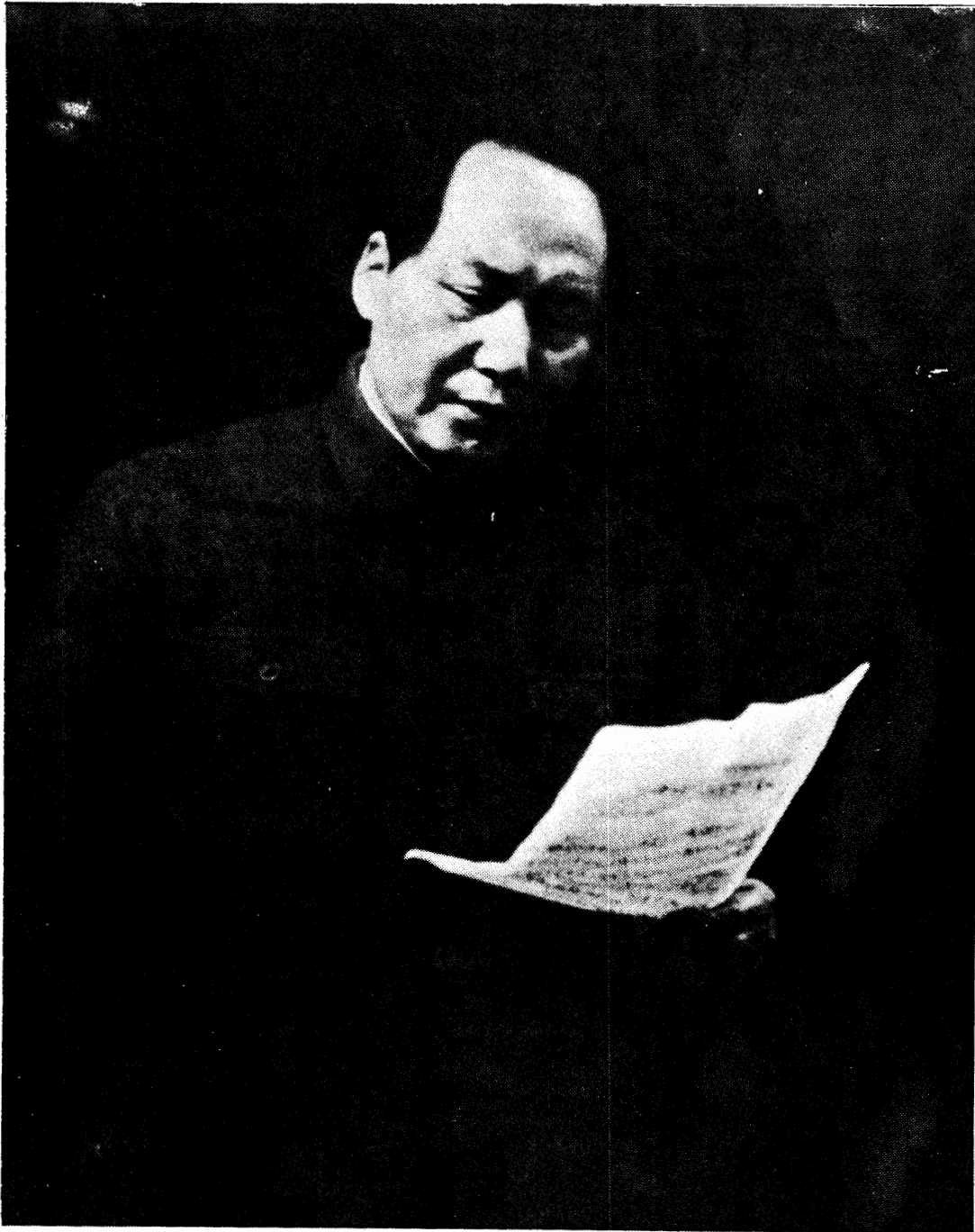


RED SALUTE COMRADE MAO ZEDONG



BORN : 26th December, 1893

DIED : 9th September, 1976

"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 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."

*Proletarian
Era*

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
Founder Editor-in-Chief: COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

REFORM OUR STUDY

[Hundred years have rolled by since the birth of the Great Marxist revolutionary leader Comrade Mao Zedong, the architect of Socialist China. For all those fighters who are in grim battle against capitalism-imperialism for establishing socialism, this is a great occasion to recall the teachings of Mao Zedong and his extraordinary life struggle, that remains a source of profound inspiration. The Central Committee of our party, at the beginning of the centenary, took up a year-long programme to observe this great occasion with a view to disseminating the thoughts of the great Marxist thinker and assimilating them in our revolutionary life. This has been particularly necessary in the background of the restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile socialist countries including the Soviet land and more so in the background of the growing trend of revisionism in China. The year-long centenary celebration programme is being implemented centrally and locally in different states of India, as a part of which several valuable writings of Comrade Mao Zedong have been published. The present issue also contains his valuable writings, which are dedicated to his revolutionary memory. Ed P. era]



Comrade Mao
in northern
Shenshi in
1936



(Comrade Mao Zedong made this Report to a cadres meeting in Yanan in 1941.)

I propose that we should reform the method and the system of study throughout the Party. The reasons are as follows:

I

The twenty years of the Communist Party of China have been twenty years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. If we recall how superficial and meagre our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and of the Chinese revolution was during our Party's infancy, we can see how much deeper and richer it is now. For a hundred years, the finest sons and daughters of the disaster-ridden Chinese nation fought and

sacrificed their lives, one stepping into the breach as another fell, in quest of the truth that would save the country and the people. This moves us to song and tears. But it was only after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia that we found Marxism-Leninism, the best of truths, the best weapons for liberating our nation. And the Communist Party of China has been the initiator, propagandist and organizer in the wielding of this weapon. As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution. Since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party, basing itself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, has taken a further step in its study of the concrete practice of this

war and in its study of China and the world today, and has also made a beginning in the study of Chinese history. These are all very good signs.

II

However, we still have shortcomings, and very big ones too. Unless we correct these shortcomings, we shall not, in my opinion, be able to take another step forward in our work and in our great cause of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

First, take the study of current conditions. We have achieved some success in our study of present domestic and international conditions, but for such a large political party as ours, the material we have collected is fragmentary and our research work unsystematic on each and every aspect of these subjects, whether it be the political, military, economic or cultural aspect. Generally speaking, in the last

twenty years we have not done systematic and thorough work in collecting and studying material on these aspects, and we are lacking in a climate of investigation and study of objective reality. To behave like "a blindfolded man catching sparrows", or "a blind man groping for fish", to be crude and careless, to indulge in verbiage, to rest content with a smattering of knowledge such is the extremely bad style of work that still exists among

many comrades in our Party, a style utterly opposed to the fundamental spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that it is necessary to study conditions conscientiously and to proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes; but many of our comrades act in direct violation of this truth.

Second, take the study of

history. Although a few Party members and sympathizers have undertaken this work, it has not been done in an organized way. Many Party members are still in a fog about Chinese history, whether of the last hundred years or of ancient times. There are many Marxist-Leninist scholars who cannot open their mouths without citing ancient Greece; but as for their own ancestors sorry, they have been forgotten. There is no climate of serious study either of current

conditions or of past history. Third, take the study of international revolutionary experience, the study of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Many comrades seem to study Marxism-Leninism not to meet the needs of revolutionary practice, but purely for the sake of study. Consequently, though they read, they cannot

(Contd. on page 3)



Making a Report at the Lu Hsun Arts Institute in Yanan in 1938

REFORM OUR STUDY

(Contd from page 2)
digest. They can only cite odd quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a one-sided manner, but are unable to apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the concrete study of China's present conditions and her history or to the concrete analysis and solution of the problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude towards Marxism-Leninism does a great deal of harm, particularly among cadres of the middle and higher ranks.

The three aspects I have just mentioned, neglect of the study of current conditions, neglect of the study of history and neglect of the application of Marxism-Leninism, all constitute an extremely bad style of work. Its spread has harmed many of our comrades.

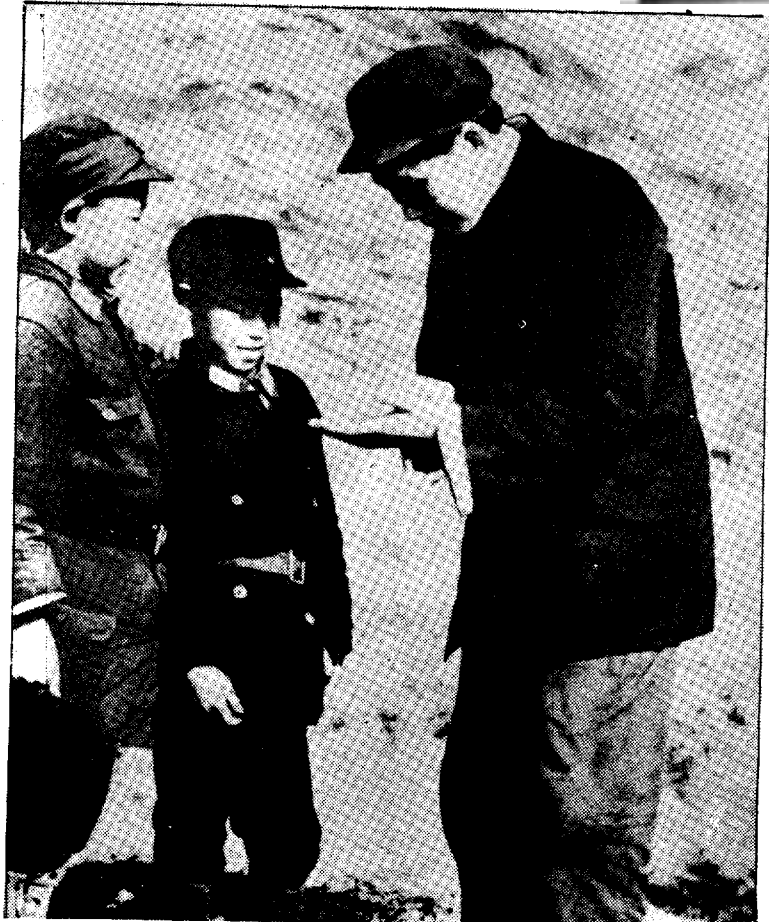
There are indeed many comrades in our ranks who have been led astray by this

style of work. Unwilling to carry on systematic and thorough investigation and study of the specific conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, they issue orders on no other basis than their scanty knowledge and "It must be so because it seems so to me". Does not this subjectivist style still exist among a great many comrades?

There are some who are proud, instead of ashamed, of knowing nothing or very little of our own history. What is particularly significant is that very few really know the history of the Communist Party of China and the history of China in the hundred years since the Opium War. Hardly anyone has seriously taken up the study of the economic, political, military and cultural history of the last hundred years. Ignorant of their own country, some people can only relate tales of ancient Greece and other foreign lands, and



On the occasion of Third Anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military & Political College in Yen-an in 1939



Chatting with young fighters of the Eighth Route Army in Yen-an in 1939

even this knowledge is quite pathetic, consisting of odds and ends from old foreign books.

For several decades, many of the returned students from abroad have suffered from this malady. Coming home from Europe, America or Japan, they can only parrot things foreign. They become gramophones and forget their duty to understand and create new things. This malady has also infected the Communist Party.

Although we are studying Marxism, the way many of our people study it runs directly counter to Marxism. That is to say, they violate the fundamental principle earnestly enjoined on us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the unity of theory and practice. Having violated this principle, they invent an opposite principle of their own, the separation of theory from practice. In the schools and in the education of cadres at work, teachers of philosophy

do not guide students to study the logic of the Chinese revolution; teachers of economics do not guide them to study the characteristics of the Chinese economy; teachers of political science do not guide them to study the tactics of the Chinese revolution; teachers of military science do not guide them to study the strategy and tactics adapted to China's special features; and so on and so forth. Consequently, error is disseminated, doing people great harm. A person does not know how to apply in Fuh sien¹ what he has learned in Yen-an. Professors of economics cannot explain the relationship between the Border Region currency and the Kuomintang currency, so naturally the students cannot explain it either. Thus a perverse mentality has been created among many students; instead of showing an interest in China's problems and taking the Party's directives seriously, they give

(Contd on page 4)

REFORM OUR STUDY

(Contd. from page 3)

all their hearts to the supposedly eternal and immutable dogmas learned from their teachers.

Of course, what I have just said refers to the worst type in our Party, and I am not saying that it is the general case. However, people of this type do exist; what is more, there are quite a few of them and they cause a great deal of harm. This matter should not be treated lightly.

III

In order to explain this idea further, I should like to contrast two opposite attitudes.

First, there is the subjective attitude.

With this attitude, a person does not make a systematic and thorough study of the environment, but works by sheer subjective enthusiasm and has a blurred picture of the face of China today. With this attitude, he chops up history, knows only ancient Greece but not China and is in a fog about the China of yesterday and the day before yesterday. With this attitude, a person studies Marxist-Leninist theory in the abstract and without any aim. He goes to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin not to seek the stand, viewpoint and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution but to study theory purely for theory's sake. He does not shoot the arrow at the target but shoots at random. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that we should proceed from objective realities and that we should derive laws from them to serve as our guide to action. For this purpose, we should, as Marx has said, appropriate the material in detail and subject it to scientific analysis and synthesis.² Many of our people do not act in this way but do the opposite. A good number of them are doing research work but have no interest in studying either the China of today or the China of yesterday and confine their interest to the study of empty "theories" divorced from reality.

Many others are doing practical work, but they too pay no attention to the study of objective conditions, often rely on sheer enthusiasm and substitute their personal feelings for policy. Both kinds of people, relying on the subjective, ignore the existence of objective realities. When making speeches, they indulge in a long string of headings, A,B,C,D, 1,2,3,4, and when writing articles, they turn out a lot of verbiage. They have no intention of seeking truth from facts, but only a desire to curry favour by claptrap. They are flashy without substance, brittle without solidity. They are always right, they are the Number One authority under

this style is to harm oneself, to teach it to others is to harm others, and to use it to direct the revolution is to harm the revolution. To sum up, this subjective method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must overthrow him. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious. We must assert that the absence of a scientific attitude, that is, the absence of

*The reed growing on the wall top-heavy,
thin-stemmed and shallow of root;
The bamboo shoot in the hills sharp-tongued,
thick-skinned and hollow inside.*

Is this not an apt description of those who do not have a scientific attitude, who can only recite words and phrases from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and who enjoy a reputation unwarranted by any real learning? If anyone really wishes to cure himself of his malady, I advise him to commit this couplet to memory or to show still more courage and paste it on the wall of his room. Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science means hon-

With this attitude, a person applies the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to the systematic and thorough investigation and study of the environment. He does not work by enthusiasm alone but, as Stalin says, combines revolutionary sweep with practicalness.³ With this attitude he will not chop up history. It is not enough for him to know ancient Greece, he must know China; he must know the revolutionary history not only of foreign countries but also of China, not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday and of the day before yesterday. With this attitude, one studies the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a purpose, that is, to integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the actual movement of the Chinese revolution and to seek from this theory the stand, viewpoint and method with which to solve the theoretical and practical problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude is one of shooting the arrow at the target. The "target" is the Chinese revolution, the "arrow" is Marxism-Leninism. We Chinese communists have been seeking this arrow because we want to hit the target of the Chinese revolution and of the revolution of the East. To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions "inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it. Such conclusions are not mere lists of phenomena in A, B, C, D order or writings full of platitudes, but are scientific conclusions. (Contd. on page 5)



Comrade Mao Zedong in Yen-an, the revolutionary headquarters of the Communist Party of China in 1944

Heaven, "imperial envoys" who rush everywhere. Such is the style of work of some comrades in our ranks. To govern one's own conduct by

the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory and practice, means that Party spirit is either absent or deficient.

est, solid knowledge: there is no room for playing tricks. Let us, then, be honest.

Secondly, there is the Marxist-Leninist attitude.

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

I. A NEW STAGE IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Zedong said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the counter-revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental out-look of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the

capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology

of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other

parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. THE MAIN CURRENT AND THE TWISTS AND TURNS

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring path-breakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on

(Contd on page 6)



Leaving in August 1945 for Chungking to negotiate with the Kuomintang after victory of the War of Resistance against Japan

REFORM OUR STUDY

(Contd. from page 4)
clusions. Such an attitude is one of seeking truth from facts and not of currying favour by claptrap. It is the manifestation of Party spirit, the Marxist-Leninist style of uniting theory and practice. It is the attitude every Communist Party member should have at the very least. He who adopts this attitude will be neither "top-heavy, thin-stemmed and shallow of root" nor "sharp-tongued, thick-skinned and hollow inside".

IV

In accordance with the above views, I would like to make the following proposals:

1. We should place before the whole Party the task of making a systematic and thorough study of the situation around us. On the basis of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, we should make a detailed investigation and study of developments in

the economic, financial, political, military, cultural and party activities of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, and then draw the proper and necessary conclusions. To this end, we should direct our comrades' attention to the investigation and study of these practical matters. We should get our comrades to understand that the twofold basic task of the leading bodies of the Communist Party is to know conditions and to master policy; the former means knowing the world and the latter changing the world. We should get our comrades to understand that without investigation there is no right to speak, and that bombastic twaddle and a mere list of phenomena in 1,2,3,4 order are of no use. Take propaganda work, for instance; if we do not know the situation with regard to the propaganda of our enemies, our friends and ourselves, we shall be

unable to decide on a correct propaganda policy. In the work of any department, it is necessary to know the situation first and only then can the work be well handled. The fundamental link in changing the Party's style of work is to carry out plans for investigation and study throughout the Party.

2. As for China's history in the last hundred years, we should assemble qualified persons to study it, in co-operation and with a proper division of labour, and so overcome the present disorganized state of affairs. First it is necessary to make analytical studies in the several fields of economic history, political history, military history and cultural history, and only then will it be possible to make syncretical studies.

3. As for education for cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of fo-

cus on such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide, and the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded. Moreover, in studying Marxism-Leninism, we should use the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course as the principal material. It is the best synthesis and summing-up of the world communist movement of the past hundred years, a model of the integration of theory and practice, and so far the only comprehensive model in the whole world. When we see how Lenin and Stalin integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Soviet revolution and thereby developed Marxism, we shall know how we should work in China.

We have made many detours. But error is often the precursor of what is correct.

I am confident that in the context of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, which is so intensely alive and so richly varied, this reform of our study will certainly yield good results.

Notes:

1. Fuhshien County is about seventy kilometres south of Yen-an.

2. See Karl Marx, "Afterword to the Second German Edition" of *Capital* in which he wrote: "The latter [the method of inquiry] has to appropriate the material in detail, to analyse its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connexion. Only after this work is done, can the actual movement be adequately described." (*Capital*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, Vol. I, p.19)

3. See J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Problems of Leninism, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1952, p.80.

The quotation on first page is from the Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, CPC, November 15, 1956.

Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Contd. from page 5)

the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another; however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the great proletarian cultural revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zig-zags and does not run smoothly.

3. PUT DARING ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE AND BOLDLY AROUSE THE MASSES

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Zedong's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and

are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unaware by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so

character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and



Mao elected Chairman of the Central People's Government of China in September, 1949



Inspecting construction on Yellow River in 1952

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state

make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4. LET THE MASSES EDUCATE THEMSELVES IN THE MOVEMENT

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-

talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5. FIRMLY APPLY THE CLASS LINE OF THE PARTY

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at

(Contd. on page 7)



With peasants in Shaoshan, his birthplace, in 1959

Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Contd. from page 6)

discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left: it should firmly rely on the revolution-

cize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Zedong's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

to distinguish between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6. CORRECTLY HANDLE CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7. BE ON GUARD AGAINST THOSE WHO BRAND THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONAR-



Amidst teachers and students of the Shanshan School in 1959



Shaking hands with an aged peasant of Uighur nationality in Sinkiang, 1958

ary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary Rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criti-

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

The strictest care should be taken

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions; those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they

IES"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries". It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against stu-

(Contd. on page 8)



Doing physical labour at the construction site of the Ming Tombs Reservoir near Peking, 1959

Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Contd. from page 7)

dents at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement.

To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the stu-

dents to struggle against each other. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. THE QUESTION OF CADRES

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories :

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9. CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS, COMMITTEES AND CONGRESSES

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural

revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11. THE QUESTION OF CRITICIZING BY NAME IN THE PRESS

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities", and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

(Contd. on page 9)



With Comrade Stalin in Moscow



With Comrade Ho Chi Minh



With Comrade Kim Il Sung

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on Cultural Revolution of China

"... in this Cultural Revolution Mao Zedong has shown a magnificent and brilliant political-organisational courage. Communists all over the world have got a great deal to learn from it. Ideological struggle took place in Russia also. But there it remained confined within the party. Such a method of struggle, however, cannot remove the doubts and apprehension from the mass mind and touch it; hence the people cannot rally round the party as 'one man' on the basis of a clear and correct understanding.

"...to make the people active in favour of the main formulations of the party, to inspire them to work unitedly under the leadership of the party, it is necessary to raise the level of consciousness of the people to that required standard. And to do this the people would have to be involved continuously in the process of cultural movement and be given the opportunity to take active part in debates and discussions. ... The entire people have been given the right to openly criticise even the leaders and the executives of the party and the State. The party which can grant the people such a right and can take such

a risk is not an ordinary party...

"This movement, once started, may not spare the leaders even, not excluding those who are on the right track, from irresponsible criticisms of the people for which they may feel embarrassed. ... It is quite likely that the people may criticise rightly or even wrongly. By this, only those will be perturbed or afraid who are not really imbued with the proletarian outlook and culture. Revolutionaries are never afraid of criticism... So we see that through this Cultural Revolution they are striving to bring about a unity, in their own language, of the ninety-five per cent of the people with the party - a unity based on ideology. They are striving to achieve this unity dragging all points of differences and diversities into the vortex of struggle. Naturally, as a methodology, it is more scientific....

"The class struggle has assumed a new form, and has become subtle more and more. ... The reactionary ideas and thinking of the old society have not been thoroughly wiped out from the minds of the leaders, cadres and the people on the one hand; rather the bourgeois ideas,

in the new condition are infiltrating in newer forms and in subtler ways while, on the other with the growing economic and political stability of the socialist system, the sense of individual liberty is gradually tending to assume the character of a sense of privilege. The organisers of the present Cultural Revolution of China hold that different types of counter-revolutionary trends and tendencies are growing within their party too and they accuse that even some of the top ranking leaders are not free from the pernicious influence of all these. ... Extensive debates are going on as to what should be the behaviour, conduct and the mode of life of the communists.... the Chinese leadership did not adopt, from the very beginning, the policy of forcibly ousting the anti-party and counter-revolutionary forces by using the State machine. Mainly for two reasons they prefer to isolate these forces by involving the people in a country-wide battle and evolving thus a uniform opinion among them. First, this is necessary because this very method of involving the people in the struggle would minimise the

possibility of committing mistakes and, even if mistakes are committed by some from genuine confusion, it would give them a chance for their rectification as well. And secondly, when, on the basis of either unanimous or majority decision, unity would be achieved through wider participation of the people in a struggle in which conflicts and interaction of diverse thinking and ideas take place - it would be a far more stable unity than before and hence there would be no apprehension among the people despite any disciplinary actions ultimately taken against anti-party leaders and cadres....

"... It is true that there are inadequacies in the ideological standard in some aspects of this Cultural Revolution - about which I shall discuss later on - but there are, at the same time, many bright and brilliant aspects of it from which the communists all over the world have a lot to learn. There are many unique and creative things in it. There are both shortcomings and magnificent aspects of this Cultural Revolution. ..."

(Excerpts from Cultural Revolution of China)

Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Contd. from page 8)

12. POLICY TOWARDS SCIENTISTS, TECHNICIANS AND ORDINARY MEMBERS OF WORKING STAFFS

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity". Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13. THE QUESTION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTEGRATION WITH THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two move-

ments in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION AND STIMULATE PRODUCTION

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully

aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterpoising the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15. THE ARMED FORCES

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. MAO ZEDONG'S THOUGHT IS THE GUIDE TO ACTION IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Zedong's works

should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Zedong's thought should be taken as the guide to action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership and Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism. The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Historic Damascus Congress of WFTU

It was won at last – the battle to retain the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) as a class-based International Trade Union Centre when a great majority of delegates participating in the 13th World Trade Union Congress in session in Damascus, the capital city of Syria from 22 to 26th November 1994, voted enthusiastically with emotional slogans in favour of an amendment advocating class-based character of WFTU moved by the United Trade Union Centre (Lenin Sarani), India. Earlier the motion of UTUC(L-S) was defeated in the Constitution Commission by one vote. That move of the UTUC(L-S) was supported by delegates from Cuba and Japan but opposed by AITUC(India) among others. In the Commission on policy document, the UTUC(L-S) amendment secured majority votes. However, the Congress stood for this amendment and thus marked a halt to the process of robbing the WFTU of its class-based character, surreptitiously setting in motion in the Sixties and getting momentum during and after the 12th World Trade Union Congress held in Moscow in 1990 in the atmosphere of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika'. This is indeed a significant victory of the class-conscious workers to whom trade unions are the instruments of class struggle and by no means an establishment of compromise between labour and capital as being constantly advocated by some quarters in the name of renewal of WFTU in the changed global situation.

This time, the World Trade Union Congress assumed great importance, particularly in view of the fact that this was being held after the counter-revolution and subsequent restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the socialist states of east Europe hitherto considered as the strong base of WFTU. With the dismantling of socialist camp, its natural death was prophesied by the imperialist-capitalists and class collaborators. There were some who even wanted to retain the WFTU by renaming and restructuring the same in a retrograde direction. In this backdrop, the Congress was convened in Damascus and was hosted by General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions. Contrary to the campaign of interested quarters, delegates and observers from more than 142 trade union centres of 75 countries as well as 19 international industrial organisations participated in the Congress.

Representatives from ILO, United Nation's Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), UNCTAD, Arab Labour Organisation, Arab Lawyers' Union, Workers' University of Mexico, International Union of Students and Dublin Committee for Peace and Disarmament attended the Congress as delegates.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the delegates hailed from the Latin American countries and the Asia-Pacific region. There were also a good number of delegates from the erstwhile socialist states. From India the UTUC(L-S) was represented by its President and General Secretary Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade Tapas Dutta respectively, the AITUC by its Vice-President Comrade Indrajit Gupta, General Secretary Comrade A. B. Bardhan, Deputy General Secretary, Comrade B. D. Joshi and some others as delegates while the representatives of CITU, INTUC, TUCC and industrial federations attended as observers. Two committees, namely the Constitution Commission and Commission on Policy Document, where Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade Tapas Dutta were represented, were formed to consider the amendments placed by different trade union centres centring on policy document and the Constitution. The UTUC(L-S) submitted as many as 53 amendments to the Policy Document and 10 to the Constitution. The Congress re-elected Comrade Zharikov the General Secretary of the WFTU.

Comrade Pritish Chanda's speech

Comrade Pritish Chanda at the beginning of his speech thanked the WFTU Secretariat and its Preparatory Committee as well as the General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions for organising and hosting respectively this important session. He emphasised the special importance of this Congress to consolidate the WFTU as the true class-based, democratic and representative organisation to guide the working class internationally against the onslaught of the capitalist-imperialists. He said that the world capitalism today is passing through a severe crisis and is shifting more and more its entire burden on to the shoulders of the working class pushing them into further poverty, destitution and hunger resulting from retrenchment, lay-off, lockout and closure. But one may recall, this century started the process of ushering in of the great era of emancipation from exploitation of man by man, freedom from the shackles of colonialism as also peace, progress and establishment of human rights and dignity leading to the establishment of socialism in many a country. This century also witnessed the victory of forces of peace over the forces of war. Unfortunately, this last decade marked the setback for this process of progress and advancement by the restoration of capitalism through counter-revolution in the USSR and the east European socialist states engineered by the arch revisionist

Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique in collusion with the imperialists giving a tremendous scope and opportunity to the reactionaries, the capitalist-imperialists in carrying out their heinous design of dominating the world economically, politically and militarily. Pointing to the dismantling of socialism in these countries they have mounted that old false propaganda barrage that socialism is a failure. But the fact remains that it is the distortion of Marxism-Leninism and deviation from and violation of socialist principles for long practised by the revisionists who usurped the leadership of the party and the state of the Soviet Union and the east European socialist countries that cumulatively contributed to this reversal unparalleled in history. And it cannot be denied that socialism is the historically determined path to reach communism. Though this setback is a temporary one, it has nevertheless shocked and pained the class-conscious workers, trade union activists and the progressive forces throughout the world. It cannot be forgotten that the chariot of progress does not move in an easy, smooth straight line. In its way it has to face many a twist and turn, ups and downs, advance and retardation.

Comrade Chanda further said that taking advantage of the absence of the mighty socialist camp the imperialists led by the USA are engaged in aggressions, blockades, naked interferences and all that only to stave off their severe crisis and are trying anew to redivide the world thereby engaging themselves in a fierce trade war which may turn into a hot war. To get the better of others in the field of competition, some imperialist powers are forming blocs and even blocs among the bloc. The imperialist powers, particularly the USA, in the name of a 'unipolar world' are lording over the weaker nations of the world, interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and even dictating humiliating terms and conditions in accepting loans from their financial agencies like the IMF and the World Bank. In the name of 'free trade' and 'globalisation' they are forcing open the doors of the underdeveloped countries for their multinationals and are going even to the extent of shaping the economy of the debtor countries. The measures like privatisation, disinvestment and discouragement of service sector, abolition of subsidies given to the weaker section of the population, etc., have severely affected the working class of the world. Under the circumstances, it has become incumbent on the world working class to correctly grasp the current strategy and design of the capitalist-imperialists in order to make the

trade union organisers and the workers steeled to face the new challenge. Comrade Chanda called upon the working class to wage a battle for job security and more employment opportunity, and the right to seek job anywhere; against racialism, religious, ethnic or national chauvinism; against negative impact of modern technology and drive of privatisation and deregulation, anti-labour policies; for democratic, trade union and human rights; fight for development, progress, peace and socialism; against economic embargoes and sanctions, military steps and aggressions, and above all, struggle against imperialism.

Comrade Tapas Dutta's written speech

(It was circulated among the delegates)

Comrade Tapas Dutta mainly concentrated on the renewal and restructuring of the WFTU especially at a time when there is no mighty socialist camp and the onslaught of capital has been greatly mounted on the working class of the world. He said the majority of trade unions and working people of the world notwithstanding the differences in opinion as to the reasons for the collapse of socialism in certain states, are quite convinced that this tragic event has given the capitalists more advantage, though temporarily, to mount attack on labour in various ways. Hence the need for strengthening the WFTU as a class-based organisation. Secondly, the document of the 45th Session of the WFTU and the current policy document as placed are enough proof that the WFTU committed some mistakes in the past affecting the world working class. So the need has arisen to free this international organisation of all such shortcomings in the interest of labour. He called upon the leaders of the WFTU to hold high the banner of resistance against any sort of oppression on democratic mass movements. At the end he congratulated the General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions and the working people of Syria.

During the Congress, representatives of trade unions of Asia-Pacific region met separately to discuss about regional issues and problems and to chalk out ways and means to consolidate the WFTU activities in the region. This was the second regional meet after the last 12th Congress. Comrade Tapas Dutta attended this meeting on behalf of the UTUC(L-S) and addressed it.

At the Asia-Pacific Regional Meeting

In the Asia-Pacific Regional Meeting, held as a part of the Damascus

(Contd on page 12)

WORLD MEETING OF SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA CALLS :

BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA MUST CEASE

The threat of US imperialism looms large, but beyond it, gradually and inexorably, rises the overwhelming force of anti-imperialism which once again is manifested in the just held World Meeting of Solidarity with Cuba. Held from 21st to 25th November at the huge Karl Marx Theatre in Havana, the Meeting has been a resounding success. Never before was expressed so uniquely with such a uniformity of voice and singularity of purpose the solidarity of the struggling people of the world with the people of Cuba, who are engaged in a determined and death defying battle against the marauding US imperialism. The cause of the Cuban people so menacingly threatened with US overlordism has appeared as the symbolic expression of all anti-imperialist struggles which at the same time has become the source of inspiration to the world working class to back up the Cuban people's battle to defend socialism.

Participated by 3039 delegates from 108 countries of 5 continents and 5 regional and international organisations this historic meet was a massive protest and rebuff against the US design to destroy socialism in Cuba.

In the World Meeting of Solidarity, our party, the SUCI, was represented by Comrade Manik Mukherjee, a Central Staff and member, Secretariat, West Bengal State Committee and the All India Mahila Sanskritik Sangathan (AIMSS) was represented by its General Secretary Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee. Comrade Manik Mukherjee conveyed at the Solidarity Meeting the message of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary, who was also accorded invitation but could not attend the Meeting for health reasons. The message was duly circulated among the delegates. At the concluding session it was mentioned that the 'Secretary General' of the SUCI had send message, besides mentioning the names of other parties and organisations which also sent messages.

The inaugural session was held on 21st and 22nd November and in its presidium, Comrade Manik Mukherjee and Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee were included.

Comrade Fidel Castro was present at the inaugural session till the end, followed the proceedings and listened to the views of different delegates.

The Cuban representative explained in detail how due to prolonged US sanction Cuba had to invite multinationals and transnationals. He also gave in detail the measures taken to thwart US imperialism. All the delegates were invited to place any question, any criticism they might have regarding the

Cuban situation and its way of tackling it. The delegates freely vented their views made from different angularities. Following it, the Cuban representative dealt the questions and provided answers to all of them. This democratic proceeding involving above 3000 delegates created a brilliant example of proletarian democracy and was a fitting rebuff to bourgeois slander that socialism was devoid of democracy. The 'democrat' imperialists did fear this democracy and were out to destroy it.

Three Commissions, viz., (I) Actions against the blockade, (II) Slandorous campaigns and the truth about Cuba and (III) Exchange of ideas and experiences on solidarity with Cuba were formed to discuss the respective issues on 23rd and 24th November. On the scheduled dates extensive deliberations on the 3 issues were made in 3 different halls, and then necessary propositions were drawn and documents made ready to put to vote in the concluding session on 25th November.

On 25th, in the concluding session, the presidium of which included Comrade Manik Mukherjee among others, all propositions were put to vote and passed unanimously. Finally Comrade Fidel Castro delivered his long penetrating speech. Vigorous and vibrating and full of warmth the speech of Comrade Fidel filled every heart with a new determination to intensify further the battle against imperialism.

After the historic World Meeting Comrade Fidel Castro hosted a dinner party. For Cuba with a constrained economy due to decades of US sanction such a massive dinner for over three thousand delegates was a matter of great difficulty. Yet it was given and the spirit of internationalism and warmth suffused the entire gathering. Comrade Castro's presence particularly created an emotional and intimate atmosphere, where every comrade experienced a rare friendship, that would go a long way in the battle of the millions throughout the world against capitalism-imperialism.

Declaration of the World Meeting of Solidarity with Cuba

Meeting in the City of Havana, from 21-25 November 1994, we 3039 participants representing 108 countries of 5 continents and 5 regional and international organizations, who take part in the World Meeting of Solidarity with Cuba, declare that defending Cuba's sovereign right to work for a destiny in accordance with its needs and historic process, without interference, means defending the right to

choose from a plurality of roads in the face of political and economic dogmas that are being imposed worldwide.

In our work sessions and in direct contact with the people, we have once again confirmed at the same time that Cuba is denied the possibility to trade freely with the rest of the world and all its efforts to rebuild its economy are being hindered, the Cuban reality is systematically falsely represented and distorted in an unprecedented propaganda campaign. We have verified with our own eyes the cruel effects of the blockade on the lives of the Cuban people. That is why we insist that the United States Government heed the demands of vast sectors of world public opinion and the General Assembly of the United Nations to put an end to that unjustifiable measure that has lasted for more than thirty years now. We have also been able to confirm the Cuban people's morale and will to resist as well as their determination to preserve their social achievements. We return to our countries even more convinced of the need to continue working for the Cuban cause.

In the coming days, Cuba, blockaded and slandered, will not be present in the Summit convoked in Miami by the United States Government. The hosts fear Cuba's gallant voice that speaks out in favor of the forsaken, the dispossessed, the outcasts, the helpless. But Cuba is not alone; proof of that is this meeting attended by only a fraction of that great mass of humanity in all parts of the world which supports this worthy country.

Our World Solidarity event took place as Cuba and all of Latin America prepare to commemorate the centennial of José Martí's death in battle. Martí was always aware of the importance of Cuba's independence struggle, both for the fate of what he

called "Our America" and for achieving "world balance".

These days, Martí's prophecy looms in all its significance and magnitude. "Whoever rises with Cuba today will be rising for all times."

The blockade against Cuba must cease!

Cuba's inalienable right to build its own future must be respected!

General Agreements of the First World Meeting of Solidarity with Cuba

1. To declare 1995 International Year of José Martí and for the Struggle Against the Blockade.

2. To celebrate a José Martí and Support for Cuba Day on May 19, 1995, the Centennial of his death in combat. This day will be celebrated with different types of actions implemented by the solidarity movements in each country.

3. To continue and improve the national and regional meetings of solidarity with Cuba with the participation of the forces and groups that work in favour of friendship.

4. To protest against the exclusion of Cuba from the US government-organized Hemispheric Summit to be held in Miami.

5. To continue and increase donation and economic aid campaigns as an expression of solidarity with Cuba.

6. To work for the growth of the solidarity movement, extending it to every possible sector of each society and promoting exchanges, visits to Cuba, tourism and investments in that country's economy.

7. To declare October 10, the day on which the Cuban people's revolutionary struggle began, World Day of Solidarity with Cuba.

Message of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

Allow me, on behalf of our party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, and the people of our country to convey our heartfelt thanks to the organisers for convening this historic First World Solidarity Meeting with Cuba. We have met here to pledge solidarity and chalk out programmes in support of the people of Cuba who are engaged in a heroic life-and-death battle in defence of socialism against US imperialism and its collaborators who are out to strangle the Cuban revolution through continuous blockade.

Let me also greet, through the organisers, the valiant people of

Cuba. In the face of economic hardship for the last thirty years due to US blockade, they are engaged in a determined battle to protect socialism in Cuba against all imperialist machinations headed by the USA to misinform them about the root cause of their present economic distress and to mislead them into attempting counter-revolution with the help of anti-socials and criminals, the vestiges of the former US puppet regime.

I take this opportunity also to express our deep emotion and regards for the Communist Party of Cuba and the government headed by Comrade Fidel

(Contd. on page 12)

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Message to Cuba Solidarity Meeting

(Contd. from page 11)

Castro for their wisdom and love for the people while tackling the riots in Havana engineered by elements mis-guided by US agents.

The US imperialists, let us keep in mind, exploiting the situation following the dismantling of the socialist camp, stepped up their attack on Cuba to force it either to kneel down, throwing down the flag of socialism, or to face starvation and death, being denied food, medicine and the necessaries of life. The world has witnessed how the small country of Cuba, defying a barbaric economic blockade imposed by a superpower, the US imperialism, and its imperialist allies, with indomitable spirit, valour, courage, perseverance and unity of will, boldly declared, "either socialism or death". For the freedom loving people of the world it rings inspiration and hope amidst gloom of despair. For the renewed communist movements across the world it is a moral fillip. Our party considers this no mere battle between US imperialism and its collaborators on the one side and the Cuban people on the other. It is a battle between world imperialism headed by the US warlords, the worst enemies of mankind, and the forces of freedom, peace and socialism of the whole world on the other.

Our party is of the considered opinion that this Cuban struggle to protect socialism once again proves beyond doubt that the struggles for emancipation in exploitative societies everywhere shall have to contend with not only the respective ruling class but also blockade, economic sanctions and armed intervention by the imperialist powers headed by the USA. The intervention and aggression perpetrated by this US-led imperialist collusion, using the UN Security Council as a rubber stamp to approve its machinations, against the sovereignty, independence and integrity of Iraq, Lybia, Somalia, Rwanda, Panama, Grenada, Haiti, and former Yugoslavia, and its bullying of Socialist Korea are pointer to this reality. Clearly, the US sponsored meeting of representatives from Latin American and Caribbean countries at Miami, wilfully excluding Cuba, is nothing but a naked attempt to isolate and crush Cuba, forming a platform of these countries against her.

I would also like to draw the attention of this august house to a looming danger. With the collapse of socialist states in Europe, the forces of war have become stronger. As a result of their deepening economic crisis, the contra-

dition among the imperialist powers is getting more acute every day over redivision of the world market among themselves. Now they try to resolve the conflict through the GATT on the lines of the Dunkel Proposal. Before, however, the ink of signatures on the accord dries up, another round of cut-throat conflict begins, and there is every possibility of the present economic or trade war turning into a hot armed war with the conflicts reaching an irreconcilable stage.

In the event of another imperialist war coming real, it cannot be ruled out, going by the past history, that the war may very well be channelised against the socialist countries, against developing countries even. Thus the struggle for people's emancipation and preservation of sovereignty and independence of the socialist and developing countries and the struggle for maintenance of peace have become intertwined.

This points to the need of a broadbased, united struggle against imperialism. It can be achieved by organising worldwide anti-imperialist struggles and a militant peace move-

ment conducive to the struggle for emancipation throughout the world. The very purpose of the anti-imperialist movement demands that it shall comprise all anti-war, anti-interventionist, anti-imperialist forces that can be united, with the communists playing the role of front-ranking fighters.

Although the socialist system has been weakened following counter-revolution in the former USSR and east European socialist countries, the socialist movement is gradually exerting itself in different countries across the world. The desire for emancipation is irresistible, revolution is the inexorable law of history, and Marxism-Leninism is invincible. The dark cloud of the present setback will blow over, tempering the will of the revolutionaries and teaching them to sum up this painful experience to enrich Marxism-Leninism further. Already genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries are moving determinedly to that end.

Let us reaffirm that Cuba is not alone in her struggle to protect socialism against imperialism. Revolution-

aries must consider defending socialist Cuba as their internationalist obligation. All material help has to be extended to Cuba, and the struggle against imperialism and against the danger of war has to be combined with the struggle to defend socialist Cuba. And to that end a worldwide anti-imperialist and militant peace movement has to be organised drawing into its fold all peace and freedom loving, democratic-minded people all over the world, including the USA.

In conclusion, on behalf of our party and the toiling people of India, I express full solidarity with the brother people of Cuba in their struggle to force the US imperialists to lift the blockade, which was twice recommended by the UN General Assembly. We firmly believe, the fighting people of Cuba, who are not alone as will be evident from this historic meet, will succeed in defeating the US conspiracy and will come out victorious.

**Long Live Socialist Cuba !
Long Live Proletarian
Internationalism !**

An Announcement

As a result of non-availability and abnormal rise in prices of newsprints we are compelled to enhance shortly the prices of *Proletarian Era*. The rates of yearly and half-yearly subscriptions as also the price of per copy would be announced in the meantime. We hope, our readers will realise the difficulty and cooperate.

"In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years. Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies. From our highest organisations down to the grass-roots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.

What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat ?

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

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

(Quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World (July 14, 1964, pp. 72-74)

Historic Damascus Meet

(Contd. from page 10)

Congress, presided over by Comrade Dev Kumar Ganguli, Secretary, WFTU, and attended by delegates from different countries of the region, Comrade Tapas Dutta said that the setback of socialism had opened the door for the traditional imperialist-capitalist countries for more and more exploitation of the labour in their own countries and in relatively weaker countries as well. Imperialists are utilising the UN General Council as a rubber stamp. The UN has been reduced similar to what was the fate of League of Nations before the Second World War. For the time being, the USA has been successful in implementing its policy of globalisation through the GATT. Some people had concluded that India's independence was at stake. But it is not like that. India is a relatively powerful developing country. It is now the junior partner of the traditional imperialist powers.

Comrade Dutta said that working class in weaker countries in the Asia-Pacific region was the worst victim of imperialist-capitalist powers. So, he said, this regional organisation should be strengthened as a weapon in defence against the attacks on all fronts - economic, political and social.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE