



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

Talk At An Enlarged Working Conference

Remembering Comrade Mao Zedong

Mao's Thought will work as invincible weapon of struggle against modern revisionism

On the occasion of the 16th Death Anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong on 9th September '92, we pay revolutionary homage to this great leader of the world proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong was not only the architect of the Chinese revolution, but through his life-long struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to build up the Chinese Party to lead the Chinese revolution to victory through many a twist and turn, he creatively concretised the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism on the Chinese soil, elaborated and enriched many a concept and aspect of Marxism-Leninism and attained the stature of a giant leader of the international communist movement whose contributions and influence are not confined within the bounds of the revolutionary movement of a particular country but will for ever be remembered in history. Drawing correct lessons from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, Mao formulated the strategy and tactics of New Democratic Revolution. By 'concrete analysis of concrete situation' as taught by Lenin, Mao concluded that the democratic revolution in China was to be achieved under the leadership of the proletariat and it would at the same time pave the path for socialist transformation in the second stage. The democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, which went by the name 'New Democratic Revolution' is a unique creative application of Marxism-Leninism by Mao.

Creative application of Marxism-Leninism on Chinese soil

After the liberation of their country from the clutches of imperialism and its stooges, great advancements were made by the Chinese people under the leadership of Mao in all spheres of activities of the society. An erstwhile proverbially poor, backward and famine-stricken country, a happy hunting ground of western and Japanese imperialism, China made rapid progress in every sphere within a very short period. The growth of socialist economy in China under the leadership of Mao was indeed amazing and even the enemies of Mao cannot deny this fact. Besides, Mao laid the firm foundation of high moral, ethical and cultural standards to create new men in a new society. All this was made possible by the correct and able leadership of Mao who had a firm grip over the science of dialectics.

Through his invaluable works like *On Contradiction*, *On Practice*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradiction Among the People*, etc., Mao contributed to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism an enriched concept of concrete methodology in analysing things or any phenomenon to arrive at truth. His struggle against revisionism is quite outstanding. When after the demise of Stalin, the Khrushchev revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the party and the state of the Soviet Union, Mao launched a fierce ideological struggle against modern revisionism and, in the main, upheld the correct revolutionary line. Again, sensing the growing danger of revisionism within the CPC itself, he released the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a countrywide gigantic counter measure to make the party, the class and the people capable to fight revisionism. Even in his closing years Mao did not hesitate to go against his close comrades when he found that they themselves posed the danger of revisionism. Mao's total commitment to the class and revolution is proved beyond doubt by the release of

the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution even in the face of heavy odds. True to his precept he never failed to swim against the current to save revolution and socialism.

Concomitant evils of capitalism are rearing their ugly heads in Mao's China

While remembering Mao on the occasion of his death anniversary we along with all the communists and the pro-communist people of the world cannot but take note of the present state of affairs within China. Whither are the Chinese people, having such a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of Mao being driven by the present leadership? The revolutionary teachings of Mao are now the principal target of attack by the present Chinese leadership, albeit covertly. In the name of economic development, the policy of 'opening up' and adopting the so-called good aspects of capitalism is being pursued by shunning the fundamental principles and the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. In line with this policy a number of 'special economic zones' have been created in the name of the so-called 'four modernisations'. Foreign businessmen and the multinational corporations are allowed and encouraged to make investment for exploitation of the cheap labour power and raw materials of China in these zones. When the people of the entire capitalist world have witnessed, through the operation of stock exchanges the catastrophic consequences, it is painful to note that stock exchanges have been opened in a number of cities in China. In line with the policy of allowing certain degrees of capitalism, individual economic entities, private enterprises and enterprises with foreign investment, multiple forms of private ownership like share-holding system and the issuance of stocks, state-owned enterprises leased out or transferred to individuals are being encouraged.

While paying lip service to Mao's Thoughts the Deng leadership is virtually resorting to deMaoification

In the cultural sphere, there has been a rapid erosion of values and the standards of social conduct have been horribly debased. Bribery, smuggling, speculation, profiteering, drug abuse, pornography and obscene films and publications, prostitution—all those things quite unknown in Mao's China, are now on the increase degrading the social life to a great extent. All these developments are taking place at a time when socialism established and built up by great Lenin and Stalin in Russia has been overthrown through counterrevolution. So all those who really feel concerned about socialism in China and the communist ideology cannot but be greatly disturbed by the events in China. The point is how one should view these. It is most important to judge these developments on the basis of correct Marxist understanding and we draw the attention of the readers to the correct Marxist-Leninist methodology and angularity in analysing these developments.

After the demise of Mao, the supporters of the cultural revolution were gradually cornered and the leadership of Deng Xiaoping came to the forefront. The revisionist policies instituted by Deng are still being pursued by the Chinese leadership though over the years there have been many a change of the personalities exercising authority in the party and the state in China and Deng is not formally heading the Chinese leadership now. For this reason, we shall broadly describe the various combinations of post-Mao leadership in China as Deng leadership. Step by step, the Deng leadership reversed the policies pursued by Mao. Whereas Mao had advocated that politics must be in command and stressed class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Deng leadership contended that class struggle was no longer their prime task. The Deng leadership is paying lip service to 'Mao Zedong Thought' and actually opposing Mao. There is a planned and systematic attempt toward deMaoification. Because of the outstanding stature of Mao both within and outside China, it has not and is not yet possible for the revisionist clique to launch an outright attack on Mao. So Deng said: "We will not do to Chairman Mao what Khrushchev did to Stalin." So Deng leadership did not repeat the crude method of attack on Stalin as taken by Khrushchev but it has adopted a more subtle method towards deMaoification. In this context the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era is worth recalling. While making a critical appraisal of the Ninth Congress of the CPC, Comrade Ghosh said: "...if any leader or group in the party is engaged in conspiracy against Mao, he or they would not be able to do so by openly opposing him; they would have to do it by invoking Mao's name, referring to him in praise on and often.

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

The reality of the situation in China is still such that even those who want to physically annihilate Mao and eliminate his thoughts, would have to pretend to be devout followers of Mao, feigning grossly concerned about what a great loss would it be to the CPC and the people if Mao's thought is not followed." This teaching of Comrade Ghosh exposes the sinister design of de-Maoification by the revisionist Deng clique. So while paying lip service to 'Mao Zedong Thought' this leadership is adopting such policies and taking such measures as are very opposite to what 'Mao Zedong Thought' stands for. By upholding the fundamental principles and the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, Mao released struggle against the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. But while paying lip service to 'Mao Zedong Thought', the Deng leadership rehabilitated Liu and has been upholding his revisionist line by bidding goodbye to the revolutionary line of Mao. Taking advantage of lack of clarity about the concept of the emergence of collective leadership, this revisionist leadership is creating confusion on the question of personality cult, thereby actually belittling the historic importance of the emergence of Mao Zedong as a great leader of the proletariat. The most dangerous thing is that the Deng revisionist clique, in the name of evaluating Mao, confuses the people by describing that his contributions are primary and his mistakes are secondary. But by praising the role and contribution of Mao during the period of democratic revolution as the 'positive aspect' and rejecting his revolutionary teachings against revisionism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the 'negative aspect' the Deng clique is, in reality, trying to destroy the revolutionary kernel of 'Mao Zedong Thought'.

Mao initiated and conducted the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the aim of weeding out the influence of bourgeois culture, ideas, values, customs and habits through intensification of a countrywide anti-capitalist ideological-cultural movement among the people and directing struggle against bourgeois-capitalist elements in the society and the capitalist-roaders within the party. The declared aim of the cultural revolution was, inter alia : "to 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 ..." But Deng condemned the cultural revolution and said: "We are opposed to broadening the scope of class struggle. We do not believe that there is a bourgeoisie within the Party, nor do we believe that under the socialist system, a bourgeoisie or any other exploiting class will re-emerge after the exploiting classes and the conditions of exploitation have really been eliminated." (*Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*)

Is this not downright condemnation of the teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao—all of whom taught us that class struggle becomes more intense after the bourgeoisie are overthrown and the bourgeois class seeks a come-

back at the opportune moment? What do the incidents of Tiananmen Square in 1986 and in 1989 prove? Even Deng was compelled to admit that there were attempts by the counterrevolutionary forces to seize state power by overthrowing socialism. Deng had also to admit that there were supporters within the party for these counterrevolutionary movements. Then who has been proved correct? While Mao sensed the danger and tried to nip it in the bud by releasing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Deng condemned this cultural revolution, hounded its supporters and adopted measures which created the fertile grounds for counterrevolutionary upsurge.

Question of 'red and expert'

On the question of 'red and expert', Mao's contention was that the world outlook of the intellectuals had to be changed and proletarian world outlook was to be instilled in them in the interest of socialist planning, socialist reconstruction and augmenting socialist production. But Deng repudiated this concept of Mao in a vulgar way and asserted that the intellectuals loved the socialist motherland and contributed to the socialist construction and so they need not swing a hoe to prove that they are a part of the working class and not bourgeoisie. But to whom was Deng answering? The question is of changing the world outlook of the intellectuals. Lenin also said that most of the intellectuals had bourgeois prejudices. Is it not clear from the teachings of Lenin and Mao that the Deng leadership is absolutely incorrect on the question of 'red and expert'? How could the forces of counterrevolution secure the support of so many students and intellectuals in the Tiananmen Square incidents? Was not Mao absolutely right when he incorporated in the cultural revolution the task of transforming the world outlook and the style of work of the intellectuals? By condemning the cultural revolution and abandoning the path of class struggle, the Deng leadership was primarily responsible for the incidents coming to a head at Tiananmen Square.

Material incentive ultimately endangers socialist economy itself

On the question of increasing production, modernisation as a means to achieve it comes in. But the fundamental question is, how this increase in production through modernisation is to be achieved? Here the method is all important. We have to take lesson from the setback in the erstwhile Soviet Union. Khrushchev mooted the idea of creating abundance in production by giving 'material incentive' and advocated that the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system could be proved only by creating abundance in production by any means. The ultimate effect is there for all to see—the disintegration of the mighty socialist state of the Soviet Union and restoration of capitalism there. By giving capitalist-type 'material incentive' to the workers, production may increase temporarily but it will inevitably lead to disaster endangering the socialist system itself as has been proved in the erstwhile Soviet Union. In a brilliant

analysis of the policy of material incentive of the revisionists, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said : "Those so-called Marxists, in utter disregard of the inherent internal contradiction and the fundamental economic laws of socialist system, even advocate introducing the 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 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 debut in a socialist society. It does not and can never bring proletarian revolutionary dedication among the working class". (*Cultural Revolution of China*)

In order to increase production it is necessary to bring about proletarian revolutionary dedication among the working class. The teaching of Lenin is : "Politics cannot but take precedence over economics" and that of Mao is : "Ideological and political work is the life-blood of economic and all other work" or "Ideological work and political work is a guarantee for fulfilling economic and technical work".

Deng's theory of 'planned socialist commodity economy' is a camouflage for establishing capitalism

But totally disregarding these fundamental principles, the Deng leadership has been introducing individual peasant farming for giving incentive to the individual farmers after disbanding the communes. The policy of "iron rice bowl" meaning secure permanent job for everyone, and "the big pot everybody eats from" meaning the egalitarian measures as introduced by Mao Zedong has been abandoned as according to the present revisionist leadership this policy dampens the motivation of workers and makes them lazy. So on the plea of creating motivation and freeing the workers from laziness the contract labour system is being introduced.

Now let us turn to Marx for what he said in this respect. Marx envisioned that in the communist society the principle of "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" would be implemented. So, if this policy is implemented in the communist society then everybody will get all his needs and in such a situation, as per Deng or Gorbachev, everybody will be extremely lazy and will not work at all. So when Deng advocates that in order to motivate the workers, they should be thrown to the capitalist wolves and be subjected to the conditions of capitalist uncertainties, he should not

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

welcome communism at all, where, according to his 'theory', universal laziness will prevail. In this context let us quote from *The Communist Manifesto*: "It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease and universal laziness will overtake us".

"According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness, for those of its members who work acquire nothing and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of the objection is but another expression of the tautology—there can no longer be any wage labour when there is no longer any capital".

The essence of this teaching is that selfish motivation through material incentive will not be necessary in communist society where labour will be the 'prime of life' and where man will be new man, the 'renaissance man' whose mode of existence will be to constantly discharge his social obligation. This 'new man' will appear in the communist society in course of the uplift of cultural and moral standard through intense ideological struggle and fighting individualism. Now socialism is the transitional phase between capitalism and communism and this transition is not only in the field of economy but in politics, culture, ideology and in every other field. So the question of attaining higher moral-ethical-ideological-cultural standard is of utmost importance in this transitional phase of socialism. One of the main reasons for the setback in the the Soviet Union is the fall in this standard. Marx emphasised the need for cultural revolution when he said that in order to change the world the workers must change themselves first. So, in the transitional phase of socialism the struggle for changing the outlook of the workers from self-motivation to proletarian revolutionary dedication is of cardinal importance. And how could this struggle advance if they are lured by incentive and private profit motive? But the Deng leadership is doing this very thing and is going against the fundamental principle upheld by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Again, on the plea that commodity production and commodity circulation will continue for a considerable period of time in the socialist economy, the Deng leadership is expanding the sphere of commodity economy for making use of, in his own language, the so-called good aspects of capitalism. Deng has termed it as a planned socialist commodity economy. In reality, it is nothing but a socialist verbiage to camouflage the real aim of establishing capitalism. Firstly, it must be stated that no Marxist denies the existence of commodity economy in socialism to start with, but it must be realised that with the development of socialist economy, this commodity economy will gradually disappear and, as Stalin taught us, the commodity circulation and money circulation will gradually be reduced and will be replaced by product exchange. So the aim of socialist planning should be to reduce the sphere of commodity economy during the transitional phase of socialism, ultimately leading to its complete disappearance

in communism. But instead of reducing the sphere of commodity economy, the Deng leadership is expanding its sphere of operation.

Capitalism pauperises the masses while wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few

Secondly, Deng wants to make use of 'good aspects' of capitalism as he finds no competition in socialism and so, he thinks, the urge for increased production to be absent. So in socialist economy he wants to encourage the law of competition of capitalism under socialism and this will, according to him, do away with stagnation. The Deng leadership is trying to project this competition in capitalism as 'good' aspect while ignoring all the evils that we see in capitalism as if those are nothing but aberrations. In this context it is to be noted that capitalism started with free competition at the initial stage; but that stage is now a thing of the distant past in the entire capitalist world. In accordance with the inexorable law of capitalist economy, free competition has given birth to monopoly, i.e. the concentration of capital in the hands of a few. The competition that we see today, even in our country, is actually the competition among the monopolists or among the multinationals and the net result of this competition among monopolists or the multinationals is further accentuation of exploitation, resulting in pauperisation of the masses. This is the real face of capitalism which will always lead to concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and mass pauperisation with all its concomitant evils. Can this aspect of capitalism in any way be termed as 'the good aspect of capitalism' as Deng is trying to pass off? No, it can never be. What is more strange is that the Deng leadership is now taking those very measures which were condemned by the CPC itself under the leadership of Mao during the debate with Yugoslavia and it was categorically stated at that time by the CPC that all those measures adopted by the Yugoslav communist party would lead to establishment of capitalism and not socialism.

Here another point is to be taken note of. Even in socialism there is competition. But as the vision of Deng leadership is blurred by revisionism it fails to take cognizance of this competition or fail to understand its essence. The difference between competition in capitalism and that in socialism is basic and fundamental. Whereas competition in capitalism brings ruination to the fellow competitors and pauperisation of masses, competition in socialism causes advancement of all on the basis of collective advancement of the working class as a whole. Whatever might be the reaction as a result of the present setback, who can deny the tremendous economic growth in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin or in China under Mao's leadership? If one deeply probes to find the reason behind, it will be clear that, apart from the able leadership this collective spirit, i.e. the socialist competition, was the main reason behind such success.

How Marxists should view taking foreign assistance

The revisionist leadership headed by Deng has been following the policy of 'opening up' which actually means speedy integration of China's socialist economy with the world capitalist market. It is not that a socialist country cannot take assistance from foreign countries in building up socialism. But in seeking foreign assistance a socialist country must do so by safeguarding its economic independence and maintaining its cultural identity. Stalin said: "... that our economic development as a whole, the organisation of new branches of industry, the development of certain branches for raw materials etc. should be conducted along such lines that general development should ensure the economic independence of our country, that our country should not become an appendage of the capitalist system of world economy." (*The 15th Congress of the CPSU(B)—Speech by Stalin*) Stalin also took foreign assistance, but he took it for building up socialism and not for building capitalism. Mao also followed this policy. He said: "... we established the policy of relying mainly on our own efforts while seeking foreign aid by way of support". (*Talk At An Enlarged Working Conference*).

This correct method of making use of foreign imperialist assistance, technology and know-how so as to make these serve the cause of socialism has been reversed by the revisionist leadership headed by Deng and as a consequence, following the policy of 'opening up' there has been rapid inroads of decadent bourgeois culture into the Chinese society. Making quick money is now sought to be made the motto of the Chinese youth. The rapid fall of social standards, bribery, smuggling, speculation, profiteering, spread of pornography, obscene films and publication, prostitution—growth of all these vile influences of decadent bourgeois culture are the direct offshoot of the revisionist policy of the Deng leadership.

Communists never resort to anyhow increase production in the name of creating abundance

The revisionist leadership fails to grasp the inherent objective law of socialist economy and takes such measures as could ultimately lead to restoration of capitalism. We must take note of the catastrophe in the Soviet Union caused by the policies pursued by the revisionist leaderships from the period of Khrushchev onwards. The policy of augmenting production by any means must be abandoned. Here the method is all important and if the method is incorrect and pursued for long, capitalism will be restored despite repeatedly professing adherence advocacy of to the four cardinal principles by the Deng leadership. In building socialism, the objective law of socialist economy has to be strictly adhered to. In understanding this objective law of socialist economy, Mao's valuable

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued from page 4)

teaching is worth recalling. Mao said : "Man's understanding of the objective world, his leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom involves a process ... that getting to know the laws governing the building of socialism necessarily involves a process. We must take practice as the starting point and move from having no experience to having some experience, from having little experience to having more experience, from the still unknown realm of necessity, namely the building of socialism, to the realm of freedom, a leap in cognition—the attainment of freedom through the gradual overcoming of our blindness and the gradual understanding of the objective laws".

In the political report of the Central Committee to the 16th Congress of the CPSU Stalin said : "That is why here, in the USSR the increase of mass consumption (purchasing power) continuously outstrips the growth of production and pushes it forward, whereas over there, in the capitalist countries, on the contrary, the increase of mass consumption (purchasing power) never keeps pace with the growth of production and continuously lags behind it, thus dooming industry to crises from time to time". (*Collected Works Vol. 12*)

Renegade Khrushchev vulgarised this most scientific exposition of socialist economic law by Stalin by projecting this as an apology for shortage and rationing and initiated and pursued measures which hampered the operation of the objective laws of socialism, ultimately leading to the economic ruination and restoration of capitalism by Gorbachev through his counter-revolutionary blueprints of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika'.

To have a better understanding of the problem, let us reiterate Comrade Ghosh who further elucidated this objective law of socialist economy by saying : "Unlike under capitalism, in a socialist economy the large portion of the social wealth produced, since it is continuously transformed into emolument, constantly raises the minimum wage level. It therefore induces a consistent, continuous and systematic raising of the purchasing capacity and the standard of living of people under the given condition, including the cultural and ethical standard which is continuously uplifted so as to reach a level conducive to the fulfilment of the principal aim of socialist production. This continuous rise of the purchasing power of the people continuously raises the demand level. It is for this reason that in socialist economy the demand for consumption always outstrips actual production. This serves as a constant fillip for continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production" (*A Few Economic Problems*).

Without caring a whit about the objective law of socialist economy the revisionist leadership headed by Deng is introducing capitalist measures to anyhow increase production and all these are being done in the name of "seeking truth from facts" and building "socialism with Chinese characteristics". In the name of uphold-

ing 'Mao Zedong Thought' this leadership has virtually reduced the entire treasure house of Mao Zedong Thought to their vulgarized versions of these two points of Mao's teachings. No doubt, Mao taught us to seek truth from facts, but he also clarified how facts are to be analysed on the basis of dialectical materialism. The mechanical materialists and the empiricists also marshal facts in support of their contentions and everybody knows how Marxism developed by fighting empiricism and other reactionary ideas. To the doctrinaires and the empiricists in the party, Mao said : "Doctrinaires and empiricists in the Party have made mistakes because their way of looking at things is subjectivist, one-sided and superficial. One sidedness and superficiality are also subjectivist and lead to a subjectivist method because though all objective things are in reality interrelated and governed by inherent laws, they are not faithfully reflected as such in the minds of those who, in ignorance of the interrelationship and inherent laws, take only a one-sided and superficial view". (*On Contradiction*)

Mao further said : "On the question of applying dialectics to the study of objective phenomenon, Marx and Engels, as well as Lenin and Stalin, have always taught us that we must discard subjectivist arbitrariness and discover from the specific conditions inherent in the actual movements of the objective things, the specific contradictions in these phenomena, the specific role of each of the aspects of a contradiction, and the specific interrelation of the contradictions. Failure to adopt this attitude in study is the reason why doctrinaires are always making mistakes. ... thousands of scholars and practical workers do not understand this method, with the result that, befogged by a mass of details, they cannot discover the heart of a problem nor the solution of the contradiction". (*ibid*)

From the above teachings of Mao it is seen that Mao laid utmost stress on the methodology of analysing the fact and their interrelationships. So the fact of temporary production increase by introducing capitalist method is interrelated with economic disparity, anarchy in production, speculation, profiteering, economic corruption and debasing of social, moral, cultural and ethical standard. As capitalism grows in the economic base, the idea of bourgeois liberalisation gains currency and if this process goes on undeterred, ultimately the capitalist class wins back state power through counterrevolution. This is the painful lesson of the developments in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

Deng's design behind 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'

Next comes the question of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. What does it mean ? Everybody knows that the revolution of a country is national in form and international in content. So why Deng is putting so much stress on building socialism with Chinese characteristics ? In building socialism in a particular country, the reality of the particular conditions of that country, all its peculiarities, the psychological and mental make-up of the people

are to be taken into consideration. It can never be the carbon copy of that of another country nor there can be any stereotyped formula to achieve that goal. Due to national peculiarities, there will no doubt be some special features according to the special conditions of a particular country but the universal features of socialism are not to be neglected, unless Deng is after national socialism. One of the common features of socialism is proletarian internationalism. From the policy pursued by the Deng leadership, is it not clear that it pays no heed to discharging even the minimum international obligation ? This leadership has given up China's erstwhile staunch anti-imperialist role and is virtually capitulating to the US imperialists. Taking advantage of the present situation, the US imperialists are launching attacks and issuing threats to the third world countries to maintain their worldwide supremacy. While the US imperialists mount attacks on other countries, the Deng leadership remains a mute spectator to such ghastly acts.

We appeal to the Chinese comrades to dispassionately think over all these issues. Everybody should take note of the catastrophic consequences brought about by revisionism in the Soviet Union. The Deng leadership is pursuing the utter revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi, which Mao fought till his last. Mao released the cultural revolution to fight out revisionism. As an impact of this cultural revolution, the struggle has still been continuing in China as is confirmed by the admissions of the present revisionist leadership that they are facing resistance in implementing their policies. This is the only silver lining and resolute struggle is to be carried out to establish the revolutionary line by giving defeat to the revisionist line. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square incidents the Deng leadership was temporarily pushed to the background though this leadership has again come to the forefront. The out and out revisionist character of the Deng leadership has to be exposed and the people must be freed from illusion about this leadership. In our country, the CPI(M), though it has been compelled to take into cognizance the events in the Soviet Union and the East European countries, is maintaining a posture as if the Deng leadership is guarding socialism in China. This is absolutely incorrect and dangerous and there is no doubt that Khrushchev, Gorbachev and Deng, all are birds of the same feather.

Mao released and led the cultural revolution to fight revisionism, but he noted some weaknesses in it. He was very critical of attempts to sabotage the cultural revolution by trying to carry it out through force and not by reasoning. Mao also hinted on the possibility of re-emergence of revisionism. On this question, Mao, teaches us : "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 zigzags and does not run smoothly."

(Continued on page 6)

(Continued from page 5)

Noting some significant weaknesses in the cultural revolution while hailing it as 'magnificent', Comrade Ghosh also pointed out, "... the present programme of cultural revolution will not be able to free the party completely from the danger of reappearance of revisionism in future."

To fight revisionism communists must find out its root cause

When the international communist movement has suffered such a catastrophe, through inroads of revisionism into the party built up by Lenin and Stalin that eventually caused the downfall of socialism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, it is imperative for every communist to find out the root cause behind the emergence of revisionism. Comrade Ghosh pointed out: "... 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.... If backwardness continues to remain in the field 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 slogan." (*Cultural Revolution of China*)

Comrade Ghosh also pointed out and analysed the phenomenon of a new type of individualism, which he termed as "Socialist Individualism", appearing in the socialist countries and posing a danger to socialism by paving the way for the growth of revisionism.

Comrade Ghosh observed: "... the individual's struggle for emancipation has reached a new and complex height and has assumed a new character in the socialist society where, to resolve the crisis, a more intense and arduous struggle is to be conducted for complete identification of the self-interest with the interest of society, through unflagging dedication and constant vigil."

Release intense ideological struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to uplift standard of epistemology and culture

So it is the most urgent task to release ideological-cultural struggle by strictly adhere-

ing to the principle of Marxism-Leninism in order to remove backwardness in the fields of epistemology and culture and wipe out this new kind of individualism.

Dialectics of history is such that it operates inexorably sparing none unless one takes cognizance of the laws operating objectively to govern the development of society and acts accordingly for transcending from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. The proletariat of the erstwhile Soviet Union has not been spared because of its failure to fight and defeat revisionism. Now revisionism is posing a grave danger in China against which long ago Mao warned: "... What will happen to our country if we fail to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a revisionist state, indeed a bourgeois state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and a reactionary, fascist dictatorship at that."

At this critical juncture, if the Chinese proletariat fails to take cognizance of the danger posed by revisionism, disaster cannot be averted in China as well, despite the successful and glorious revolution and socialist construction by the great Chinese people under the leadership of Mao.

If the world proletariat can take appropriate lessons from the reverses in the international communist movement through meticulously analysing the root cause of the reverses, take appropriate action to weed out the root cause by raising the level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the thoughts of Mao Zedong and of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and release uncompromising struggle against revisionism through intensification of class and mass struggles for accelerating the world revolution, the present setback, though painful, can be made to serve the cause of world revolution.

In this context, let us recall a teaching of Engels, who said: "There is no great historical evil without a compensating historical progress." (*Letter to N. F. Danielson*). This is the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of history. Man takes lesson from mistakes, corrects himself and takes the correct line to attain

victory. One who has the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the development of the world and society and is armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Shibdas Ghosh can correctly trace the causes of the present reverse. It is to be borne in mind that in the post-Stalin period it is the thoughts of Mao Zedong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that can provide the necessary, adequate and effective guidance in fighting revisionism. Modern revisionism may bring about more setbacks in the world communist movement, but we must remember that this is a temporary phenomenon. In this context we must remember the teaching of Mao when he said: "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."

The two-line struggle is on in China. If the true communists there arm themselves with the correct understanding of Mao Zedong thought and wage ceaseless struggle against the Chinese modern revisionists, it will help the concrete historical process of moving towards classless communist society from capitalism through the transitional phase of socialism in between the two to reassert itself, casting aside the present aberration and setback.

By carrying forward the struggle against imperialism-capitalism, against modern revisionism and all sorts of reaction, can the communists of the world pay real revolutionary homage to Mao Zedong, the great leader of the proletariat.

Down with imperialism-capitalism !
Down with revisionism !
Long live proletarian internationalism !
Long live revolution !
Red Salute to you, Comrade Mao Zedong !

TO BE PUBLISHED SOON

SELECTED WORKS VOL. II

SHIBDAS GHOSH

Price : Paperback Rs 35.00
Hard bound Rs 50.00

Available : SUCI office
48, Lenin Sarani
Calcutta-700 013

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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