



*Chairman Mao proclaiming
the founding of the
People's Republic of China
on October 1, 1949 at
Tien An Men Gate*

Proletarian Era

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“Sooner or later, the people of all countries, masses comprising more than 90 per cent of the world’s population, will want revolution and support Marxism-Leninism. They won’t support revisionism ; though some people may support it for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to oppose imperialism and reaction, and they are bound to oppose revisionism.”

— Mao Zedong

50th Anniversary of Chinese Revolution

The historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution lies in its division into the two stages, democracy and socialism, the first being no longer democracy in general, but democracy of the Chinese type, a new and special type, namely, New Democracy. How, then, has this historical characteristic come into being? Has it been in existence for the past hundred years, or is it of recent origin?

A brief study of the historical development of China and of the world shows that this characteristic did not emerge immediately after the Opium War, but took shape later, after the first imperialist world war and the October Revolution in Russia. Let us now examine the process of its formation.

Clearly, it follows from the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present-day Chinese society that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages. The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society. At present the Chinese revolution is taking the first step.

The preparatory period for the first step began with the Opium War in 1840, i.e. when China's feudal society started changing into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one. Then came the Movement of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement, the Northern Expedition, the War of the Agrarian Revolution and the present War of Resistance Against Japan. Together these have taken up a whole century and in a sense they represent that first step, being struggles waged by the Chinese people, on different occasions and in varying degrees, against imperialism and the feudal forces in order to build up an independent, democratic society and complete the first revolution. The Revolution of 1911 was in a fuller sense the beginning of that revolution. In its social character, this revolution is a bourgeois-democratic and not a proletarian-socialist revolution. It is still unfinished and still demands great efforts, because to this day its enemies are still very strong. When Dr. Sunyatsen said, "The revolution is not yet completed, all my comrades must struggle on", he was referring to the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A change, however, occurred in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution after the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 and the founding of a socialist state on one-sixth of the globe as a result of the Russian October Revolution of 1917.

Before these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution came within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, of which it was a part.

Since these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution has changed, it has come within the new category of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and, as far as the alignment of revolutionary forces is concerned, forms part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Why? Because the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era.

It is an era in which the world capitalist front

Chinese Revolution is Part of the World Revolution

Mao Zedong

has collapsed in one part of the globe (one-sixth of the world) and has fully revealed its decadence everywhere else, in which the remaining capitalist parts cannot survive without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies, in which a socialist state has been established and has proclaimed its readiness to give active support to the liberation movement of all colonies and semi-colonies, and in which the proletariat of the capitalist countries is steadily freeing itself from the social-imperialist influence of the social-democratic parties and has proclaimed its support for the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e., against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.

Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemies side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.

Such a revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favoured by socialism and supported by the land of socialism and the socialist international proletariat.

Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

The correct thesis that "the Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution" was put forward as early as 1924-27 during the period of China's First Great Revolution. It was put forward by the

Chinese Communists and endorsed by all those taken part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the time. However, the significance of this thesis was not fully expounded in those days, and consequently it was only vaguely understood.

The "world revolution" no longer refers to the old world revolution, for the old bourgeois world revolution has long been a thing of the past: it refers to the new

world revolution, the socialist world revolution. Similarly, to form "part of" means to form part not of the old bourgeois but of the new socialist revolution. This is a tremendous change unparalleled in the history of China and of the world.

This correct thesis advanced by the Chinese communists is based on Stalin's theory.

As early as 1918, in an article commemorating the first anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin wrote:

The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

- 1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating of national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;
- 2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;
- 3) It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East.

Since writing this article, Stalin has again and again expounded the theory that revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies have broken away from the old category and become part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. The clearest and most precise explanation is given in an article published on June 30, 1925, in which Stalin carried on a controversy with the Yugoslav nationalists of the time. Entitled "The National Question Once Again", it is included in a book translated by Chang Chung-shih and published under the title *Stalin on the National Question*. It contains the following passage:

Semich refers to a passage in Stalin's pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question*, written at the end of 1912. There it says that "The national struggle under the conditions of rising capitalism is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves". Evidently, by this Semich is trying to suggest that his formula defining the social significance of the national movement under the present historical conditions is correct. But Stalin's pamphlet was written before the imperialist war, when the national question was not yet regarded by Marxists as a question of world significance, when the Marxists'

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I hold that this Cultural Revolution has a sound scientific basis, judged by yardstick of Marxism-Leninism, and the way the CPC is conducting this Cultural Revolution is really magnificent and full of great significance. Communists all over the world who have really dedicated themselves to the revolutionary movement have a great deal to learn from it. There are some defects, shortcomings or even weaknesses in it — and it is not at all unnatural for these to crop up in such a gigantic affair — but these are not what the bourgeois and the revisionist Press circles are trying to make out. ...

The present Cultural Revolution is the culmination of those very movements which the Communist Party of China had to conduct after the revolution, embracing all spheres of cultural life of the society. The CPC had to conduct such movements in the ideological-cultural field even before the revolution — for the revolutionary parties in all countries this is an indispensable task before the revolution. No revolutionary party can accomplish revolution by ignoring this most urgent task. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPC, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To overthrow political power it is always necessary, first of all, to create a public opinion to do work in the ideological sphere." By this he had precisely underlined the indispensable necessity of cultural revolution. This holds good for the revolutionary parties as well as for the counter-revolutionaries. Those who aspire to overthrow the opponents from State power through mass upsurge would have to work in the ideological-cultural spheres to organise the masses on the basis of ideology, politics and culture of their own class.

And this struggle in the cultural sphere is to be conducted not only before revolution for its accomplishment but has got to be continued even after the revolution in order to protect, consolidate and advance the same. Because, "The fundamental question of every revolution is not only to capture power, but to consolidate it." This consolidation does not mean political and economic consolidation only but of culture as well. When Marx said, "Cultural revolution will continue," he meant precisely this. In China, too, this cultural revolution continued uninterruptedly even after the revolution — at a pace at times slow, at times intense.

... the Russian experience has clearly shown that if along with the tremendous growth and development of the economy, military science and technology of a socialist country, the ideological-cultural-ethical standard of the society as a whole — starting from the philosophical understanding and cultural-ethical standard of the collective to the minutest detail of the individual behaviour, habit and practices — cannot be elevated to keep pace with the need for all-round development of socialist economy, then the gap that will be created is bound to lead to a lowering of standard in the ideological sphere. And if the level of consciousness and the cultural standard remain low, then it may give birth to revisionism-reformism at any moment, in a critical hour, under favourable conditions and may lead to counter-revolutionary upsurge, peaceful or violent, and thus endanger socialism by bringing about

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on Cultural Revolution of China

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution below are given excerpts from Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speech on Cultural Revolution of China.

counter-revolutionary changes in the socio-political setup. If backwardness continues to persist in the fields of epistemology and culture, then the entire party and the working class may, being misled, tread the revisionist-reformist path and bring about restoration of capitalism while waving the banner of Marxism-Leninism and chanting socialist slogans.

...In the post-War period, an excellent revolutionary situation developed in the international arena, when the whole world was in ferment in revolutionary movements — tides of revolutionary upsurge were sweeping across and imperialism was pushed, so to say, back to the wall. But today the whole current has been reversed — there has been a great setback in the world communist movement, the imperialists are taking the most aggressive steps and forces of counter-revolution and subversion are on the offensive everywhere. And for all this, the main responsibility should squarely lie with Soviet revisionism, the revisionist outlook and practices of the present Soviet leadership. Immeasurable damage to the world revolution has been wrought by such a party which has the tradition and heritage of the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, a party which for the first time in the world made socialist revolution victorious, founded a socialist State, consolidated and developed socialist economy on a firm basis and after accomplishing all these tasks, was considering and contemplating under the leadership of Comrade Stalin how quickly and in what way it could, after achieving the final victory of socialism, step on to the 'first stage of communism'...

Naturally, they (the CPC leadership) have been seriously thinking that if they are to safeguard the Chinese Revolution, if they are to ensure its uninterrupted growth and advancement, if they are to achieve victories of socialism one after another, both in the 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...

...when after the socialist revolution it was necessary to further intensify class struggle, when the practice of proletarian culture ought to have been further heightened, when it was indispensable to keep uninterrupted this practice and the process of struggle in order to uplift the standard of proletarian revolutionary character against the infiltration of the influence of bourgeois ideology and culture into the party and the social life, when it was necessary to hold aloft the banner of cultural revolution in order to raise the cultural and political standard of the people to conform to the needs of each and every change of the character of the socialist productive system, the fact that this struggle got slackened due to the self-complacent attitude of the Soviet leadership

after attainment of some stability in the social system following revolution, actually led to this inevitable fall of political and cultural standard and provided the breeding ground for revisionism...

...Besides, it should be remembered that even after all these years of revolution, in Russia as well as in China, the number of people adapted to the Marxist-Leninist way

of thinking are very few in comparison to the vast population. Those who have some idea about Marxism-Leninism have just a superficial impact of this ideology on them. Again, the party workers who work and think in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist methodology and outlook have been found to suffer from bourgeois ideological confusions and are influenced by modern revisionism. Moreover, the Chinese leaders do also find that with the relatively growing economic stability and advancement of the society as well as with the increasing material well-being, individualism, of a new variety is growing in the mental makeup of the individuals in the society. This new trend of individualism manifested itself in a socialist society...

(Besides.) What is agitating their minds is that if the ideological-cultural standard along with political consciousness of the new members, who are joining in growing numbers after revolution and many of whom are already occupying responsible posts and positions in the party and the State, are not adequately uplifted and if a new wave of proletarian cultural movement is not created among the people, then, in absence of Mao Zedong and the present leadership, revisionism may grow in the CPC and society in the very same way it grew in the Soviet Union.

...China is trying to prepare herself to be the citadel of international proletarian revolution. Naturally, as her standing up as 'one man' on a stronger military, political, economic, social and cultural footing and her continuous gaining in strength is a guarantee in favour of peace and against the threat of nuclear war, it is urgently necessary as well for extending active help and co-operation to the revolutionary movements all over the world. Naturally, such a gigantic Cultural Revolution has not been prompted simply by her internal and economic necessities guided by national point of view. It is something more...

Now, it was the old and traditional method to initiate struggle first inside the party, to arrive at certain decisions in the party bodies and then to educate and imbue the people in accordance with those. But I should say that 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...

(Our party holds that) Due to a superficial knowledge of socialism and also due to the influence of modern revisionism, a group of socialists think that the main object of socialism is to anyhow increase production. These so-called Marxists, in utter disregard of the inherent internal contradiction and the fundamental economic laws of socialist system, even advocate introduction of policy of 'material incentive' to gear up production. As a result, rate of production may be boosted up temporarily but in no time it may put at stake the socialist economy and

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LOKSABHA ELECTIONS

Free for all and fair with money and muscle

Personal Vilification

"With only a week left for the last phase of elections, polls 1999 are increasingly resembling a free for all, with personal vilification topping political agenda as issues concerning the development of the society taking a backseat...It happened because, in the end there are no distinctive ideologies, only distinct personalities in the race for the top job." (Varun Soni, in *The Statesman* of 27.9.99)

Violence

Powerful bomb blast occurred on 28 August at the residence-cum-nursing home of Dr. Kodela Sivaprasada Rao, Minister for Panchyati Raj in Naidu Ministry and candidate for Narasaraopet Assembly seat in Andhra Pradesh. Four persons including an independent candidate were killed. Two of the dead had criminal background. The Forensic Science Laboratory (RFSL) and the State Forensic Science Laboratory, ... recovered material for powerful bombs from the premises. (*The Hindu* 30.8.99 and 2.9.99).

In Channaputna Assembly Constituency of Karnataka two groups of - one Congress (I) and Janata Das (S) after an altercation following allegations of booth capturing against each other clashed. The mobs of both the parties resorted to arson. A few shops and cars were set on fire. The incident, took place after the polling ended at 5 p.m. (*The Hindu*, 6.9.99).

Criminalisation

"It is unfortunate that today those who should have been in jails are in Parliament," he (GVG Krishnamurthy, the Election Commissioner) said tonight at a function organised to honour him on the eve of his retirement as election commissioner after six years of service. "If you want to send a murderer to Parliament, why would you want to send a thief to jail?" he asked. (*The Statesman*, 28.9.99, quoting PTI)

Lok Sabha Election Watch (LSEW), a non-partisan, non-governmental organisation of Andhra Pradesh, has alleged that in both Lok Sabha and Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections 46 contestants had criminal background. The party-wise distribution of these criminals was : 12 Congress; 20 TDP; 2 each from MTR and Anna Telegu Desam parties; one each from Janata Dal and BSP and 8 independents. There were another 25 candidates against whom LSEW received information from the public. Many of their cases

are pending in criminal, courts, some pertaining to serious offenses like murder, attempt to commit murder, assault on an public servants, abduction, forging documents, trespass, mischief, booth capturing, bribing voters, interfering with the free exercise of vote by the electors etc.

The Lok Sabha spokesmen said that in recent years, the state government had withdrawn criminal cases against 400 persons, some of them charged with grave offenses, and some of whom were candidates. (*The Hindu*, 3.9.99).

Muscle Power

"Ballot papers were torn in two polling stations, allegedly by DMK men, at Uthappanaickanur near Usilampatti, resulting in voter-boycott in one of the stations. At a polling booth at T. Kanchipalli in Tiruchengode constituency, ballot papers were seized, while at Sandalpadi falling under the Morappur Assembly segment of Dhavwapuri, 50 persons stormed into a polling station." (The State Chief Electoral Officer of Tamil Nadu, reported in *The Hindu* of 12.9.99)

"A group of DMK men... barged into three polling booths at Uthappanaickanur in the Usilampatti Assembly segment damaged the ballot papers, poured indelible ink into the ballot box, snatched away 48 ballot papers and tore 28 papers." (*The Hindu*, 11.9.99)

"At Suitralapadim Morappur Assembly segment and at Vedyoor in the constituency rigging was reported with ballot papers snatched by a group." (*The Hindu*, 11.9.99)

A complaint was received by the electoral officers that BJP and RSS workers prevented voters belonging to minority community and SC from voting in both numbers 71 and 72 in Bellary. (*The Hindu*, 6.9.99).

A Telugu Desam polling agent, was killed in a bomb attack at Ankireddipalle in Kamalapuram Assembly segment before polling began. The assailants were allegedly the Congressmen. Two rival groups were hurling bombs and stones at each other.

The sitting Kamalapuram MLA (of Andhra Pradesh) Mr. Gandluri Veerasiva Reddy was arrested by police after he snatched a ballot box from Peddanapadu polling station and threw it into a nearby well. Prior to this, his followers had poured water into the ballot boxes in three polling stations (Nos. 73, 74 and 75) in Paddanapadu.

Polling was completed by 8 a.m. in 8 (eight) polling stations in Kamalapuram Assembly segment after some persons, allegedly Congressmen captured the booths and indulged in rigging. The polling stations were in Valasapolle, Siragupalle, Gonemakulapalle, Alidinne, Gotur, Rangasaipuram, Karsuguntapalle and Midjivvi village, native place of Congress(I) candidate, Dr. M.V. Mysoor Reddy.... People did not go to the polling stations to cast vote amid tensions. A youth, Venkataramana, was stabbed at Avaligadda in Veerabelle Mandal. Activities of IDP and the Congress hurled bombs and stones near polling stations and poured water into the ballot boxes in the Zilla Parishad High School in Lakkireddipalle town. (*Ibid.*).

Over 20,000 Dalits in Chidambaram Reserved Constituency in Tamil Nadu were allegedly prevented from exercising their franchise. Violence were let loose and Dalit habitations in over 40 hamlets were burnt down. They were said to be prevented by Vanniya community which on the other hand alleged that they were intimidated by Dalits, and provoked for the clashes leading to incidents of arson. The police confirmed these clashes after the close of the polling. (*The Hindu*, 7.9.99)

Money Power

"Supporters of the state power minister, Mr Kalidindi Ramachandra Raju, in the fray for the Assembly from here (Undi) are ready to pay Rs 200 per vote. The notes are coming clipped to the voter's slips. The minister's challenger, Mr G Rawa Raju, Congress, has refused to give up. He has offered electors Rs 300 for each vote.

In neighbouring Narsapur candidates have gone a step ahead. When the TDP nominee, Mr K Subbarayudu, offered nose studs to women voters his Congress rival, the industrialist Mr Tulsiram, responded by announcing a larger bait : silver anklets. Mr Subbarayudu's studs were for about Rs 200 ; Mr Tulsiram's anklets were worth a hundred rupees more." (*The Statesman*, 11.9.99)

"We, all the parties, do our electioneering with the money that is black money, we get from the businessmen". This Mr Tapan Sikdar, the BJP State President, said at a discussion under the aegis of the Bengal National Chamber where the CPI(M), the BJP, the Congress and the Trinamul Congress were invited to participate. (*Ananda Bazar*, 1.9.99)

Haryana



Protest against diesel price hike at Gohana Stand, Rohtak on 8th October, 1999 the "All India Anti-Diesel Price-Hike Protest Day"

Karnataka



Protest at Mysore Bank Circle, Bangalore on 8th October, 1999

Bihar



Effigy of Vajpayee burned at Patna junction on 9th October led by Comrade Arun Singh, member, Bihar State Committee to protest diesel price hike. Protests were also held at Muzaffarpur, Jamshedpur and Dhalbhumgarh.

SUCI Protests Diesel Price Hike

Our party observed 8th October, All India Protest Day, against the diesel price hike by the BJP government. In different parts of the country Protests were held through processions, demonstrations, meetings, etc.

Haryana

At Gohana Stand, Rohtak, party activists held a protest rally. Several meetings were held addressed by Comrades Satyawan, Secretary, State Organising Committee, Anoop Singh, Rohtak District Secretary, Ramphal, Zile Singh and Rampat.

At Rewari Bus Stand effigy of Vajpayee was burnt. There a meeting was addressed by Comrades Vijai Kumar and Ramesh Chander.

At Sonapat several protest meetings were held addressed by Comrades Hari Parkash and Ishwar Singh Rathi.

A protest deputation was held at Narnaun and it was led by Comrades Rajendra Singh, District Secretary and Om Parkash, State president of the AIDS0.

Kerala

On 8th October 1999 protest demonstrations were held in different centres in Kerala against the diesel price hike thrust upon the people by the Vajpayee Government.

In Trivandrum, the capital city, party workers took out a demonstration in front of the secretariat where an effigy of the prime minister was burnt.

Protest meeting at Bhubaneswar

Protest meeting was organised by the Bhubaneswar District Committee of the party at Rajmahal Square, the heart of Bhubaneswar.

Among others, Comrade Uddhab Jena, member, Orissa State Committee, SUCI, Comrade Purna Behera of the DY0, Comrade Ashok Sahoo and Comrade Prava Manjula Brahma of the AIDS0 urged the people to come down to the streets to resist this treacherous anti-people step of the government.

Assam

Assam State Committee of the SUCI observed the protest day throughout the state.

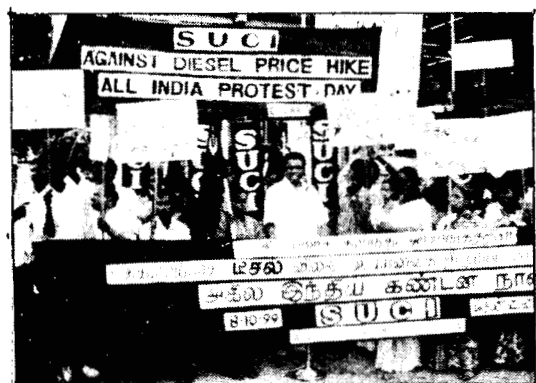
In Guwahati, near Pultanbazar overbridge, a meeting was held. Comrade Bimal Nandi, Assam State Secretariat member, said this unjust and anti-people price hike will add an unbearable burden on the common people.

The State Committee condemned the arrest of the party's Dhubri District Committee Secretary, Comrade Mihur Ali Mansur, and Prof. Pradip Mohapatra who were observing the burning of effigy of Prime Minister as a part of democratic protest.

Tripura

To observe the All India protest day a procession led by our party was held at Agartala, Tripura. The well-decorated procession started from Colonel Choumuhani and traversed different roads, and finally reached Kaman Choumuhani where a street corner meeting was held. Comrades Shibani Das, Balend Banik and Subrata Chakraborty addressed the meeting. At the end of the meeting an effigy of prime Minister was burnt.

Tamilnadu



Protest at Saidupet, Chennai against diesel price hike led by Comrade S. Narayanasamy, member, Tamilnadu State Organising Committee



Effigy of Vajpayee burns in Calcutta on 8th October in protest against diesel price hike

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fundamental demand for the right to self-determination was regarded not as part of the proletarian revolution, but as part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It would be ridiculous not to see that since then the international situation has radically changed, that the war, on the one hand, and the October revolution in Russia, on the other, transformed the national question from a part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a part of the proletarian-socialist revolution. As far back as October 1916, in his article, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", Lenin said that the main point of the national question, the right to self-determination, had ceased to be a part of the general democratic movement, that it had already become a component part of the general proletarian, socialist revolution.

I do not even mention subsequent works on the national question by Lenin and by other representatives of Russian communism. After all this, what significance can Semich's reference to the passage in Stalin's pamphlet, written in the period of the *bourgeois*-democratic revolution in Russia, have at the present time, when, as a consequence of the new historical situation, we have entered a new epoch, the epoch of *proletarian* revolution? It can only signify that Semich quotes outside of space and time, without reference to the living historical situation, and thereby violates the most elementary requirements of dialectics, and ignores the fact that what is right for one historical situation may prove to be wrong in another historical situation.

From this it can be seen that there are two kinds of world revolution, the first belonging to the bourgeois or capitalist category. The era of this kind of world revolution is long past, having come to an end as far back as 1914 when the first imperialist world war broke out, and more particularly in 1917 when the October Revolution took place. The second kind, namely, the proletarian socialist world revolution, thereupon began. This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies. No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they

themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, the revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies.

Today, the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater significance. This is a time when the economy and political crises of capitalism are driving the world more and more deeply into the Second World War, when the Soviet Union has reached the period of transition from socialism to communism and is capable of leading and helping the proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole world in their fight against imperialist war and capitalist reaction, when the proletariat of the capitalist countries is preparing to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, and when the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie in China have become a mighty independent political force under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Situated as we are in this day and age, should we not make the appraisal that the Chinese revolution has taken on still greater world significance? I think we should. The Chinese revolution has become a very important part of the world revolution.

Although the Chinese revolution in this first stage (with its many sub-stages) is a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution and is not yet itself a proletarian-socialist revolution in its social character, it has long become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and is now even a very important part and a great ally of this world revolution. The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.

This is the fundamental characteristic of the Chinese revolution of today of the new revolutionary process of the past twenty years (counting from the May 4th Movement of 1919), and its concrete living essence.

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Cultural Revolution of China

endanger the socialist system by generating, in all branches of production, a 'speculative' trend and by bringing about 'anarchy' in production. As the aim of socialism is to ultimately create abundance in production, these so-called Marxists vulgarise it by saying that the working class wants to increase production for individual benefit, both material and cultural. Naturally, according to them, socialism will have no meaning to the working class if it cannot provide them with more 'material benefits' in comparison to the advanced capitalist countries. Under cover of this queer explanation of socialism, the old sense of bourgeois individual freedom and right makes its appearance in a socialist society. It does not and can never bring proletarian revolutionary dedication among the working class.

This economism that grows among the workers after revolution is different from the economism that prevailed among them before revolution. Distracting the working class from proletarian revolutionary politics, economism offers, before revolution, a scope to the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties to create cleavage among the working class separating the rest from the fighting section and thereby creates confusion among the people about the nobility of the revolutionary ideology. It does neither help the revolutionary consciousness grow among the workers, nor does it help the revolutionary come

to the forefront. The economism, in the period after revolution, obstructs the workers from being conscious of their responsibility as cadres of international proletarian revolution, hinders their sense of obligation to the society and dampens the urge for complete dedication and sacrifice which is essential for the individual's freedom, growth and development. If there is no serious blunder or shortcoming on the part of the leadership, socialist economy is still sure to advance because of the very inherent 'objective law' of the socialist system. But it will not generate, in that case, the cultural and political inspiration among the workers that is so vitally necessary to carry forward the advancement unhindered to its logical goal. As a result, this economism in a socialist system is a great obstacle on the way of identification of individual interest with social interest. This economism-individualism in a socialist system, which I have already termed 'socialist individualism', helps strengthen such attitude among the workers. One of the main objects of the Cultural Revolution of China is to fight against this tendency as well....

...The object of this Cultural Revolution is, therefore, to create such a condition that the entire Chinese nation can stand as 'one man' against all adversaries and cope with all the problems confronting their society by eradicating and freeing the people from the influence of these

evils. The immediate objective of the Cultural Revolution will be fulfilled, for the present, with the completion of these tasks. But the present programme of Cultural Revolution will not be able to free the party completely from the danger of reappearance of revisionism in future. That the individual's struggle for emancipation enters a new and complex height in a socialist society — they have not been able to correctly grasp the nature of this particular phenomenon and give it a theoretical basis. Because of this, they have failed to incorporate this theoretical understanding as the focal point of the Cultural Revolution to inspire at least the workers and the rank and file of the party in their struggle to raise their level of consciousness to a higher sense of responsibility to the society. Only if a cultural movement throughout the length and breadth of the country can be released on the sound basis of the above theoretical understanding, this realisation would dawn upon them and herein lies the real emancipation of the mankind. This is one of the fundamental weaknesses of the present Cultural Revolution.

If this weakness persists, then although the present problems confronting the Cultural Revolution would no doubt be resolved and the immediate tasks ahead achieved, but so many other issues posed by the Cultural Revolution would remain unresolved. ... (*Cultural Revolution of China*)

16 Point Programme of Cultural Revolution

(Adopted on 16th May 1966)

16 Point Programme :

1. 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 deeper and more extensive stage.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung 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 revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's 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 just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticise 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 that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2. 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 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, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is the main direction along which the Great Proletarian Cultural 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 old force of habit in society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. However, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is, after all, an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will crumble fast 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 is a zigzag one, and not plain sailing.

3. The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare 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 organisations at various levels :

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organisations 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 criticise 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 Tse-tung 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 unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with a result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

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(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 pretexts 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 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 make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolution arises.

4. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them, and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disorder. 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-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticise 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 talents, distinguish right from wrong, and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

5. 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 discovering the left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate thoroughly the most

reactionary rightists, win over the middle, and unite with the great majority, so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of the more than 95% of the cadre and more than 95% of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticise to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung Thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

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

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly 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.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly 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. 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 those 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 Communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak, and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same main orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organised counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, 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 gossips and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as 'counter-revolutionaries'. It is necessary to beware of such 'pickpockets' 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 students 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 objective, it is not allowed, whatever the pretext, to incite the masses to struggle against each other or the students to do likewise. Even proven rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8. 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, the anti-socialist rightists must be fully exposed, hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a way out so that they can turn over a new leaf.

9. Many new things have begun to emerge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees, and other organisational 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 organisation whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses are educating themselves. 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 from 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 organisations but permanent, standing mass organisations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools, and government and other organisations, 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 list of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have

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BJP led government a grave danger to people

Expressing grave concern over the coming of the unprincipled BJP-led NDA to power through combined effort of money, muscle, media in the 13th Lok Sabha elections, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in course of a statement on 9th October, 1999, observed that such a rise of a communal and fascist party, a trusted party of the capitalist class, just like the Congress, had no doubt posed a greater danger to the democratic movement of the country and is sure to prove most inimical to people's interest.

This proved that CPI(M)'s tactics to contain ugly communal forces through electoral manoeuvring by combining with so-called 'secular' parties were ineffective and hollow.

Only a powerful, united left and democratic protracted mass movement based on edifice of higher morals and culture on burning problems of people's life can alone resist this menace of fascism.

We urge all left, democratic parties and forces to join and strengthen this movement which is the need of the hour.

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discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticise 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 staff and workers.

10. 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 thorough, the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tune, 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 labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching materials 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 struggle of the cultural revolution as they occur to criticise the bourgeoisie.

11. 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 Tse-tung Thought.

Criticism should be organised 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 any one 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.

12. 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 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 movements 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 a 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, organisation, and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14. The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to revolutionise people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve a greater, faster, better, and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper

Protest against Diesel Price-hike

Sharply reacting to the caretaker Vajpayee Government's decision to hike diesel prices, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has said in course of a statement on 6th October, 1999 :

"Keeping silent till the end of the polls, the caretaker Vajpayee Government drastically hiked diesel prices by 35% yesterday clearly to placate the big capital and corporate houses so that they fully back the BJP in the eventuality of another hung parliament.

"This move is sure to trigger all-out price-hike and bend peoples' back beyond endurance.

"Condemning this drastic diktat we fervently appeal to the people to develop mighty and sustained movement and observe 8th October as "All India Anti-Diesel Price-Hike Protest Day" to compel the government withdraw this anti-people measure."

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 counterposing the great cultural revolution against the development of production is incorrect.

15. 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 and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forwards among the masses of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung Thought should be taken as the guide for 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 the New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan 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 and 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 Tse-tung.