

Comrade Mao Tse-tung

Com. Mao is no more. With his death, the greatest Brain in the world ceased to think. But he remains for ever in the hearts of the oppressed peoples of the world in general, and Chinese people in particular for his singular contribution to the success of Chinese revolution, establishment and consolidation of dictatorship of the proletariat through the proletarian cultural revolution and his relentless fight against modern revisionism. His system of views cover all fields, i.e., philosophical, political, military, economic as well as cultural. They are known as Mao Tse-tung Thought. It is the Marxism-Leninism of the present era, because he has continued, elaborated and developed Marxism-Leninism to new heights till his death. As such it has become the guiding force for communist revolutionaries all over the world in their fundamental task of leading the revolutions in their respective countries.

Com. Mao is the finest product of Chinese revolution in particular and world revolution in general ranking among Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Com. Mao has lived a full life as a revolutionary putting what he taught into practice.

1. Com. Mao as the leader of the Chinese Revolution.

Like all revolutions, Chinese revolution had to traverse a zig-zag course before it consummated in success. It was com. Mao who had a clear vision of shape of things to come regarding Chinese Revolution when it entered a critical period in 1927. The beginning of the period was marked by the split in the united front between Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, failure of armed uprisings in various parts of the country and the consequent temporary set-back to the revolution. Notwithstanding this situation it was he who advocated for the first time that the revolution can be defended in China in the following words:

"The long-term survival inside a country of one or more small areas under Red Political power completely encircled by a white regime is a phenomenon that has never occurred anywhere else in the world." (Why is it that Red Political

Power can Exist in China? 1928).

He advanced the reasons for this phenomenon: His theory proved to be correct not only by its survival, but also advancement and ultimate success of the Chinese revolution. In view of the new world situation obtaining after the Second World War, he extended the theory for all colonial and semi-colonial countries. We know that organised revolutionary forces in various countries have applied this theory with success. Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia in Asia, Algeria and some other countries in Africa can be cited as examples. Liberation movements in other countries have also taken up this path. Thus the theory he advocated in 1928 has acquired an international significance even during anti-fascist war, to be more precise during anti-Japanese war, and subsequently it has become a universal one.

2. Theory and Practice of People's War.

Every country wages a patriotic war when it becomes victim of aggression by a foreign country. This happens inspite of the social set-up the country possesses (feudal etc.). In modern times when the imperialists, and counter-revolutionary ruling classes of every colonial and semi-colonial country controlled and backed by them, are armed to the teeth, it is necessary for the revolutionary forces in general and the proletariat in particular, to adopt the path of people's war either for national revolution or for social revolution (democratic). Com. Mao not only advocated it, but also worked out strategy and tactics for this purpose. It is a strategy meant for a militarily weak force (country, people) fighting a just war against a strong enemy. Some comrades wrongly counterpose the path of people's war with that of insurrection, which the Russian proletariat used as a weapon to seize power. In fact it is an extension of the latter, in view of the present situation especially the situation obtaining ever since the end of the First World War and success of October Revolution.

Summing up the wrong view and correcting it, Com. Mao explains:

"Their argument is: Since our war is like the war in the Soviet Union and since Soviet Union won victory, how then can there be an alternative but to follow the Soviet example? They fail to see that while we should set special store by the war experience of the Soviet Union, because it is the most recent experience of revolutionary war and was acquired under the guidance of Lenin

and Stalin, we should likewise cherish the experience of China's revolutionary war, because there are many factors that are specific to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Red Army" (Strategy in China's Revolutionary War).

Here Com. Mao speaks of many specific factors relating to Chinese Revolution, while not in the least underestimating the special significance of Soviet Union's experience. This applies to other countries as well.

Indian communist revolutionaries were in search for such a path in the early years of their activities. They struggled for it between 1946-51 (Telangana and other armed struggles) but could not meet with success due to subjective conditions. They again took up this path in 1967-68. A section of communist revolutionaries took left adventurist and individual terrorist line which led to setbacks to armed struggles in our country. Notwithstanding this, they are applying it keeping the specific situation of our country in mind. Thus Mao's theory and practice of people's war is a contribution to world revolution itself.

3. Guerilla Warfare, raised to the strategic level

Formerly, Marxists-Leninists considered guerilla warfare to be one of the forms of the struggle adopted by the peasants either in support of insurrection or positional and mobile warfares (Of course there are counter-revolutionary guerilla warfares which are conducted by the ruling classes to suppress genuine revolutionary movements). Com. Mao, consistent with his theory of people's war, which is a protracted war, also developed guerilla warfare to a strategic level and worked out the necessary strategic line. He explains the need for such a theory in the following words: *"The question of strategy in guerilla war does arise however in the case of China, which is neither small nor like the Soviet Union, but which is both a large and a weak country. This large and weak country is being attacked by a small and strong country but the large and weak country is in an era of progress; this is the source of the whole problem" (Problems of Strategy in Guerilla War).* Though Mao has advocated this theory "in the case of China", it was applied and is still being applied by the people during and after the second world war period. Now guerilla war has become a common phenomenon among the people fighting for their emancipation against imperialism, feudalism and reaction. This theory has resolved a

number of crucial problems facing the national liberation movements and people's democratic revolutions which are confronted with a stronger enemy. This in essence means creating rural base areas to encircle the cities in various parts of the country so that the whole country may be liberated in a given national and international situation.

Our people, especially the peasantry, adopted guerilla warfare as a form of struggle during British regime, and as a strategy during the Congress regime (at the time of and after the transfer of power). But we as Communist Revolutionaries have failed to continue and develop it further because of subjective reasons, even after 1968, when organised communist revolutionary groups emerged out of the then existing communist revolutionary movement. While adopting guerilla warfare as a strategy is not at all a controversial subject as far as communist revolutionaries are concerned, left adventurists equate it to individual terrorism of one form or other.

4. Agrarian Revolution - An Immediate Task.

That the agrarian revolution is the axis of the bourgeois democratic revolutions is an incontrovertible point. It is all the more a decisive factor in the people's democratic revolution directed against semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

But Com. Mao advanced the theory of inseparable link between the agrarian revolution and the guerilla war to establish base areas. In the period of national war, the agrarian programme will be such as to unite all the patriotic forces. A thoroughgoing agrarian revolution which includes the distribution of landlords' land to the poor peasants and agricultural labourers, to develop and consolidate base areas -Com. Mao has implemented such a programme in the period of agrarian revolutionary war (1927-1937). The Red Army led by the CPC has helped in implementing it.

We, in our country, are facing a different situation. We don't have a Red Army or a People's Army to start with. It has to be created from the guerilla forces at the time of establishment of base areas. (We are not discussing here various military aspects connected with this subject). Such guerilla forces can be developed only at an advanced stage of agrarian revolution, when the land distribution comes to the forefront. Here left adventurists take a different point of view. They advocate creation of a People's Army without agrarian revolution, though they pay a lip service to the latter, without

accepting the interconnection between the two, which these comrades refuse to accept in one form or the other.

5. United Front and People's Democratic Dictatorship.

Formerly communists, basing on the experience of Russian revolution, advanced the slogan of Soviets of workers and peasants during the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution. Lenin in his writings on colonial and national question stressed the importance of the national bourgeoisie as an anti-imperialist force, which can be an ally, however vacillating and temporary it may be, during this stage of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Basing on the experience of Chinese revolution, Com. Mao advocated United Front with national bourgeoisie, inspite of its having a dual role during the stage of people's democratic revolution and people's democratic dictatorship as a state form in which the proletariat shares power with national bourgeoisie.

He has also stated in clearest possible terms, the importance of the United Front, armed struggle and the party building in the following manner:

"... .. the united front, armed struggle and party building are the three fundamental questions for our party in the Chinese Revolution. Having a correct grasp of these questions and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese Revolution"
(Introducing The Communist.)

This theory applies to all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Failure in grasping these questions on the part of the Indian communists has led all these years in the failure to provide a correct leadership to the revolution all these years. Now the Communist revolutionaries, having grasped these questions, are able to work out a fundamental line and are fighting against right and left opportunism basing on it.

6. Theory of Contradiction

Com. Mao enriched and elaborated the Marxist-Leninist theory of Contradiction and applied it to the practice of Chinese revolution as well as world revolution. His works *On Contradiction* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* are monumental by themselves. He has led the Chinese revolution, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, defended it against

imperialism and social imperialism basing on these theories. These theories in turn were evolved as a result of summing up the experience of Chinese as well as world revolution. They are of special significance to us because it has been an unresolved problem to the Indian Communist movement to locate who is our enemy and who are our allies in the stage of people's democratic revolution. We can safely say that we have resolved this problem in all its fundamental aspects; we are yet to learn to apply it to everchanging situations we are encountering. We are confident that we can correctly apply it under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

7. Fight Against Modern Revisionism.

After the death of Stalin, Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique usurped the party and state apparatus in Soviet Union, departed from Marxism-Leninism, advocated revisionism, pure and simple, and restored capitalism leading to social imperialism. Com. Mao, as the head of the Chinese Communist Party, carried on relentless struggle against Modern Revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle has become a guiding force to Communist revolutionaries all over the world to carry on the same struggle in their respective countries and to form real parties of Marxism-Leninism. (They are either already formed or on the way of formation). Communist revolutionaries in our country have broken away from revisionism and neo-revisionism and took up the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. But a good number of them embraced left adventurism equating it with Mao-Tse-tung Thought. There are still some who are misguided by such theories while their leadership is adopting right and left opportunism or a combination of the both. Hence a struggle against them in defence of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Present-day China is a bulwark of world revolution, which is a source of inspiration and guidance in the form of Mao Tse-tung Thought to the revolutions all over the world. The failure of the encirclement of two super powers is a clear indication of the material and revolutionary strength of the people, the party and the government.

8. Cultural Revolution:* Contribution in Cultural Front.

Com. Mao emphasised the need and indispensability of Cultural

*See p.26-27 and Section 5 (starting on p. 184) of the article *Some Problems Relating to Socialist Revolution in China*.

Revolution long ago in 1940, in his famous work *On New Democracy*. He said, "A given culture is the ideological reflection of politics and economics of a given society." Hence, "A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." Regarding the culture in the stage of New Democratic Revolution, he characterised in the following words. "It can thus be seen that the content of China's New National Culture at present stage is neither the cultural despotism of the bourgeoisie, nor the socialism of the proletariat, but the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal New Democracy of the masses, under the leadership of proletarian socialist culture and ideology". he further says: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution." These quotations are enough to show how much importance Com. Mao attached to cultural revolution as a part and parcel of new Democratic Revolution. He has worked out the tasks in this front in his various writings. His famous work, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, is a guide for all the proletarian revolutionary writers and artists. His theory of New Democratic cultural revolution applies to all countries which are in the stage of national liberation, people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Of course, it is a theory which applies Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution (See note on page.22)

9. Proletarian Internationalism.

Com. Mao's writings are permeated with proletarian internationalism. He as the head of CPC has implemented it in word and spirit.

His revolutionary work and contribution to the Chinese revolution began when the Communist Party of China was affiliated to Third International (Comintern) guided by Stalin. He contributed his might in shaping Comintern policies themselves (antifascist united front) basing on the experiences the CPC gained in the war against fascist Japan. While being loyal to the Comintern, he judiciously implemented its line, to the advantage of the Chinese revolution. While relying on the Chinese people for success of its revolution, he has never for a moment underestimated the role of the support of international proletariat and the revolutionary people.

He continued his work with redoubled vigour when the Comintern was dissolved during Second World War, and every Communist Party has become sovereign in its respective country. Even during the war, the

CPC headed by Mao has helped the anti-Japanese wars going on in Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia etc. He has helped the armed struggles and the revolutions which were going on in these countries as well as African countries. Chinese help to the peoples' war of Vietnam against American aggression is well known throughout the length and breadth of the world. He continued the help till the revolution succeeded in spite of the danger of war of aggression by America against his own country. This is the finest example of his proletarian internationalism. His struggle against modern revisionism, defending Marxism-Leninism, which led to total military encirclement with serious economic consequences, is the result of his rare courage and further development of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. The *Great Debate* he initiated and summed up has established the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism once again. Such a phenomenon took place when the Second International collapsed and the Third Communist International was established under the guidance of Com. Lenin. Com. Mao did the same, in a different form, by breaking away with CPSU and its Modern Revisionism. Though we don't have any international organisation in any form, his unique contribution in the struggle against Modern Revisionism is a guiding star to communist revolutionaries all over the world. It is proletarian internationalism in the real sense of the term.

China, under the leadership of Com. Mao, has been helping militarily, economically and technically all countries which have different social systems and which are fighting for independence, against hegemonism and super power domination. The military help is free and there is no arms sale. Economic help is based on mutual advantage. Finding in China the most reliable friend, nations like Pakistan and Egypt are coming out of the grip of super powers, casting away the fears of aggression by the neighbours armed by super powers.

Imperialists and pseudo-communists accuse China of being nationalist – bourgeois nationalist at that – falsifying the facts. They say that China does not help the Communist parties in the friendly countries but is giving primary importance to its national interests, i.e., it renounced the proletarian internationalism for its nationalism.

One must know that China has state-to-state relations with the governments of other countries. Such relations are guided by its foreign policy, which is based on proletarian internationalism as we have seen in the case of Pakistan etc. In the same way, China has party-to-party relations with Communist parties in other countries. These relations are guided by this factor : whether the concerned parties are Marxist-

Leninist in the real sense of the term, or Modern Revisionist, being satellites of CPSU. CPC does not have any relations with the latter, while it will have fraternal relations with the former, irrespective of its relations with the country to which it belongs. There is no international organisation for Communist parties and everyone of them is sovereign in having its own policies. Whichever party needs the help and advice of the CPC, it extends, and is extending its help, basing on Marxism-Leninism. It is a hope against hope if one chooses to be a revisionist of one hue or the other and expects the same attitude as that of a Marxist-Leninist Party. This policy of China is proletarian internationalism in the real sense of the term.

Com. Mao, while defending Marxism-Leninism against Modern Revisionism, adhered to proletarian internationalism.

It must be known that defending the Chinese revolution is not the responsibility of Chinese proletariat alone. It is the responsibility of entire revolutionary proletariat of the world as well as every country. These Communist parties of Marxism-Leninism should formulate their policies also accordingly.

10. Conclusion.

This in essence is the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is the summing up the revolutionary experience of not only of China, but also of entire world, guided by Marxism-Leninism. That is why it is correctly characterised as the Marxism-Leninism of the present era.

Com. Mao has lived a full life of a revolutionary. For beginners, for those who are in the midst of revolution and for those who are consolidating the fruits of the revolution, his life is a model from which all of us can learn and have to learn much. The age of above eighty years is an age of decay for a normal man. But it was not so with Com. Mao, and we needed him for some more time to come. Thus we have lost the greatest thinker from our midst never to return. The objectives which he has set forth before us are eternal. We deserve to call ourselves his best pupils only by carrying out his behests to the end.

Though he left us physically his thought is eternally with us being a guiding force to the revolutionary communists, proletariat and the oppressed people all over the world in their struggle for emancipation and socialism.

We communist revolutionaries in India take a pledge on this occasion that we defend Marxism-Leninism -Mao Tse-tung Thought, fight

against revisionism and left adventurism, form ourselves into a monolithic party, which can lead Indian revolution to a success.

Long Live the Memory of Comrade Mao.

Long Live Mao Tse-tung Thought!

Note : Here (Page No. 19) we have deleted a portion of the text in keeping with the author's subsequent writings. The deleted portion runs as follows :

Com. Mao's theory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which started in China in 1966, is the continuation and further development of the same theory to the stage of socialist revolution, when the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and proletarian cultural revolution was necessary.

It was initiated, guided and headed by Com. Mao. It is one of his greatest contributions to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism. Drawing lessons from the negative experience of Soviet Union, where the party had departed from Marxism-Leninism, embraced Modern Revisionism, and socialism has been transformed into social imperialism. Com. Mao propounded and successfully implemented the theory of continued revolution in the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus cultural revolution is playing a decisive role in not allowing the restoration of capitalism in China either in the present period or in future. It is this cultural revolution which has developed into a political revolution against the survivals of the bourgeoisie for establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

9. Class Struggle in China

In view of this what is going on in China is the struggle between the survivals of bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat, in the era of dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the class struggle not only in the cultural front but ideological and political struggle between contending forces, wherein it is the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, which is a decisive and winning force, whereas the survivals of the bourgeoisie as formerly represented by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and others, together with their ideologies have become a waning force. The time is not far off when they will be thrown into the dust-bin of history notwithstanding the attempts of the imperialists and social imperialists to embellish their role.

Imperialist ideologues are characterising the class struggle as the struggle for power "between various factions" and "groups" existing inside the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Social imperialists say that there is a chronic "instability" in China, with all its concomitants. Both of them are falsifying history. We know that a civil war was going on for years in Soviet Union after the seizure of power by the proletariat, and an ideological struggle was going on against Trotskyism till about 1937. There is nothing extra-ordinary about what is going on in China in view of the prevalence of capitalist social imperialism, fighting for their survival against the revolutionary forces of the world. They will have their own impact on the class struggle which is going on in China. This is one of the reasons why it has acquired an international character.

The experience of the cultural revolution shows that all countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established, should undergo a constant class struggle, to prevent restoration of capitalism in the respective countries. It is the socialist consciousness of the people and Marxist-Leninist ideological firmness of the party which can prevent such a situation being repeated in any country. This is another reason for its international significance.

China has achieved self-reliance in all fields without so-called foreign aid. The third world countries have the same economy as that of pre-liberation China. Notwithstanding this, atleast some of them are working for independence in the real sense of the term, by doing away with foreign aid. They are looking for China as a model to shape their economies on the basis of self-reliance, though their social setup imposes limitations in their attempts to be fruitful.

Thus the class struggle that is going on in China acquired an international significance in more than one sense.

See the sections 3 and 4 of the article "*Some Problems Relating to Socialist Revolution in China*" for the author's subsequent views on class struggle in China. See also pages 158, 159 and 168 where the question of rehabilitation in general and that of Liu Shao-chi in particular have been explained.

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- Editor