

## Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is Our World Outlook

The Prosecution charges us in the following way:

*"They proclaimed that Mao Zedong Thought was the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch, rejected the parliamentary path as futile, and adopted a revolutionary, violent path as the only way of achieving political power."*

There is nothing wrong in this. Every revolutionary has to do this. Communist revolutionaries have also done the same. This is not a crime. On the other hand, every communist revolutionary thinks it his bounden duty, as well as his birth-right to have the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and to lead the Indian revolution in accordance with it. We know that the revolutionaries have to sacrifice much, in order to carry out this sacred task and to defend this right. We are prepared for this. We have already sacrificed much. We will do so in future.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is not just a collection of theories contained in books. If that were so, the ruling classes would never have been afraid of it. More than 100 crores of people of Russia, China and the East European countries have, in accordance with the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, liberated themselves from the thousands of years of slavery, exploitation and oppression. People of other countries also are fighting for their liberation, travelling in the same path. The Indian people, as a part of the world people are fighting for their liberation from the system of imperialism, landlordism, and finally from the system of exploitation. Every people's revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought has to succeed in the end. History has proved this universal truth. For the same reason, the Indian ruling classes are very much afraid of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and of the activities carried out by the revolutionaries in accordance with it.

Before we explain why it is necessary for our people to have the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for

the success of people's revolution of our country we think it necessary to mention the main points of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They are as following:

The great Lenin, who applied Marxism to the conditions of Russia and led Russian revolution to success, said:

*"Marxism is the system of Marx's views and teachings. Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general. Acknowledged even by his opponents, the remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, whose totality constitutes modern materialism and modern scientific socialism, as the theory and programme of the working class movement in all the civilised countries of the world....."*

(Lenin on KARL MARX)

Philosophical materialism, dialectics, materialistic conception of history, class struggle, value, surplus value, socialism and the tactics of proletarian class struggle are the principal aspects of Marxist theory. We, who have taken Marxism as our world outlook, are applying these aspects to the concrete conditions obtaining in India. Besides this, we carry out our activities in accordance with Marx's teaching, *"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point however is to change it,"* and also realising the importance of *"revolutionary practical activity."*

Karl Marx with the help and co-operation of Engels, his comrade-in-arms, analysed scientifically the contemporary capitalistic system, the problems it has created and pointed out the scientific solutions for them. He lived the life of a revolutionary. And he worked as a revolutionary. By summing up the experiences of the people's revolutions in the world, he has handed down the theory of proletarian revolution to the revolutionary peoples of the world.

We, communist revolutionaries, are making efforts to solve the problems facing the Indian people's revolution by applying all the Marxist theories to the specific conditions in India. Marxism is the guide for us in this effort.

The great Lenin, who is the greatest disciple of Marx and Engels,

applied Marxism to the specific conditions of the contemporary world, especially the Russian conditions, and led the Russian proletarian revolution to a successful conclusion. The totality of his theories, the world outlook he has given to world people is called Leninism.

Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, defined Leninism in the following way:

*"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular....."*

Stalin has explained this in the following lines:

*"Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period (we have the proletarian revolution in mind), when developed imperialism did not yet exist, in the period of the proletariat's preparation for revolution in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet an immediate practical inevitability. But Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already triumphed in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets"*

**(Foundations of Leninism)**

Lenin has headed the Russian Revolution to the victorious end. The main subjects of Leninism are:

Permanent revolution, proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, role of the proletariat and the party in the system of dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle for the victory of socialism and socialist construction in one country. All the philosophical, economic and political works of Lenin are a guide to all revolutionaries. Lenin played the leading role, not only in the Russian revolution, but in the international communist movement also. He formulated the guiding principles for the revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies. Lenin was the founder of the Third International.

Stalin developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism after Lenin's death. He played a leading role successfully for a period of 30 years in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defeating fascism, and in achieving victory for socialism and democracy. As

the leader of the international communist movement, he worked for strengthening and developing the movement. The Soviet Union had been the centre of world revolution during the periods of Lenin and Stalin and had been helping all the revolutions of the world, including the Chinese revolution.

China is the most populous country of the world. It is an oriental country with an ancient civilization. Comrade Mao led, for two decades, the people's revolution of the country to a successful conclusion by applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and revolutionary practice of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, and by over-throwing, with the help of people's war and a protracted armed struggle, imperialism, feudalism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which protected them. And he proved, once for all, that it is possible for the people of colonial and semi-colonial countries to overthrow the strongest of imperialisms with the help of People's War. After the victorious revolution, it was consolidated, and socialist construction has started, and thus China became a strong country under the leadership of comrade Mao. The sum total of the works of Mao, summing up the experience of China's revolution and of world revolution in the prolonged revolutionary epoch, is the Mao Zedong Thought. The main features of this are the following:

1. If at all revolutions in colonial or semi-colonial countries ruled by imperialists, feudal classes and their henchmen are to be successful, they should go on in the form of protracted people's armed struggle. The revolution should take path of first setting up liberated bases in the rural areas and then finally liberating the cities. The working class has to lead this armed struggle. We call this the People's War. Guerilla warfare plays the main role in the People's War.

For the armed struggle to succeed, it is necessary to have a united front of the revolutionary classes. The united front will be against imperialism, feudalism and their lackeys in the country. It will support the armed struggle. The United Front consists of the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and the national bourgeoisie which is for revolution and against imperialism. It will be led by the working class.

It is necessary to have a strong and revolutionary Communist Party organisation to conduct the armed struggle and lead the united front. A party which can apply Marxism to the concrete conditions and revolutionary practice of its country can alone lead the revolution

to a successful end.

The path which contains these three principal points is the path of People's War.

2. Revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can succeed only as People's Democratic Revolutions, under the leadership of the proletariat. People's Democracy is the product of the People's Democratic Revolution. The leadership of the proletariat guarantees not only the completion of the People's Democratic Revolution, but provides the opportunity for the uninterrupted transition to socialism and the leadership over the socialist revolution also. On the contrary these revolutions cannot complete the tasks of National Democratic Revolution if led by the bourgeoisie. In such cases, these revolutions stop mid-way without completing any of the tasks, and a situation arises wherein the countries may again become neo-colonies of imperialists.

3. The influence of the bourgeoisie does not vanish by itself even after the proletariat comes into power. The proletariat has to conduct a struggle consciously against the bourgeois influences. This struggle is called the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become a revisionist party, as there was no cultural revolution in the Soviet Union and as the influence of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat was not fought. Basing on these experiences, Mao felt the need of a cultural revolution in China, where the proletariat is in power, and led it successfully. These experiences would be a guidance to all those countries where the proletariat is in power.

These are the main points of Mao Zedong Thought. It is a guide to the revolutionaries of all countries. Thus Mao Zedong Thought is a continuation of Marxism-Leninism, and is a theory of international significance, that can emancipate the proletarian masses.

After the death of Stalin, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has given up the objective of world revolution, has revived capitalism in their country, changed the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and turned into an imperialist power in practice, while, in words, it was socialist. For this reason, we call it social imperialism. It is colluding with world imperialism, especially US imperialism to suppress world revolution and is creating and increasing

its spheres of influence in contention with world imperialism, and is trying to turn the under developed and East European countries, into its neo-colonies. It is getting ready for an aggressive war against China by encircling it. It has revised Marxist-Leninist principles to meet the requirements of its social-imperialist policies, and introduced the theories of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful economic competition with imperialism. We characterise this as revisionism. For the same reason, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a revisionist clique. The leaderships of the communist parties of a good number of countries have betrayed the revolutions of their respective countries by adopting this revisionist path. Thus all these parties have become revisionist.

The Communist Party of China, under the leadership of Mao, has uncompromisingly fought against this revisionism introduced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and defended Marxism-Leninism. The ideological struggle thus conducted, has become part and parcel of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao's People's War path got strengthened, and became up-to-date, by assimilating in itself the revolutionary experiences of various countries. For the same reason the communist revolutionaries of various countries accept Mao Zedong Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch, and are working for social revolutions in their respective countries. We are working for making the Indian People's Revolution a success in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought, by fighting against all those forces who are against the Indian people's revolution and against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution\* has succeeded in China. This revolution took place against revisionism, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas. 70 crores of the people of China have participated in it. This is the first of its kind in history wherein a cultural revolution took place under the guidance of the Communist Party in a country where the Communist Party has come to power. These are the weapons added by Mao Zedong Thought to the armoury of Marxism-Leninism. Because of Cultural Revolution the Chinese people consolidated themselves as never before and participated in the socialist construction more than ever. They are able to help the world revolution more than ever. China's Cultural Revolution is a guide to those countries which are advancing towards socialist

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

construction.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is not at all new to the people of India. About 40 years ago, the Indian revolutionaries have begun to lead the Indian revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. They have led a number of working class and peasant revolutionary struggles with this outlook. They carried on the struggle against British imperialism. For the same reason, they had to face intense repression. It is clear that all the conspiracy cases foisted before 1942 by British imperialism against Communists were meant to suppress the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement it was leading.

Revolutionaries in Telangana, inspired by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, have built a revolutionary movement and led the armed struggle (1946-51) in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought. Though this could not continue as a protracted armed struggle due to the weakness of the revolutionary forces and the revisionist line of the leadership, the armed struggle in Telangana has provided numerous new experiences to the Indian revolution and shown a path for its development. Communist revolutionaries, after analysing in the light of Marxis-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the experiences of and taking lessons from Telangana armed struggle and the revolutionary struggles which took place hitherto in our country, are building and leading the revolutionary movement.

It is but natural that the imperialists are terribly afraid of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The main reason for this is that people in a number of countries have liberated themselves from the rule of imperialists and their reactionary henchmen. The present Indian ruling classes, who are the lackeys of imperialists and social imperialists, and who are following in their foot-steps are also afraid of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Some among the Indian ruling classes pose themselves as if they are not opposing Marxism-Leninism, but opposing only Mao Zedong Thought. They say that their object is to achieve socialism peacefully. To be true, there is nothing like achieving socialism peacefully. Nowhere and at no time in the history of mankind the exploiting class have abolished their exploitation by themselves nor was it ever possible to abolish it by the peaceful actions of the people. Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism teaches us that socialism can be achieved in a revolutionary way, through a violent revolution. Therefore they are opposing Mao Zedong

Thought as well as Marxism-Leninism.

There are some who argue that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to our country, where religion is a strong force, and which is multi-national with age-old traditions. The countries of Russia, East Europe, China, North Vietnam and North Korea, where revolutions have succeeded under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, are the countries where religious systems had been strong. Russia and China are also multi-national countries. China is a country with age-old traditions. All this shows that their argument is wrong. We in our country have the caste system in addition. This is a feature of feudal society. This will be destroyed along with feudalism. This is possible only through a revolution.

There are fundamental differences between the social systems of our country, which is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, and the Western countries, where capitalism has developed to its highest level. That is no reason why one should say that the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to the social system in our country. The fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism are scientific and universal. What is needed is that they should be applied to the concrete conditions and revolutionary practice of our country.

Mao led the revolution to a victorious end by applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and revolutionary practice in China, which was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country before the liberation. The essence of the experience of the Chinese revolution, which was a protracted armed struggle, is the Mao Zedong Thought.

China is our neighbouring country. Even though there are some differences between our country's present-day social system and the Chinese social system of pre-liberation days, there are many similarities in fundamental aspects. Most important among them is that ours is a semi feudal, semi-colonial country like China of pre-liberation days. For the same reason we are firmly of the opinion that all the principal aspects of Chinese revolutionary experiences do apply to our country's revolution also. The Indian ruling classes are terribly afraid of Mao Zedong Thought for this reason.

There is no contradiction between Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought which is the Marxism-Leninism of today.

Those who are afraid of Mao Zedong Thought are also afraid of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. For the same reason, the

Prosecution has mentioned that we have declared Mao Zedong Thought as present-day Marxism-Leninism. There is nothing wrong in such a declaration. Once we accept Marxism-Leninism as our world outlook, it automatically follows that Mao Zedong Thought is also our world outlook. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are inseparable.

Some people emasculate the revolutionary essence from Marxism-Leninism. Some others distort the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such is the Marxism-Leninism they advocate. They say that Mao Zedong Thought is no Marxism-Leninism. They are all revisionists. They are not for a social revolution in India. Even if they want it, it is only in words, not in deeds. The ruling classes are not at all opposed to such people. In fact they appreciate most of them and call them "good communists". They became "good communists" because they have simply emasculated the revolutionary essence from Marxism-Leninism. We have become enemies of the ruling classes simply because we are striving for a people's revolution. We are not sorry for it. On the other hand, we are proud of it.

Why should the Indian people accept Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought?

Before we answer this question, it is necessary that we say a few words about the counter-revolutionary and reactionary ideologies that have been followed and are still followed in India.

Gandhism is the first one. Gandhism has been the ideological foundation for the national movement under the leadership of the Congress. Non-violence is the fundamental principle of Gandhism, which means that people should adopt non-violence towards their enemies. This ideology is opposed to root out British imperialism and feudal autocracy through National Democratic Revolution. As a result of this, British Imperialists have ruled as long as they could, and left our country in the unfavourable national and international situation obtaining after the Second World War; they left after handing over the administration to the Gandhian leadership. Their capital is still in the country. Their exploitation is still continuing. Thus Gandhism has prolonged the period of our slavery, instead of reducing it. Even though Gandhism demanded power, it preferred slavery to revolution. It obstructed the growth of even revolutionary bourgeois democratic consciousness among the people. Thus Gandhism has been an instrument for compromise with imperialism.

Economically, Gandhism encouraged village self-sufficiency in opposition to industrialisation. It is a reactionary feudal economic system. This was useful for compromising with feudalism.

For this reason, Gandhism is clearly a reactionary ideology of comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes, which served as the basis for compromising with British imperialists and feudalism, and for protecting their interests.

We have been rejecting the counter-revolutionary Gandhian ideology from the beginning. Even today, we reject it.

The ruling class "socialism" is another counter-revolutionary ideology, which is current now-a-days. This has been put forward as Avadi Socialism and a Welfare State in the last 25 years. This is the ideology of big bourgeoisie and landlord classes. According to this, the steps taken, i.e., nationalisation of banks, abolition of the privy purses of the princes, and other constitutional amendments etc. to prolong the life of Indian neocolonial economic system, are shown as socialist measures; and being compradors to the Soviet social imperialism is shown as favouring socialism. This ideology with its leftist slogans is attempting to mobilise the working class, the middle classes and the people in general behind the ruling classes.

In our country, monopoly capital, landlordism, and imperialism strengthened themselves with the help of the ruling class "socialism". This is opposed to revolution. Therefore we have been rejecting this, and even to-day, we are rejecting this "socialism" as a counter-revolutionary big-bourgeois-landlord ideology.

Besides these, there are communal ideologies prevalent in our country. They are serving the ruling classes by working against social revolution, and against the unity of the proletarian masses. We are opposed to all of them.

During the last two decades, revisionism appeared in India with emasculating the revolutionary essence from Marxism-Leninism and thus interpreted the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to serve the interests of the ruling classes. The Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [(CPI (M))] represent old and new revisionism respectively. While the former supports the ruling classes openly, the latter supports their parliamentary system. Both are striving to prolong the life of the ruling classes, who are on their death bed. Thus, both of them are opposed to

people's revolution. For the same reason, we are opposed to both of them. We are carrying on a struggle against them.

To put it in a nut-shell, we are opposed to, and we carry on an uncompromising struggle against, any ideology which is against the people's revolution that is going on in India.

The people of India need not accept an ideology simply because it happens to be Indian. People must resolutely oppose the ideologies which are useful to defend the existence of ruling classes and exploitation and domination of imperialists. The people of India should accept the ideology which can be a guide to Indian people's revolution. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is such a revolutionary ideology.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has liberated one third of the world's population from the capitalist and feudal exploitation. The people in these parts have begun to enjoy complete freedom in economic, political and cultural fields, for the first time in the history of mankind after the liberation. Thus this ideology, which is revolutionary as well as practical, is a guide to liberate mankind in the entire world. Mao Zedong Thought, which is the present day Marxism-Leninism, has liberated 70 crores people from imperialism and feudalism. China is our neighbouring country. Our economy consists of all those fundamental aspects of pre-liberation Chinese economy. Our people have to liberate themselves through a revolution, from the exploitation of foreign imperialism, landlordism, big bourgeoisie. Mao Zedong Thought will be a guide to our revolution, just like it has been to the Chinese revolution.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought alone can unite the world proletariat against world capitalism by overcoming national barriers, and by fighting national chauvinism. For this, the Indian proletariat has to accept this revolutionary ideology as a guide.

There is national, communal, caste chauvinism in India. There are divisions among the proletariat and peasantry. They are influenced by counter-revolutionary ideologies. Revisionism is one of them. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought alone can unite revolutionary people on the basis of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that no other ideology can fulfil this task.

If we, as revolutionaries, have to fulfil our task, we have to

advance Indian people's revolution by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the specific conditions and revolutionary practice in India. People in India also have to follow this ideology. Let the world imperialism, and its lackeys tremble at the sight of this ideology. People in India have nothing to lose except the chains which they have had from thousands of years. They have to create for themselves a new India, a people's India, a socialist India. We the communist revolutionaries are devotedly striving for this.

We have no doubt as to the applicability of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought for India. The revolutionary experiences of the Indian people will themselves prove that this is true.

(Extract from *The People's Democratic Revolution in India - An Explanation of the Programme*, 1971.)