

PART - IV

India And China's Continuing Revolution

The success of Chinese Revolution culminating in the formation of People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, is a world-shaking event next only to the great October Revolution in Russia (1917). Hence its international significance. It had influenced the national movement in our country when there was a British colonial regime. It had further influenced the post-Second World War revolutionary upsurge, which took mainly the form of agrarian revolutionary armed struggles. Telangana being the major one in our country. Today it is Mao Tse-tung Thought which guides world revolution and the revolution in our own country. Communist Revolutionaries are alive to the general features of the experiences of the Chinese Revolution together with the specific features of our country. The General Line they have adopted and are practising is a standing example of their revolutionary effort. Gone are the days, when the struggle against the right opportunism was carried out by left adventurism and vice versa. Present period is one, in which the communist revolutionaries are carrying on these tasks on the basis of a general line which is a basically correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the practice of Indian revolution. Herein lies the unique significance of the present-day ideological struggle.

China's progress as a socialist country is phenomenal. It covers all fields, i.e., economic, military, technological, cultural etc. It is a reality recognised by one and all, friends and foes. The progress is fundamentally of a different nature from that which appears in countries like India where foreign capital dominates in all fields. Why? China did not have a transfer of power from imperialists as our country had in August, 1947. The Chinese people, led by the Communist Party headed by Mao, fought arms in their hands against imperialism and feudalism, as represented by Chiang-Kai-sheik clique and others. There was a social revolution which liquidated imperialism and feudalism from their country (excepting Taiwan). The revolution, People's Democratic Revolution as it is called, continued and developed into Socialist Revolution. It is a continuous revolution. A correct Marxist-Leninist line which the

Communist Party of China is pursuing is a guarantee from restoration of capitalism. The Party and the people could successfully fight back such attempts at restoration. They are the masters of their future and the foreign domination has no place in any field of their life.

Unlike China, India had witnessed a transfer of power from British imperialists to Congress leadership which did not aim at liquidation of imperialism and feudalism, but has been protecting their interests although. Hence the domination of foreign capital, landlords and the hegemonism of two super powers. As a corollary our people could not become masters of our future. The development which India is having either in industry or in agriculture or in other fields is conditioned by foreign domination to serve foreign interests. Our own experience shows that the poverty, unemployment, social oppression, exploitation, plunder and what not, has become a matter of daily life for us whereas China is free from all these evils. Therefore, we can say that there is no comparison between the two countries. It is this objective reality which the communist revolutionaries took into account to work out the tasks of People's Democratic Revolution. Imperialist ideologues, revisionists and neo-revisionists are embellishing, day in and day out, the so-called 'aid' provided by imperialists and the Soviet Union, a super power, by hiding the fact that it is an 'aid' for continuing slavery and plunder with unequal terms.

Indian nationalism was and still is influenced and entrenched by imperialism. Together with it, the medieval despotism is in vogue, sometimes in a sophisticated form. It suits the interests of the present ruling classes, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords who are trained on these lines. These forces want the people to believe that India's progress can be favourably compared with that of China. There is no basis for such consolation, because facts do not confirm it. A genuine nationalism is directed against imperialism including liquidation of foreign capital and foreign domination in all fields of the country's life. Soviet Union is an imperialist power, which should be opposed by all genuine nationalists, i.e., anti-imperialist forces. But the revisionists and neo-revisionists are her firm supporters in India. Therefore, they are social imperialists as far as our country is concerned. Their opposition to American imperialism or Western imperialism can not hide this fact.

A genuine nationalism, a revolutionary nationalism at that, has been weak in India during the British colonial regime inspite of numerous armed revolts, and revolutionary struggles of the people against it. That was the reason why the British imperialism remained in India as long as it desired, and transferred power to the classes in whom it saw its interests safe. Even now, i.e., the period eversince the transfer of power (1947), the revolutionary nationalist trend is weak. The same weakness is reflected in connection with the agrarian revolution as well. Therefore, the history has placed the task of liquidating the imperialists together with the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudalism on the shoulders of the revolutionary proletariat. It has been the same eversince the success of October Revolution (1917). Chinese revolution, next only to October revolution, has provided this lesson for the world revolution. The communist revolutionaries in our country are performing the same task, the task of completing people's democratic revolution.

Mao's Three Worlds Theory:

A Contribution to the Treasure of Marxism-Leninism

Mao, as leader of Chinese revolution, has worked out strategy and tactics for it. They are applicable to all colonial and semi-colonial countries in a general way, while each country has its specific features to be taken into consideration in deciding strategy and tactics for this revolution. Such a stand-point is in accordance with Marxism-Leninism.

Mao as the leader of international communist movement fought against Modern Revisionism of the leadership of CPSU, which was again international in its character. As a result, Marxist-Leninist parties and groups have emerged in almost all countries, by breaking away from Modern Revisionism and have been defending Marxism-Leninism eversince. Since Modern Revisionism is appearing in various forms, certain forces, due to their inherent weaknesses in their Marxist-Leninist orientation and fast-changing world situation, are leaving the battle-front at various phases of ideological struggle going on on an international scale.

Mao, as the leader of socialist revolution in China, initiated and led successfully the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, unique in its nature with abundance of revolutionary experience. It has raised the socialist consciousness of the proletariat, the people and the entire party. It has given a new content and correct orientation

to the mass line which is being followed by Marxist-Leninists of various countries.

Crowning all this, Mao advanced the Theory of Three Worlds. To put it in Mao's own words, it is: *"In my view the United States and the Soviet Union form the first world. Japan, Europe and Canada, the middle section, belong to the Second World. We are the Third World". "The Third World has huge population. With the exception of Japan, Asia belongs to the Third World. The whole of Africa belongs to the Third World, and Latin America too". (February 1974).*

Marx and Engels, in their times, divided the countries, especially those of Europe into oppressor and the oppressed when they were dealing with the national question. Lenin, while characterising imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, had divided the world into imperialist countries and the countries oppressed by imperialism, so as to lay bare inter-imperialist contradictions. He characterised imperialist wars as unjust because their objective is redivision of world among imperialist powers. He enjoined the proletariat to transform imperialist war into civil war to sieze power to establish dictatorship of the proletariat, and defended wars of liberation by oppressed countries as just wars. Once the October Revolution (1917) succeeded and Soviet Union emerged, the world was divided into two camps, imperialist and anti-imperialist, as was summed up by Stalin in his outstanding work *"Foundations of Leninism"* (1925).

We had experienced a different alignment of forces at the time of Second World War. It was an imperialist war to begin with between Fascist Germany, Italy and Japan on one hand, United Kingdom, France, United States etc, on the other, for the redivision of the world. The course of developments during this phase of War had shown clearly that the so-called great powers could not withstand the Fascist offensive and had to face defeat after defeat. Faced with this situation the antifascist section of the ruling classes who came to power in these countries joined hands with Soyiet Union as soon as Germany declared war on the latter. The anti-Fascist Front was complete and had come to stay. With this, the character of war changed from imperialist war to a war of liberation. Included in the Front were United Kingdom, France, United States which were Great imperialist powers. The theory that the world is divided into two camps, i.e., imperialist and anti-imperialist, is correct and valid for world revolution through out this period. It is so even today.

At the same time, formation of an anti-Fascist Front was quite in accordance with Marxism-Leninism because it facilitated the advance of world revolution in a given situation. The experience had proved that it was the only correct international line to defeat fascism in order to weaken imperialism and to advance world revolution.

The early years of post-Second World War saw the U.S. Imperialism, the strongest of all, as the leader of all imperialist powers together with their satellites organised in military bloc or otherwise. On the other side were Soviet Union, China, the socialist countries, the national liberation movements and the countries fighting for national independence. Inter-imperialist contradictions and a strong desire for national independence have created immensely favourable conditions for the national independence struggles. Immediate task of the world revolution at the time was a struggle against the American domination together with the revolutions in individual countries, which in turn needed the struggle against American imperialism, war, and local reaction in each country to begin with. The Communist parties in the concerned countries had their revolutionary programmes of action to carry out these tasks. At the same time, revisionism also had raised its head during the Second World War period itself (Browderism) culminating in Modern Revisionism of 20th Congress of C.P.S.U. which has become international in character.

With the emergence of Soviet Union as a social imperialist power, there has been a change in the correlation of forces in the international arena. Soviet Union has become another super power, contending for world hegemony. Thus the two super powers together are correctly characterised as belonging to the first world. Japan, Canada and European powers belong to the Second world because of their level of development, which is comparatively less than the super powers. Some of them are imperialist powers while others are not. All of them have contradictions of a basic nature as against two super powers as well as among themselves.

The rest of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America belong to the third world in which China is included. The other countries are fighting for their independence and against the hegemonism of the two super powers. Since the contention for hegemonism is bound to lead to a war, the danger of war is inherent in the situation.

Thus the differentiation of the countries into three worlds is in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. The task of the international revolutionary proletariat is to carry on the struggle against the two super powers, by relying on the third world, and uniting with the Second World, to advance the immediate cause of the world revolution.

This is the essence of Com. Mao's Three Worlds Theory. International experience of last one decade proved that it is correct. There are some who claim to be Marxist-Leninists who, at the same time, deny that the theory is wrong and a departure from Marxism-Leninism. They are revisionists and neo-revisionists who are acting as mouthpieces of Soviet social imperialism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will further develop in the struggle against all varieties of revisionism.

War and Revolution

The huge build up of armaments, nuclear as well as conventional, by the two super powers has proved beyond doubt that the so-called *detente* is sham. On the contrary, hectic preparations are going on for war by them. Hence the danger of war is real. Soviet Union with all her weakness is a rising power which is aggressive because of her superiority in arms and offensive military line which she has adopted on a global scale. U. S. imperialism has become relatively weak, more so after the defeat in Vietnamese war. It is relying on other imperialist powers to make up the deficiency which it has at present. Notwithstanding all these adjustments, Soviet Union is a super power which is aggressive in words as well as deeds. It is this reason that enables us to characterise not to be more dangerous than U.S. imperialism.

There had been a respite of more than three decades for humanity not to undergo the sufferings of a third world war. At the same time, there have been regional and local wars -- they are still going on -- which have proved to be more disastrous than the first and second World War. The World War could not take place, not because the super powers were after *detente* but because of people's awareness and opposition to it. China's preparedness to face such an eventuality which was expressed in defeating U. S. imperialism in the war of aggression against Vietnam together with all-round preparations at home. A good number of countries some of whom are dependent on the super powers are opposed to be

drawn into such a war. Notwithstanding these positive aspects, the imperialist nature of the two super powers itself is a source of world war in the present situation, because U. S. imperialism wants to defend its global interests, while the Soviet Union wants to edge out the former only to step into its shoes.

In the context of the present international situation, Soviet Union is the main aggressor. This does not mean that the U.S. imperialism has already become a non-aggressor. The over-all situation is that there is the possibility of an imperialist war between the two super powers developing into a war of aggression against the second and third world countries, which are going to become its worst victims. Europe is the bone of contention between the two super powers and Western Europe is going to be the immediate target of Soviet Union. Hence the task of the world proletariat is to carry on struggle against the hegemonism of the super powers in general and the Soviet Union in particular. This applies to war of aggression as well. The proletariat in each country, while opposing hegemonism and fighting out aggression, will carry on the tasks of advancing the revolution in its respective country. Both these tasks are inseparable.

The socialist China will be one of the main targets of aggression by Soviet Union, at one stage or the other of the war when it breaks out. China's correct socialist diplomacy is winning her friends in the countries of second and third world. Besides this the world proletariat, true to its internationalism, will come to her help and to defend her, in all ways at its command. The task of defending China will not deviate the proletariat in the given country from the revolutionary path and the tasks it has to carry out to make its revolution a success. The same is the case with the revolutionary proletariat of our country.

The more the world proletariat is able to prevent the Third World War, the more the world revolution advances further and further. Therefore a situation wherein the war can be prevented atleast for a period will certainly help the cause of revolution and enables to strengthen the defences of one's own country against aggression. It is more important for China, which has to bear the brunt of the aggression, as was the case with Soviet Union in Second World War. In turn, advance of world revolution and revolution in individual countries will have its adverse impact on super powers' capacity to wage a war. At the same time, we should keep in mind that the revolutionary forces are weak in the countries of the two super

powers, and they are not able to prevent unleashing a war. Notwithstanding all these realities, the revolution is bound to advance whether there is an imminent danger of war or not. The Leninist theory that, as long as imperialism including social imperialism exists, wars are inevitable, holds good even to-day.

Recent Developments in China

Com. Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, the outstanding leader of the international proletariat, is no more. Two years have already elapsed since his death. (September 9, 1976). Com Chou En-lai died a few months earlier than Com. Mao. The enemies of socialist China and of international revolutionary communist movement were expecting a civil war and instability in the socialist political and economic system. But their hopes have proved in vain. The counter-revolutionary role of "Gang of Four" and their control of a part of the state apparatus was the basis for their hopes. But the attempts of "Gang of Four" were foiled by the people, army and the party headed by Com. Hua. A decade of Proletarian Cultural Revolution has raised the socialist consciousness of the people led by the proletariat to a higher level. A correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and a correct orientation towards party's general line was restored and was developed further in the army, party ranks and the leadership. Taking all these factors together, the people, the army and the party were ready to face such an eventuality. They could stand the test of the time. The "gang of four" was suppressed, necessary changes were made in the leadership at various levels and a campaign was organised to expose the treachery and the revisionist theories of the Gang. The Eleventh Party Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress have summed up the experiences and consolidated the gains of the struggle. As a result the people, the army and the party are united more than ever.

These developments are not the domestic affairs alone of the Chinese Communist Party and the government. They have an international significance, because the defence of socialism in China is not the responsibility of the Chinese proletariat and the people alone. World proletariat has its own international responsibility towards this task. We, representing the revolutionary proletariat of our country, have supported the steps taken by the C.P.C. against the "Gang of Four" and such other measures in defence of Socialist Revolution.

China's socialist foreign policy is successful in winning friends and isolating enemies. The recent Peace Treaty signed by China and Japan, which includes struggle against hegemonism is a great achievement for world peace and a blow to Soviet hegemonism. Soviet Union's iron fist over East European countries is broken by strengthening the bonds with Romania and Yugoslavia. Soviet Union, once appeared to have succeeded in isolating China internationally, is now getting isolated, while China's unity with the Second and Third World countries is getting strengthened with every passing day.

Viet Nam, whose success in the war of liberation against American imperialism entirely depended on her people's participation and Chinese help, turned hostile to China, became expansionist power, waging a war of aggression against Kampuchea, and allowed herself to become an out-post of Soviet social imperialism. Viet Nam's drive against the Chinese nationals is a part of her anti-China policy. China, while fighting Vietnamese hostile and pro-Soviet measures, is helping Kampuchea in all possible ways in her struggle for independence, territorial integrity and against Vietnamese expansionism.

All this goes to show that China is building socialism, successfully even after Com. Mao's death, which shows the strength of socialist foundation. Communist revolutionaries in India hail these achievements as having international significance.

Proletarian Internationalism

Communist revolutionaries all over the world have no international organisation like **Comintern** (Third Communist International.) which was dissolved, once its historical role (formation of the parties in most of the countries etc.,) was over. Therefore, there is no international centre of an organisational nature. Every party is independent in working out its own programme and tactics for the revolution of the respective country. How they carried out their responsibilities during the period of **Comintern** and after its dissolution is a matter for respective parties to be reviewed. The communist revolutionaries in India are yet to complete this task.

We have two types of experiences before us. Indian communist movement had its help and guidance from the Comintern before and after the party's formation. This by itself was not enough because the leadership had failed to apply Marxism-Leninism to the practice

of Indian revolution. As a result, the proletariat could not establish its hegemony over the national movement, not to speak of liberating the country from the British imperialism. That was the time when uncritical approach towards help and guidance was the order of the day in the communist movement. Post-Comintern period saw the party exercising its independence, not on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, but on that of its departure from and culminating in joining the revisionist camp, i.e., modern revisionism and neo-revisionism. A good number of communist revolutionaries in our country were victims of the same disease as and when they broke away from neo-revisionism, in the name of Mao Tse-tung Thought. We know where they landed themselves. On the contrary, there were some who could take their stand independently, evolved a General Line (Fundamental Line) for the Party to be formed, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought together with our own revolutionary experience. It is this line which is developed, enriched and strengthened in its struggle against right and left opportunism. Together with its implementation it has come to stay with its own all-India organisation and a mass revolutionary movement under its guidance. This does not mean that everything is fine and we can relax ourselves. We are yet to form the party and go a long way to establish the hegemony of proletariat over the mass revolutionary movement in general and agrarian revolution in particular, all over India.

Chinese Revolution had a different type of experience. Chinese Communist Party was an important part of Communist International. It had evolved, implemented and developed its general line within the frame work of Comintern's line. It had corrected and improved the line when certain or major aspects of it proved to be wrong and harmful. It is in this process that the new theories have been added to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism. (Mao's New Democracy, People's War, Guerilla Warfare, Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Three Worlds Theory etc.) The C.P.C. headed by Mao had exercised its independence within the frame work and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism alone. It never attempted to depart from it in any form what-so-ever. Had they not exercised their independence no successful Chinese Revolution and no Socialist China of today. We have to emulate the Chinese experience of correctly exercising the independence, which we enjoy, without for a moment departing from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The neo-revisionists in our country claim to be Marxist-Leninists, and, at the same time, independent of C.P.S.U. and C.P.C.. Experience has proved that they are independent of Marxism-Leninism only to depart from it. They have ended up in aligning themselves with the ruling classes of our own country and the band wagon of Soviet social imperialism and Vietnamese expansionism. There are others who claim to be adherents of Mao Tse tung Thought as well who are taking a departure from the same in various forms. We will have occasion to comment on their views and practices.

Exercising independence has no meaning, rather dangerous, if it is a smokescreen to depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. By independence we mean: applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the practice of Indian revolution without copying any other country. Lenin has to say the following in this connection.

".....the Social-Democratic movement is in its very essence an international movement. This means, not only that we must combat national chauvinism, but also that a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries. And in order to implement this experience, it is not enough merely to be acquainted with it or simply to transcribe the latest resolutions. What is required is the ability to treat this experience critically and to test independently. Anybody who realises how enormously the modern working class movement has grown and branched out will understand what a reserve of theoretical forces and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is required to fulfill this task" (What is to be done, Peking Edition, 1975, page 29)

Here Lenin explicitly made it clear about the international character of the Social-Democratic movement. So is our communist revolutionary movement and those in other countries. He made it a point to make use of the experiences of other countries which apply to ourselves as well. He mentions about incipient nature of the "movement in a young country" like Russia, which needed such experiences. Ours is an old country in this respect with a history of more than five decades of communist movement. At the same time it is only less than a decade that we are having a basically a correct line which is based on our own experience as well. It is in this connection his formulation on the method of using these experiences, i.e., to have critical treatment and testing independently

etc., is relevant to us. More than seven decades of time has elapsed since he had advanced these ideas. The growth of working class movement during this period is enormous, varied and more than hundred-fold of what Lenin had in mind (October Revolution, Chinese Revolution etc.) Finally, a person or the leadership of a party can carry out this task when they understand the phenomenal growth of movement, which has a reserve of theoretical forces etc.

Those who are after "independence" do not bother about the international experience itself, not to speak of our own. Yet they want independence. It can only be an independence from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is a departure from it. As against this, the genuine communist revolutionaries will exercise their independence as Lenin enjoined us. We have some experience of it with positive results.

Proletarian internationalism is the basis of our relations with the socialist countries, proletarian revolutionary movements, national liberation movements and the struggles for independence. It is opposed opportunist internationalism which is being practised by revisionists of all hues.

We recognise China as centre of world revolution because it still fulfills all the prerequisites for such a centre just as it was the case with Germany during the times of Marx and Engels, and Russia of Lenin and Stalin. This does not mean that it is our organisational centre and the C.P.C. does not claim to have one. Therefore the question does not arise whether the C.P.C. is imposing organisational discipline or not. The professional slanderers alone can raise the question only to confuse and divert the attention of communist revolutionaries and the people in general.

We are of opinion that the C.P.C. is discharging international responsibilities on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and proletarian internationalism. We too have an international responsibility of the same nature towards C.P.C. The same is the case with parties and groups of communist revolutionaries in various countries. Once we renounce or underestimate these responsibilities, we cease to be proletarian internationalists. Departure from proletarian internationalism and adherence to Marxism-Leninism cannot go together.

Communist revolutionaries have their own programme and path which is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

to the practice of Indian Revolution. Consequently, their policies and practices are dictated by and subordinate to the programme and path in a given situation. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the granite foundation for the fraternal unity between the C.P.C. and the communist revolutionaries in India.

In our country there is a move towards normalisation of relations between the governments of India and China. It is full of *ifs and buts*. Presence of Soviet Union in India is the biggest obstacle for the normalisation. We do not equate normalisation with establishment of friendly relations, which we stand for. Even if the relations are normalised inspite of all these factors, there will not be any change in our line. We continue to oppose the present government of comprador bourgeoisie and landlords and its policies, mobilise and organise the people in this direction. At the same time, we treat the process of normalisation as a positive development, leading to further weakening of the position of the Soviet Union, however meagre it may be. The antagonistic nature of the two super power contradictions, the present government's swing towards U.S. imperialism, world economic crisis of a chronic nature in which India is also embroiled are the causes behind the moves. In spite of this there is no reason why we should not be positive about the moves. We demand that normalisation must be expedited and friendly relations must be established. Such a process serves our genuine national interests and weakens the super power position in our country. We mobilise and organise the people for this purpose, so that our country may take its rightful place in the world peoples struggle against imperialism in general and super power hegemonism in particular.

Conclusion

True to our proletarian internationalism, we share the rejoices of Chinese people, the Communist Party and the Government headed by Com. Hua on the occasion of commemoration of 29th anniversary of success of Chinese revolution. The recent successes of their domestic and foreign policies have an international significance which help the cause of world revolution. The communist revolutionaries and people in our country draw inspiration from these achievements. The unity between China and people of India is a strong bulwark against imperialism in general and the superpowers in particular. While working for advancing the cause of revolution, we pledge that we will work for lasting friendship between the two. No force on earth can prevent us from performing this task.

Long Live The Friendship Between The People Of India And China.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

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