Min Chu I is a necessity for China today, that for its thorough realisation our party is willing to struggle." He at the same time demarcated the dissimilar aspects between San Min Chu I and communism. First, the non-inclusion of such urgent demands as eight-hour working day for the workers and thorough agrarian revolution in the countryside. Secondly, the second stage of the revolution leading to socialist society. Even for the first stage of the revolution Mao held that the problem of the peasantry had become the fundamental problem and that the force of the peasantry the main force in China's revolution.

UNITED FRONT TACTICS—FIGHT AGAINST TWO DEVIATIONS

Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding political-organizational contribution was his correct application of Leninist principle in united front tactics with the Kuomintang by which the latter was isolated and the Communist Party led the revolution through to success. Through ceaseless struggles over the decades the correct line could be established and the correct tactics implemented defeating both the Right opportunist and Left sectarian trends and tendencies. The first united front experiment ended in the massacre of the communists because of the Right opportunist trend prevailing then in the party that made abject surrender to the treachery of the bourgeoisie. The importance of independent power base of the communists especially in the countryside was neglected. Mao reiterated that the real intention of the united front tactics was to be with the bigger sections of the masses—the peasantry including the middle peasants, petty bourgeoisie, small and middle industrialists and even the Left section of the bourgeoisie and win them over in favour of thoroughgoing, agrarian revolution, building up people's power and finally to establish proletarian leadership in the national revolution. This correct line could be established and put to practice through prolonged and sharp ideological struggle against two deviant trends of either all unity no struggle of the Right opportunists or no unity all struggle of the Left sectarians.

Chen Tu-hsin, the chief proponent of the Right opportunist trend even offered a formula: "The present task of the Kuomintang is to lead the revolutionary bourgeoisie in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat to realize the bourgeois democratic revolution." Thus instead of being the leader of the democratic revolution in the changed historical context, the proletariat was assigned the role of a supplementary force, a reserve force of the bourgeoisie by the Menshevik Right opportunist trend.

The other trend led by Chang Kuo-tao was Trotskyite Left sectarian which was opposed to any alliance or united front

with the Kuomintang and held that the proletariat alone was able and should carry the banner of revolution. They did not attach any importance to the peasant question and the programme of agrarian revolution. They thus failed miserably to concretely analyse the concrete conditions of China, then semi-colonial and semi-feudal and under the direct imperialist attacks and oppressions, as also the Leninist guidance that the question of allies even of temporary in nature was key to the establishment of proletarian leadership over the toiling masses. Thus without the victory of Comrade Mao's correct line within the party on three cardinal questions—proletarian leadership in democratic revolution, united front with independence and initiative of the Communist Party and people's power through the programme of agrarian revolution the Chinese revolution could not be successful

PEASANT QUESTION

It was on this peasant question that sharp differences arose within the party. The Sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (March 13, 1926) under the leadership of Stalin held: "The most important question of the Chinese national liberation movement is the peasant question...The victory of the revolutionary democratic tendency depends on the degree to which the 400 million peasants take part in the decisive revolutionary struggle together with the workers and under their leadership."

It was only in Comrade Mao's writings or ideas this fundamental point was echoed. Comrade Mao gave the correct orientation by pointing out that only when class struggle in the countryside was stirred up for a correct solution of the agrarian problem could the broad peasant masses be roused to take active part in the revolutionary war. He concretely analysed the Chinese society and stipulated that reliance should be placed upon the poor peasants and farm labourers while uniting with the middle peasants, restricting the rich peasants and protecting the middle and small industrialists as also the merchants in order to eliminate the landlord class.

The Right opportunists who were in the leadership of the party frowned upon the militant peasant movement and tried to restrain and even stop the movement in their excessive zeal to maintain so-called 'unity' with the Kuomintang. Stalin struck a note of caution (December 1926) in such words: "I know there are people in the KMT, even in the Chinese Communist Party, who think it is impossible to have a revolution in the countryside who are afraid that pushing the peasantry in the revolution will break the united anti-imperialist front...This is profound error...The peasant question must be linked to the perspective of the Chinese final aim."

Comrade Mao Zedong after his visit to Hunan to have a first hand information about the peasant movement listed **Fourteen Great Achievements**—they (peasants) were

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UTUC (LS) Leaders Meet Union Finance Minister

Memorandum Condemns Centre's Fiscal & Industrial Policies

[The following is the text of the Memorandum submitted by Comrade Pritish Chanda, President, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), to Dr. Manmohan Singh Union Finance Minister, in the meeting held on 17th August last in Delhi with the Central Trade Unions. Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade Tapas Dutta, President and General Secretary respectively of the UTUC (LS), attended the meeting.]

Shri Manmohan Singh,
Minister of Finance,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Dear Shri Manmohan Singh,

At the outset I like to thank you for arranging this meeting with the trade unionists and for your invitation to us.

No doubt, it was desirable to arrange this meeting before the Budget was placed in the Parliament but you have already expressed your regret for not being able to do so in your letter dated 10th August, 1991. Hence no comments on that. On behalf of the United Trade Union Centre (Lenin Sarani), I like to place before you and through you to your government the following views for your serious and urgent consideration:—

1. Both you and the Prime Minister have been repeatedly telling the people of the country that 'the nation is passing through a serious crisis' and further that all the policies and the measures you are intending to adopt are for pulling the nation out of this crisis. We like to observe that the crisis has not set in overnight. Rather, it is the direct outcome of wrong budgetary and fiscal policies, more so anti-people and pro-capitalist policies, systematically pursued by the Congress Governments for several decades which have been criticised and opposed by progressive forces of the country. What is matter of more concern is that instead of rectifying the basic orientation of those wrong policies your Ministry has adopted such a policy this time which will certainly push the nation further into deeper crisis.

2. Although our country has been obliged by the previous governments

particularly from the early Eighties to go with begging hands before the IMF and the World Bank for loan, this time your government has gone for loans from such imperialist-capitalist financial institutions under such terms and conditionalities which, in our view, has thrown open our country before Neo-Colonial attacks. Such policy threatens our economic sovereignty and jeopardizes our objective of self-reliance. Despite your denial, the IMF conditionalities are very vivid in your proposed measures.

3. The country has further been made open for investment of foreign capital at random and at most liberal terms compromising even the dignity of a sovereign nation. The foreign capitalists are officially offered 51% equity shares in any industry or trading firm and in some of your Press Conferences you have declared that it may go up to 100%. Is it not clear sellout of our country and inviting imperialist-capitalists to exploit our rich natural and mineral resources as well as to exploit our cheap labour to make profit by those foreign capitalists? The question arises—did our people fight for country's independence to free themselves from the yoke of foreign imperialists only to see the country being landed in such a situation again?

4. In the name of liberalisation your new policy is going to do away with the system of Licencing and all sorts of control which means there shall remain no planning, regulation and control on the country's economic activities. The country will be a playground for both domestic and foreign capitalists. Taking advantage of it they will carry on merciless loot and exploitation of our people.

5. The public sector in our country grew at a time when the big industrial houses were shy to invest capital particularly in the key and basic sectors. Now after about four decades of growth and development of public sector and its rich contribution to the country's economy when the public sector has created a strong infrastructure for all-out economic development and growth, it is now being decided to hand over the public sector to the hands of private capitalists and industrial houses. Even

privatisation of Nationalised Banks are being talked of. The same industrial houses who even eat up the capital, Governmental subsidies, the finance made by Governmental financial institutions, and even pocket workers' money, are now being trusted to run the public sector. This policy of your government is nothing but a betrayal to the country's interest. We challenge government's right to sell out the public sector and we strongly oppose the policy of privatisation.

6. Besides the above, we also want to record our protest against the decision of your government to devalue the Rupee in three stages in quick succession reducing its value around 20% in relation to most of the leading currencies; this is sure to tell upon seriously on the economy of our country. This has already boosted high inflationary rate and further price-rise of all essential commodities. It also increases import cost of like crude oil and petroleum products besides causing rise in the rupee cost for external debt servicing. Your government has also depleted heavily the Gold Reserve of the country by sending 46.91 tons of gold to the Bank of England. This will result in economic bankruptcy.

7. Your policy of removing all checks under MRTP on the growth of monopolies and giving full freedom to imports reflect that the main orientation of your budget policy is designed to give further scope to reap fabulous profits by the monopolists and traders—both domestic and foreign—and the common people will bear the cost of unregulated market mechanism. The rise in the cost of petrol and petroleum products will further raise the cost of transport of common use which is bound to have a spiralling effect on prices of essential commodities. Even the sale price of sugar has been raised affecting adversely the common man. Even the prices of bidis used by the poor have not been spared.

8. While all these above are done only to strengthen further profit-making of the capitalists and traders, both domestic and foreign, your budgetary policy and new Industrial Policy have not only not offered any relief to the working class, rather

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UTUC (LS) Memorandum

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such policy has offered only further unemployment, fall in real wages, poverty and destitution to the country's work-force, both urban and rural. Your advice to the people to get ready for 'more sacrifice' and 'tightening of their belts' indicates the above. We are constrained to observe that you as Finance Minister and your government offer the working class only starvation whereas the capitalists and traders are offered fabulous profits. And all these you want to pass in the name of 'country's interest'. We like to record our strong protest against such policies.

An the end, we would urge your good offices and Government to retrace from such out and out anti-people and anti-worker measures and instead adopt such measures and policies that can ensure the following :

i) To check price-rise and inflationary trend by reducing the expenditure on the top-heavy administration and the military, mopping up effectively black money which has virtually developed a parallel economy, and bring parity, as far as possible, between production and flow of money in the country among others;

ii) To bring down the prices of all essential commodities within the reach of the common people by introducing allout State Trading, both wholesale and retail, in foodgrains freeing it from the maladies of corruption, wastage, bureaucratism, blackmarketing etc. ;

iii) To increase the employment opportunities by stressing labour intensive as against capital intensive industries ;

iv) To withdraw the hike in the Railway fares and freight as proposed in the Railway budget.

v) To adopt concrete measures to mobilise resources from within the country by taxing the big Industrial Houses and rural rich for opening economic development fund; the unpaid tax amount are to be strictly collected.

vi) Country's economy can be strengthened by developing the vast domestic market only by increasing the purchasing power of our vast people in both urban and rural sectors.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/- Pritish Chanda
President
UTUC (LS)

Red Salute Comrade Madhai Halder

The martyrs' column beside, at which Com. Provash Ghosh, member, CC and WB State Secretary of our party, is seen paying Red Salute on 31st August last. was installed on that day on Rani Rashmoni Road, Esplanade, Calcutta' commemorating the martyrdom of Comrade Madhai Halder. A young worker of our party Comrade Halder fell to the bullets last year just here on historic 31st August while 33 others were critically injured in indiscriminate firing only apart from hundreds wounded in barbaric lathicharge by the police of the CPI(M)-led Left Front while the 13-party combine including the SUCI was demonstrating against the bus-tram fare hike, price rise etc. The historic 31st August, observed every year to commemorate the martyrs of 1959, killed by the then Congress Govt., has been observed this year with greater significance. Left parties of the combine that included CPI-(ML)-Agami Yug, COI(ML), IPF, WPI, Bolshevik Party, CCCR, CR-GU, CPI(ML), MCPL, PCC and RCPI paid tribute. Below is a part of the vast gathering on the day.



Stir against Railway Fare Hike

BOMBAY

The Bombay Organising Committee of the SUCI organised on 19.8.91 a protest demonstration at the Headquarters of the Central Railway, Bombay V.T. against the rail fare and freight hike. Through the General Manager, in this connection, a memorandum was submitted to the Railway Minister. A mass meeting was also held on that day addressed by Com. Madan Kumar Jha and Com. Akhil Yogi. The demonstration created

high enthusiasm among the common men.

HYDERABAD

The Hyderabad City unit of the party organised a demonstration at Secunderabad Railway Station on 16th August against anti-people railway budget. Com. Murahari, Secretary City Organising Committee addressed a gathering at the station and urged the people and commuters to develop a mighty mass movement against the anti-people railway budget. The people responded enthusiastically to the slogans raised by the demonstrators.

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organizing themselves, hitting the landlords politically and economically, overthrowing feudal rule, defeating landlords' armies, organizing their self-defence, eliminating bandits, abolishing levies, starting movement for education and cooperation etc. In his Report Mao justly summed up the experiences by holding that : "The great peasant masses have risen to fulfil their historic mission.. In a few months the peasants have accomplished what Dr. Sun yat Sen wanted but failed to accomplish in the forty years he devoted to the national revolution. This is a marvellous feat. It is fine." He warned the Right opportunist leadership : "All talk directed against the peasant movement must be speedily set right. All the wrong measures taken.... concerning the peasant movement must be speedily changed; only thus can the Future of the Revolution be benefited." Mao reminded the Right opportunist peaceable gentry that : "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay or painting a picture or doing embroidery ; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, and act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

RED BASES—UNIQUE FEATURE IN CHINA'S REVOLUTION

It was the unique feature in China's revolution to have political-military red bases in the countryside and the Red Army parallel to the private armies of the warlords or of the army of the Kuomintang. In the civil war that preceded immediately before the revolution, the Red Army became victorious. Question arose, was it possible to set up the red bases or to have their existence continued amidst the hostile surroundings? To this Comrade Mao Zedong gave the answer in the affirmative on the basis of China's peculiar conditions existing then. Before we come to those peculiar conditions we must note Mao's caution against blindly copying the same tactics in any other country, in such words : "It cannot occur in any imperialist country (as in Europe and the United States) or in any colony under direct imperialist rule."

That the participants of the Autumn-Harvest uprising, in October 1927 undertook, under the leadership of Mao, the historic march to the Chingkang mountains whether the first red base was set up later expanded to some more areas and continued their existence with regular armies was because of some definite politico-economic-military reasons.

First, because of unevenness and extreme backwardness of the economy so much so that the imperialist economic forces had no control over many remote areas, China had self-sufficient local economies independent of the cities and those could be self-supporting and harbour the revolution for a long time. As a result it became possible to win armed victory in those remote areas, where the enemy forces were weak, and set up red

bases. Even then the process was gradual and well-calculated and not by indulging in military adventurism.

Secondly, one of the basic preconditions was the politico-military reason of splits and war and/or antagonism between the warlords, between the warlords and the rank and file of their armies, between the warlords and the Kuomintang army, between the warlords, and the peasantry and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Thirdly, the existence of a regular Red Army of adequate strength to repulse the army detachments of the enemy forces in guerilla warfare. The Red Army played the historic role as the mobiliser of the masses to found party organizations, form revolutionary local governments, back up land reforms as also arming and recruiting peasant soldiers and thus isolating the exploiters. The formation of the Red Army from the peasants and workers, and giving it a concentrated form, setting up of rural red bases—all through the programme of agrarian revolution in localities, giving shape to revolutionary rule in the red bases, holding on the proletarian forces through guerilla warfare against the enemy forces and ultimately leading the proletarian military power to victory is a fine example of Mao's application of the essence of Marxism-Leninism to politico-economic-military fields in the concrete conditions of China.

FIGHT AGAINST SOVIET REVISIONISM LED BY KHRUSHCHEV

Soon after the demise of Comrade Stalin, the Khrushchev revisionist clique that usurped the party leadership of the CPSU bared its revisionist fangs under cover of fighting the cult of personality of Stalin. They were denouncing Stalin personally and deprecated all his deeds to the worldwide jubilation of the imperialists and enemies of the communist movement.

Two months after the 20th Congress of the CPSU Mao indicated to the Russian ambassador in Peking his disapproval : "We do not agree with the total denunciation of Stalin... There are other matters on which we do not agree." Later when Khrushchev and his clique revealed more of their intentions Mao observed : "I think there are two swords: one Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been abandoned by the Russians. As for the sword of Lenin has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the Soviet Union? in my view, it has been abandoned to a considerable extent. Is the October Revolution still valid? Can it still be the example for all countries? Khrushchev's report at the 20th Congress of the CPSU says it is possible to gain political power by the parliamentary road, that is to say, it is no longer necessary for all countries to learn from the October Revolution. Once this gate is opened, Leninism by and large is thrown out." (Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, CPC, November 15, 1956)

The first Chinese document in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute "On the

Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" appeared on April 5, 1956. Eight months later another document "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" came out. In both the documents Mao's contribution was marked. In the latter document it was shown how non-antagonistic contradictions sometimes could turn antagonistic when on one side gradually went over to the enemy and that such instances were to be found in the history of both the CPSU and the CPC, directly hinting at the dark designs of the Khrushchev renegade clique. It was categorically stated : "Certain comrades were focussing on errors and mistakes but not on the main successes of the Russian Revolution and its essential correctness. To negate all that Stalin did was to negate the revolution ; this was what imperialism hoped for ; had not Dulles recently stated that a change of character of the communist world now seems within the realm of possibility?" The document asserted : Stalin committed many errors.... Nevertheless he was a valiant Marxist-Leninist." And that "Some Communists however were now fostering a revisionist trend. According to them it was possible to build socialism without going through Proletarian revolution (peaceful transition). This was more dangerous than dogmatism." In both the documents there was insistence on unity in independence of communist parties and countries as also the necessity for eradicating national chauvinism.

In the document, 'The Origin And Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves' it was reiterated :

"... Securing a majority in parliament and transforming parliament from an instrument of the bourgeois dictatorship into an instrument of genuine people's state power substituted the 'parliamentary road' advocated by the opportunists of the second International for the road of the October Revolution and tampered with the basic Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution."

The need of the hour is therefore unpromising and sharper ideological-political struggles against social democracy both old and new. For, "The social democratic parties are not parties of socialism ; with the exception of certain left wings, they are parties serving the bourgeoisie and capitalism. They are a variant of bourgeois political parties, on the question of the socialist revolution. Our position is fundamentally different from that of the social democratic parties. This distinction must not be obscured. To obscure this distinction only helps the leaders of the social democratic parties to deceive the masses and hinders us from winning the masses away from the influence of the social democratic parties." (Outline of views on the Question of Peaceful Transition Nov. 1957)

The Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong, held aloft the banner of proletarian revolution when the

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Soviet revisionist renegade clique was out to plunge the international communist movement in new-revisionism, ultimately to capitulate to imperialism by liquidation of socialism. It spoke with revolutionary conviction: "The future of the international communist movement depends on the need and the struggles of the people of all countries and on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.. Our Party believes in and obeys the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism alone and will never submit to erroneous views which run counter to Marxism-Leninism." (Statement on the CPC Delegation at the Bucharest meeting of Fraternal Parties—June 26, 1960) Mao Zedong could clearly visualise the dangers of neo-revisionism on a worldwide scale as also the supreme need to defend Marxism-Leninism and above all save socialism in China on its own strength. The struggle against the capitalist roaders became all the more urgent with the masses of Chinese people awakened to this historic need by means unprecedented in history—a tumultuous mass movement to expose the 'dark sides' of the party leadership, the government administration, the superstructure, and above all to uphold the moral values and ethics on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This great movement is known in history as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China with universal significance. Comrade Mao Zedong urged the proletariat and working people to realise: '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 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.'

CULTURAL REVOLUTION— A GREAT HISTORICAL EVENT

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was a momentous event in history. It took place and ran for three years or so in China from the idea, inspiration and actual leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. Defining it Mao said: "The present revolution is to touch people's souls to change man. It is a new, broader, deeper stage of the continuing revolution. Old ideas, culture, customs, habits of the exploiting classes still mould public opinion, offering fertile ground for restoration of

the past. The mental outlook must be transformed and new values created. The object of the revolution is to overthrow those persons in power taking the capitalist road; to repudiate and criticize bourgeois academic authorities; to transform education, literature and art and all parts of superstructure which do not correspond to the socialist economic base."

Providing the historical background and the reason of this great event in history, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party SUCI and a great Marxist thinker wrote in his very important work: 'The Cultural Revolution of China' thus:

"China has accomplished anti-imperialist, anti-feudal People's Democratic Revolution. This People's Democratic Revolution had to be accomplished by fulfilling those very tasks in the ideological, political and cultural spheres which were indispensable for preparing mass mind and making the people free, ideologically and culturally, from the vile influence of feudal and bourgeois culture..... But this, however, could not free the people even the party members, from all the vices of bourgeois culture and forces of habit, nor could totally remove from their mental complex all the ingredients of culture, ethics and morality which they inherited and carried along as hangover from the old feudal society. Moreover, the class which had been overthrown from power, did not as a class lose all its power of resistance, particularly in the socio-cultural life....

"And after the attainment of stability in the relative sense, following the seizure of power, the old culture was gaining ground... due to the low level of ideological-political consciousness of the party workers and even some of the leading members. Moreover, the transition to socialism in the Chinese society is taking place relatively peacefully. ...With the party controlling the state power, a tendency of individualism and various shades of opportunism are growing among the party members and the people. And centring round all these, different types of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and even feudal ideas and norms of behaviour are infiltrating the party life. All these are happening and working inside the party in the name of socialism and under cover of revolutionary verbiage and Marxist-Leninist scholasticism. That the Chinese leadership will have worries for all this quite likely and there is no earthly reason, other than bias to doubt their sincerity. This is quite natural and can happen in any party.... Only those who are absolutely ignorant about the most complicated process of 'unity-struggle-unity' and the magnitude of the complexities of revolution can talk nonsense that since revolution has been accomplished such things can never happen and the party as well as the cadres are bound to be automatically free from the vile influence of the bourgeois ideology and culture. Nowhere in the world can revolution ensure all this at a stroke. Even after capture of power those trends and tendencies are bound

to persist for some time in all countries inside the party as in different spheres of social life. China is no exception to this". (Selected Works, Vol. I, pp 181-91).

Indicating the immediate cause or need of launching the cultural revolution in China, Comrade Ghosh wrote:

'....after the experience in Soviet Union in the post-Stalin period when revisionist clique of Khrushchev usurped the leadership of the party and the state, the Chinese leadership must feel seriously perturbed.they have been seriously thinking that if they are to safeguard the Chinese Revolution, if they to ensure its uninterrupted growth and advancement, if they are to achieve victories of socialism one after another, both in national and international spheres, they would have to while holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, carry on the struggle for continuously uplifting the standard of proletarian politics and culture without which they cannot fulfil their obligation to revolution'. (Ibid)

Regarding the main objective of the cultural revolution Comrade Ghosh explained: 'They (the Chinese leadership—Ed. P. Era) are no doubt conducting struggles against the influences of bourgeois and old reactionary thoughts, ideas and culture which still prevail in the party and social life. They are fighting against that very trend aimed at reducing the sense of individual freedom and liberty, emancipation of the individual and individualism to individual privileges and vulgar individualism with the attainment of more and more stability in economic and political spheres in the socialist society. The main object of this struggle is to reach unity and develop uniformity of thinking. ...It is with this object developing a higher form of centralism within the party and the relationship between the party and the people that this unique, gigantic and complex struggle has been launched". (Ibid).

The cultural revolution in China is a unique event in history having universal significance. It was a novel example of real democracy at work 'which neither the most liberal bourgeois democrat could ever dream of nor did it happen in history before. It was subjecting consciously the party and its top leaders to criticisms of the ordinary members, the youths, the students and millions upon millions of the masses of people. The party had gone through rectification movements before but those were confined within the party. This was a gigantic rectification movement which Mao Zedong personally led and strove hard to be on the basis of Marxist teachings and the methodology of criticism-self-criticism and unity. It was to remould the party, the administration and the entire superstructure involving the masses in order to prepare for bigger and higher struggle to reach the first stage of communist society defeating revisionism that carries the seed of restoration of capitalism. The rest is history.

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**COMRADE MAO ZEDONG—
RECALLING SOME OF HIS TEACHINGS**

Comrade Mao Zedong, a giant Marxist leader had unbound faith in man and his creative ingenuity. In the development of society, in the reconstruction of socialist economy and in transforming the destiny of humanity in general Mao laid stress on the human factor most. Just like weapons in war technology, technical knowledge were to him but the means not the end in themselves. The human factor was decisive when it is armed with revolutionary consciousness and guidance of Marxism. 'Politics is the keylink'—he said. Indicating thereby that development of production can only be effected by grasping revolution to promote production through politically conscious organised movement of the masses. Discussing the causes of deceleration in economic development Mao struck a note of caution! And how farsighted was the caution; Mao said: 'Waste and extravagance in the use of materials and machinery shortages due to illplanned capital construction, delays in receiving spare parts, decrease in quality of products, unnecessary large overhead costs are mentioned. But they are secondary to three major issues: first, depoliticization of the working class, second, the strains of a capital intensive technology on a poor agricultural and backward country and third, grafting on to an industry an elite (managerial-technical) whose approach had no relevance to the real problems of China. Worse, the monopoly of technology by an elite rapidly entering into the party protected and on the best terms with influential top officials was a threat to the goals of the revolution itself. It was state bureaucratic bourgeoisie...and how swiftly it could seize power!

CENTRALISM WITH DEMOCRACY

The bourgeois hirelings dish out all sorts of canards that Communism means dictatorial rule and that the communists are 'blood thirsty' or that the masses have no democracy, no freedom under Communist rule, so on and so forth. Mao Zedong's life and teachings debunk all these rusty nonsense. Mao Zedong wanted a political situation "in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness".

Further explaining proletarian democracy Mao said: "Within the ranks of the people we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline. We cannot do without democracy nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline constitutes our democratic centralism. Under the system, people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline."

Comrade Mao Zedong practised democracy in both personal and party life by subjecting him to the same method of criticism for mistakes or errors self-criticism

and discipline. That is why when the capitalist roaders within the party leadership were being widely criticized Mao could not absolve himself and the party leadership of the responsibility. Mao said: "The primary responsibility should be borne by the center; at the center the primary responsibility is mine...If we are to promote democracy we must encourage others to criticize us and listen to their criticism."

LEADERSHIP, NOT THE LEADER

Great Marxist as he was Mao always urged the comrades to strengthen not a particular leader but the leadership of the party, 'the vanguard detachment'. It was his teaching: "Nothing can be done well, if it depends entirely on the leader not the leadership of the party. We must rely on the party and our comrades to deal with matters, not on a solitary leader. An active leader followed by inactive masses will not do; it must be established as a practice that masses use both their hands and their mouths."

NOT MECHANICAL ALLEGIANCE

Mao was opposed to mechanical allegiance, docility or meek submission. He wanted a liveliness with animated discussion and debates, reasoned contradiction within the party and between the party and the masses. Mao insisted: 'Communists must always use their heads...must think.' He always urged the comrades to remember: "it is wrong...blindly to carry out directives without discussing them simply because they come from a higher organ."

NOT INDIVIDUAL LIQUIDATION

Mao Zedong embodied in him the higher Marxist ethics and moral principles. He was as uncompromising and ardent fighter against all reactionary thoughts, ideas and the exploiting classes and for their political liquidation as he was opposed to liquidation of individuals as a means to win victory. Cruelty, vengeance, personal malice, all these repelled him very much. That is why he formulated from the party body the norms for dealing even with enemies captured in war. To him what mattered was not the lethal capacity but moral values in dealing with man even on the wrong track without ceasing for a moment the ideological-political struggle. He used to tell: 'The best general is the one who obtains maximum results with a minimum of bloodshed.'

PRACTISE MARXISM AND BE OPEN

Comrade Mao Zedong wanted the party comrades to adhere to the moral values and ethics that the Marxist philosophy teaches. He wanted contradictions among the communists to follow the method of criticism-self criticism-unity and not to lead to bourgeois vices like splits, intrigues and conspiracies. So, in an extremely trying situation after the cultural revolution it was Mao's sound guidance: "Practise Marxism and not revisionism; unite and don't split, be open and overboard and don't intrigue and conspire." As he was opposed to, he urged the communists to free themselves from personal bickerings

malice, slander, cruelty and barsh treatment amongst themselves. They should be simple, open and fair as the devotees of truth.

SAVE PATIENT CURING THE DISEASE

Comrade Mao Zedong was quite aware that to be a communist was a life-long struggle from lower to ever and ever higher stage. The advancement is hardly a smooth journey. Aberrations and even deviations of comrades are not uncommon. Mao's behaviour towards erring colleagues was to seek them out, talk with them, persuade them to correct their errors. Mao laid utmost importance on criticism and self-criticism as a method of rectification. Mao said: "If we have really made mistakes, mistakes which are harmful to the cause of the Party and the people, we should seek the opinions of the masses and of comrades and criticize ourselves. Such self-criticism should sometimes be repeated several time over. If once is not enough and people are not satisfied, it should be done a second time; if they are still not satisfied, then it should be done a third time; it should go on until nobody has any more criticisms." (Talk at an enlarged Working Conference convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, held on January 30, 1962)

Mao not only taught this method for party unity, he practised it. His authority and the high regard and respect surrounding him (even from those who disagreed with him) were earned by this trait in his mental makeup which he established within party norms. Throughout his life Mao Zedong would never believe that men could not change, or that they would be unwilling to do so once they knew the truth.

Comrade Mao Zedong was the embodiment of combination of the essence of Marxist theory with revolutionary practice. He was the symbol of higher ethical value of Marxism. For the establishment of correct line within the party and to ensure ultimate victory of revolution he had to fight for long against wrong theories, wrong line and wrong leadership and for which even important gains achieved through strenuous efforts had to suffer liquidation. But he betrayed no personal malice but urged the comrades to learn the inner dialectics of communist movement—the unavoidable struggle against subjectivism and various non-communist outlook and approach within the movement itself. Based as it is on Marxist philosophy the communist movement is impersonal in character. This is how Mao viewed it.

Comrade Mao Zedong will be remembered by the generations of revolutionaries as one of the finest specimens of character produced by the proletarian movement, a restless revolutionary soul with the burning desire for remoulding the humanity and the world around. His boundless faith in human will, creativity and firm conviction in the ultimate victory of mankind from the bondage of exploitation and humiliation will continue to be a great source of inspiration.

Red Salute Comrade Mao Zedong!

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Edited & Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48 Lenia Sarani, Calcutta-700 013 and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013.