

In defence of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought

In 1980, the Special Congress of our Party passed a resolution. That resolution supported the general orientation of the CPC (Communist Party of China) the four modernisations to build socialism in China, its struggles against the two super powers, its support to the national liberation struggles and its continuation of the three world theory. At the same time our resolution demarcated itself from the CPC on its assessment of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, Liu Shaoqi and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In spite of certain positive factors in the recent resolution of the CPC on "Questions of Party History" (hereafter called the *History Resolution*) passed by its Plenum on June 27, 1981, the CC resolution says that "our differences on certain questions of ideology still persist. The situation calls for a deeper explanation of their differences. Hence this resolution".

International background to the Cultural Revolution

The CC Resolution says:

"The whole History Resolution is significant for the omission of the international background of the Cultural Revolution."

"Our Party firmly believes that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an essential part of the struggle of the CPC and comrade Mao against modern revisionism from the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956."

The CC Resolution further says:

"The enormous growth of the national liberation movements, and these movements more and more taking to the path of armed struggle to achieve their independence, the polarisation in the ranks of the communists, more and more Marxists-Leninists standing up against revisionism, more and more third world countries coming into opposition to the two super powers—all indicate the correctness of the theoretical propositions of the *General Line of the International Communist Movement* and the *9 Commentaries* of the CPC and comrade Mao to be absolutely correct".

The CC Resolution further says :

"It is very significant to note that the History Resolution has completely left out Mao's great Marxist-Leninist struggle against modern

revisionism of the CPSU, in its review of the Cultural Revolution. it cannot be an accidental lapse. Only the CPC leadership can give a proper explanation for this important omission. But Marxists-Leninists cannot accept this omission."

"Not only that. Now the CPC leadership has unilaterally withdrawn the *General Line* and the *9 Commentaries*. They were an important contribution to the ideological struggle against modern revisionism, because they are based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Marxists-Leninists will always treasure them as guidance for their future struggles.

Criticising the characterisation of the CPC Resolution on the CPSU leadership as merely a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, the CC resolution asserts :

"We firmly believe that the CPSU leadership had completely betrayed Marxism and Leninism and this is nowhere reflected in the *History Resolution*. To the extent it says, it is only minimising the danger from modern revisionism and social imperialism to the whole world people."

After extensively quoting from the *9 Commentaries* and *the General line of the International Communist Movement* characterising the rise of Modern revisionism to power in the Soviet Union as restoration of capitalism in that country and later characterising the Soviet Union as a social imperialist country, the CC resolution says :

"These are the historic lessons that the CPC and comrade Mao drew for Socialist China from the phenomenon of the revisionist clique usurping Party and state power in the Soviet Union. Lets us remember that all the main leaders of the CPC, including some in the present leaders were closely associated with these lessons."

"These are the very issues that are involved in the Cultural Revolution of China in 1966. Now the *History Resolution* of the present leadership of the CPC has completely negated these lessons".

"But the *History Resolution* has not offered a single explanation for the revisionist clique coming to power in the Soviet Union. It has not even offered any explanation as to what is the social basis for hegemonism and big nation chauvinism in the Soviet Union about which the *History Resolution* speaks of."

"This is the international background in which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was launched in 1966."

The CC Resolution says :

"Whoever wants to persist in the struggle against modern revisionism and social imperialism of the CPSU, cannot but support the ideological

issues involved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by comrade Mao was only a part of his struggle against modern revisionism throughout the world. This is one of the reasons why we supported and continue to support the correct ideological issues involved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

National background of the Cultural Revolution

After tracing the various general policies of the CPC and comrade Mao during the period of Rehabilitation (1949-52), the period of Transition to Socialism (1952-56), Socialist Construction (1956-66) and the successes of these periods, the Resolution says :

"Comrade Mao had to wage this ideological struggle against the bourgeois rightists and reactionary intellectuals, against Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and some of his friends. It is also significant to note that the ideological and political struggles on policy issues of this period had their origin in the earlier period itself—The period of transition from New Democracy to Socialism. It is also significant to note that this ideological struggle between the correct positions of comrade Mao and the wrong positions of others became sharp only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its wrong decisions and Khrushchev revisionist clique coming to power in 1955".

The CC Resolution further says :

"The continuing opposition of a section of the leadership represented by Liu Shaoqi against the correct General Line of the Party for Socialist Construction, the Great Leap and the Communes, the continuing resistance of the bourgeois rightists to socialism, their opposition to the struggle of the CPC and comrade Mao against modern revisionism, their formal acceptance of the CPC decisions but sabotage in practice, the strengthening of bureaucracy in the Party and government—this was the immediate cause for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in 1966."

"Thus one could see that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution GPCR in 1966 was a struggle against modern revisionism both inside and outside China and to prevent restoration of capitalism in China, as it happened in the Soviet Union".

Class struggles and Principal contradiction in a Socialist Society

After extensively quoting from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on this subject, the CC resolution says :

"Mao's position on classes and class struggle in Socialist China, the struggle between the Socialist Road and the Capitalist Road is entirely based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism".

“That is why comrade Mao has taken class struggle as the key link in the struggle to build Socialism. But unfortunately the *History Resolution* rejects firmly the class struggle as the key link”.

“It is really surprising to see this argument of the *History Resolution*. We are Marxists-Leninists and as such, for us class struggle is the key link in all phases of our struggle. In China also comrade Mao based himself on class struggle as the key link in the struggle for New Democratic Revolution, in the Rehabilitation Period, Transition Period and in the Period of Socialist Construction”.

“In the Period of Socialist Construction also there is still the struggle against the remnants of the old reactionary exploiting classes, the emergence of new bourgeois elements, the question of eliminating capitalism and its roots in all spheres, the ideological struggle in the superstructure, and the struggle against international capital and modern revisionism. Of course, the class struggle in the Period of Socialist Construction is quite different from class struggle of the earlier period both in content and form. But it is still the class struggle and that is why comrade Mao advocated class struggle as the key link even during the period of socialist construction”.

“According to the *History Resolution*, the principal contradiction in a socialist society is between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of the productive forces. We cannot accept this formula.....Principal contradiction should be read as contradiction between various classes existing in a particular society...”

“The contradiction between the material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of the productive forces is common to all class societies.....”.

“It is true that the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants having lost their economic base, accept socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But their acceptance is only formal, some of them still try for the restoration of capitalism whenever an opportunity arises.....”.

“In addition, Tibet has been liberated very recently. Taiwan is yet to be liberated and the exploiting classes have got their own social contacts with the mainland China. Above all the danger of social imperialism and modern revisionism still exists.”

“Therefore it is too early to say that classes have already been eliminated in China or that landlords, rich peasants, capitalists and industrialists and businessmen have already transformed themselves into working people”.

Stating the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on class struggles and the danger of restoration of capitalism and differing with the CPC's History Resolution, the CC resolution says :

"If one accepts the line of reasoning of the *History Resolution*, every one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism can be rejected on the plea of inapplicability because of time and place. Revisionists of all hues and colours have been doing the very same throughout the history and throughout the world".

Positive and negative factors of the Cultural Revolution

The CC resolution says :

"Even the extent the *History Resolution* speaks of the achievements of China both internally and externally is enough to show that the general orientation of the Cultural Revolution initiated and led by comrade Mao was basically correct. The *History Resolution* itself says that:

"All these important facts are inseparable from the great role played by comrade Mao Zedong".

After this, for the *History Resolution* to say that none of these successes can be attributed to Cultural Revolution is a bit surprising. It cannot convince anybody.

"In spite of these positive achievements and positive factors of the Cultural Revolution, were there no negative factors during the Cultural Revolution? Certainly there were. In our opinion, as far as we have studied the Chinese literature, these negative factors are".

—"Excesses were committed in identifying the anti-socialist elements and removing them from positions of authority and power. It vitiated the atmosphere inside the Party and government to a certain extent".

—"In the name of fighting against the capitalist roaders, certain persons-like Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four'-utilised the turbulent situation of the Cultural Revolution period to extend the struggle quite unreasonably, with ulterior motives, against old and certain veterans of long standing in the Chinese revolution".

—"In their game of power politics, factionalism, groupism and their lust for power, Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four' utilised the turbulent situation of the Cultural Revolution to provoke constant quarrels among the people and cadres of the Party in order to get support from sections of the people and the cadres of the Party."

—"Lin Biao and the 'Gang' of Four utilised this turbulent situation to introduce equality in the distribution of goods, forgetting the state of the Chinese economy which is yet to observe the principle *from each according to his labour, to each according to his work*, to pose themselves as the real leftists and mislead the people."

Thus one could easily understand how Lin Biao and the 'Gang' of Four took the guideline of the Cultural Revolution to extremes thus

causing damage to the socialist cause in China to a certain extent. Their activities did damage the correct concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by comrade Mao and ultimately led to the dissatisfaction among a certain section of the people to certain extent.

These are the negative factors of the Cultural Revolution. But we firmly believe that the positive achievements of the Cultural Revolution are greater than the negative factors of this revolution.

Refutation of the accusations against comrade Mao

Refuting the allegations of the History Resolution against comrade Mao, the CC resolution declares :

“Having accepted the great contributions of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, the *History Resolution* levels very serious charges that comrade Mao became ‘smug’ about ‘successes’, ‘impatient for quick results’, and ‘overestimated the role of man’s subjective will and efforts’ and that the ‘gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively and increasingly put himself above the Central Committee of the Party’. The *History Resolution* even accuses comrade Mao of having undermined ‘the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the Party and country’ and this ‘phenomenon’ of a personality cult of comrade Mao, it appears, for the *History Resolution*, to be a product, of ‘century old feudal influence’.”

“These are not criticisms of any mistakes or errors. These are nothing but wild accusations against comrade Mao without any basis. They are not even worthy of any reply. We thoroughly reject them.”

“It is not our case that comrade Mao had not made any mistakes. Such an understanding is not even dialectical. Comrade Mao himself many times declared that he had committed mistakes.”

“When mistakes are committed, one should always analyse the nature of the mistakes, the ideological, political, organisational character of these mistakes, the circumstances in which these mistakes are committed whether they were unavoidable or avoidable under those circumstances etc.”

“The History Resolution has not tried any such explanation, any such analysis. It is only flinging wild accusations against comrade Mao... for the History Resolution to hurl such wild accusations against comrade Mao are unworthy of a great Party like the CPC and that too after his death, when he is no more to answer any of these wild accusations. Let us remember that the Khrushchov clique in Russia behaved in a similar way which the CPC itself had criticised in the earlier period”.

Universal character of Mao Zedong Thought

The CC resolution says that by implication, the History Resolution holds that "Mao Zedong was correct only during the period of New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Transformation. It can only mean that Mao Zedong Thought is having universal character only upto New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Transformation and afterwards i.e. after 1956 it has lost its validity.

"Anyhow whether the CPC accepts the universal character of Mao Zedong Thought or not, our Party, the CPI (ML) holds that the Mao Zedong Thought is a part and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism—and therefore we firmly hold Marxism—Leninism—Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology of our Party."

Attitude towards the 'Gang' of Four

The CC resolution says :

"We have already stated how Lin Biao and the 'Gang' of Four took to extremities, committed many excesses and may 'left errors' thus causing serious damage to the cause of socialism in China and the world revolution".

"It is very correct on the part of the CPC to have characterised Lian Biao as a counter—revolutionary since he tried to kill comrade Mao."

"The CPC was correct when it removed the 'Gang' of Four from the Party and govt. and initiated an ideological and political struggle to eradicate their reactionary influence. At that time our Party fully supported the CPC in this struggle."

But still there is a nagging doubt in the minds of many throughout the world whether it was correct to have characterised them as counter—revolutionaries. The *History Resolution* also speaks of 'left' errors of the 'gang' of four. Can 'left' errors be called counter—revolutionary ?

Anyhow, the whole exercise of the trial of the 'gang' of four, we feel, was quite unnecessary. Of course the CPC and the Chinese govt. have repeatedly stated that they were being tried for contravening specific government decrees and laws.

Of course it is necessary to fight their left-errors and isolate them politically and ideologically from the people, but a criminal trial cannot achieve this objective.

Restoration of Liu Shaoqi

After giving various examples of Liu Shaoqi's opposition to comrade Mao's line, the CC resolution says :

“Liu Shaoqi was opposed to the General Line of the CPC and comrade Mao in all the phases of the struggle in China—Rehabilitation period, Transition period, Socialist Construction, Great Leap Forward and the Communes. It should be noted that Liu Shaoqi was opposed to the struggle against modern revisionism”.

“From the quotations given above, it is clear that there had been a running ideological struggle between the line of comrade Mao and that of Liu Shaoqi in all the phases.....”.

“It was only through serious ideological debate inside the Party comrade Mao won the Party and Chinese people to his lines concerning these periods, and Liu Shaoqi’s lines were defeated. The very successes of China during all these phases is a standing confirmation of the correctness of the lines of comrade Mao.”

“The History Resolution has not specifically discussed the line of Liu Shaoqi during the various phases of Chinese struggle for socialism.

But from the reasoning the History Resolution, they accept comrade Mao upto the transition period. Between 1956 to 76, in a way, they accept the positions of Liu Shaoqi and they have condemned Mao’s line between 1966–76 as anti-Marxist.”

“As we have explained earlier, we cannot accept this reasoning.”

“The verdict of the History Resolution on comrade Mao and Liu Shaoqi cannot be final.”

Conclusions

In conclusion, the CC resolution says :

“In spite of our differences with the CPC on their attitude to comrade Mao, Mao Zedong Thought and Cultural Revolution, we are strongly opposed to those who condemn China as a capitalist country.

China is a great socialist country with 100 crores of population. Proletarian internationalism demands us to support the four modernisations programme of the CPC to strengthen socialism in China. A strong socialist country alone can effectively help the world revolutionary movement. We firmly believe socialist China under the leadership of the CPC will act as a centre for world revolution.”

“Our Party fully supports the CPC in its support to the national liberation movements throughout the world and their three world theory and struggle against the conspiracies of the two Super power—US imperialism and social imperialism—taking the latter as a greater danger.

This general orientation of the CPC in the present day world is basically correct.”

“Proletarian internationalism does not mean blind obedience of one Party to the other. Proletarian internationalism means unity in the general orientation and mutual support. Even then there are bound to be certain differences”.

“We are very conscious of the fact that the ideological issues connected with the GPCR are the issues connected with Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction”.

“The issues of socialism and socialist construction are not on the immediate agenda of our country and our Party. We are yet in the stage of the New Democratic Revolution.

But, the issues of the Cultural Revolution are the issues of Marxism Leninism—Mao Zedong Thought.

“In defending comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the fundamental principles of Marxism—Leninism - Mao Zedong Thought—the guiding ideology of our Party.”

“In defending Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the struggle against modern revisionism represented by the revisionist clique in power in the Soviet Union”.

“In defending Mao and Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the correct concept of People’s War—which is of immediate importance for our country and Party”.

“We have full faith that the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC will succeed in overcoming the present difficulties. While comrades Lenin and Stalin had to build socialism in a more advanced capitalist country, without any prior experience, comrade Mao and the CPC have to build socialism in a vast backward agricultural country, without any prior experience. Hence the present difficulties. We firmly believe that the Chinese people and the CPC will finally triumph in building socialism in their country.

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