

Janashakti

ORGAN OF CC OF CPI (M-L) – JANASHAKTI



Miners mourn over the body of a colleague who was killed in the fire at New Kenda Colliery in January

JANASHAKTI

Organ of CC of CPI (ML) - Janashakti

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Editorial :

Coal miners' murder

The worst since the Chasnala disaster, the New Kenda mine accident claimed a toll of 55 lives. While the Chasnala turned into a watery grave for hundreds of coalminers, the Dobrana seams of New Kenda colliery turned into blazing inferno and carbon monoxide gas chambers. The trapped miners struggled for survival for several hours before they succumbed to asphyxiation and burning. The finding of a poignant note tucked under the watchband of Mukti Dushad, a mining sardar, that said, "Now it is 10 o'clock. We are still alive, but we don't know how long we will survive", highlights both their struggle for life and the criminal negligence of the management.

The New Kenda mine disaster was primarily caused by an explosion at a distance of 1,500 feet from the shaft of pit No. 3 inside a sealed portion of the mine, believed to be a centre of an underground fire raging for years. The explosion broke open the wall separating the sealed portion from the rest of the mine. The fire was fanned by the fresh air blast at 2,000 cubic feet per minute, and immediately took a devastating proportion and generated the deadly carbon monoxide gas. As the miners were struggling for breath, a portion of the passage between pit Nos. 2 and 3 was blocked by the collapsed roof, making it difficult to escape. The fire could not be stopped even 72 hours after the explosion struck the mine and half of the dead bodies could not be recovered. Invaluable human lives perished in the flames of profitable production.

All the accidents in this second largest coal belt in the country bring the question of safety norms to the forefront -- only to be forgotten once the tragedy dies out of the headlines. Safety rules have been grossly violated here ever since mining started in this country, accidents either by gas explosion or by subsidence have been a regular feature.

Poor sand-filling of abandoned mines causes subsidence, which claims lives every year. The lack of safety equipment, a

common feature in almost every coal mine here, increases the chances of gas explosion, as has happened in this instance.

The authorities of the Eastern Coalfields Ltd have flouted virtually all the safety norms stipulated by the Directorate General of Mines Safety. They did not even take the DGMS's permission before mining in this colliery. According to the DGMS the New Kenda colliery is a second degree gaseous mine.

The chairman-cum-managing director Nirmalendu Sar claimed that the management had provided "self-rescue" kit valued at Rs. 1,500 to each miner to fight deadly gases and for the reasons best known to the miners, they preferred not to carry this kit while working. This is a deceitful argument to blame the miners and to shrug any responsibility for non-implementation of mine safety measures. Infact, the miners were never trained to use the self rescue kits.

Without training them for handling the self rescue equipment, these kits are of little use to the miners and to blame them for their tragic death is the height of impudence and lethargy. Moreover, most of these kits had outlived their validity periods, which made them useless and ineffective.

No telephones had been installed underground, a prerequisite for safety norms. As such the trapped miners had no contact with the outside world while they were struggling for nearly six hours. There is a provision in the Mine Safety Act to check the stuffing of walls by breaking and remaking them periodically. It had not been done in ECL for a long time. This receives confirmation from three members of the rescue party who, on the second day of the rescue operation, narrowly escaped death when they tried to make their way by breaking a portion of the stuffed wall. The West Bengal Minister, Binay Chowdhary said that he has found all the four mines he visited to be lacking in proper stowing with sand after coal had been extracted. The experience of the rescue teams confirmed this. These teams found that the actual ground or bottom of the mine to be different from the plans they had been provided with.

The warning signals of the impending disaster were seen when a similar fire had broken out about three months ago in pit

No. 8 in the same area. Nobody was killed, not because of the precautionary measures, but because there was no one in the coal pit at that time. The present tragedy was not totally unexpected because the fire had first appeared seven days before.

From all accounts, it is clear that the horrific tragedy could have been averted. Yet no precautions were taken and even elementary mine disaster had struck while the colliery was observing a safety week.

In a bid to atone their sins of long continued disregard of elementary mine safety, the authorities offered compensation and the assurance of deployment elsewhere to the miners who may lose their jobs because of the likely closure. As usual, they offered an enquiry. Given the circumstances of the tragedy in which CIL itself was the culprit, how could anyone repose confidence in the enquiry CIL has in mind? What is the guarantee that it will discharge its duty fairly?

Every safety norm has been violated by the public sector enterprise with the full knowledge of the government and its leaders. No time or effort was spared to correct this. Obviously they are engaged in the more urgent problems of mortgaging the national resources to the imperialists. It is not surprising to note that the President of India promulgated an ordinance allowing foreign investment in the mining sector including coal, just some hours before the disaster struck at New Kenda. It is clear that the miners lives were 'dispensable' for increasing production and wooing foreign investment, which takes priority over the lives of miners. The lofty ideal 'Sramayeva Jayate' has been proved a hoax again.

Meeting Comrade Mao :

Dream turned into reality

We are reproducing here the speech "Reminiscences of meeting Com. Mao" by Com. Kokhan Mazumdar in the All India Seminar on the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Com. Mao in Calcutta on December 21-22, 1993 -- Editor.

Being encouraged by the great Telangana peasant struggle in 1946, I was directly introduced into the Communist Party in the year 1947. As young activist of the Communist Party, I became acquainted with two names -- one was great Stalin and the other Mao Tse-tung. At a hall in Calcutta the film "*The Battle of Stalingrad*" was secretly shown to the party comrades. I saw Stalin talking to an ordinary worker in that film.

I felt a strong desire to meet Stalin. Mao's name was introduced through a song by IPTA. After so many years, I can remember only a few lines of the song: "Pick up weapons in your two strong arms, ready at the dwellings of the masses is Mao / On the path of great China and Burma unfurl the flag of liberation". I dreamt of meeting Mao. It is known to all that the history after that was the history of betrayal and treachery.

I went to Naxalbari area in the year 1954 for the work of the party. In the year 1962, at the behest of US imperialism, the reactionary Indian government attacked China.

Many people like me were imprisoned. At that time the Chinese revolution and Mao became subjects of our discussion inside the jail. We became part of the process of building up CPI(M) after breaking away from the CPI. Then we faced betrayal again. Many comrades became dissenters. We also became part of that. During the Indo-Pak war in 1965, we and the centrist revisionists within the CPI(M) were arrested again. Inside the jail it was quite clear that a decision has cropped up between us and the latter, whom the bourgeois papers used to call "the Chinese roaders". They used to make joke by calling us "little guerillas". We read the "*State and Revolution*", "*Long live the victory of people's war*" etc. inside the jail and started

thinking that we would not be able to maintain links with them once we got out of the jail. But we could not reach any concrete decision.

In the year 1966, the food movement took the shape of an insurrection throughout West Bengal. The CPI(M) leadership called off the movement and started preparations for the elections to be held in 1967. Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Ratanlal Brahman issued a statement declaring India as the aggressor. We could understand that from then a conflict between the ideas of Com. Charu Mazumdar and those of the party leadership continued.

Coming out of the jail, we jumped upon the work for elections; but our propaganda and the election manifesto of the party was entirely different. We propagated that "the political change grows out of the barrel of the gun", "the exploitation of the imperialists and feudal lords could be abolished only through armed struggle, not by elections; the path of the people's war formulated by Mao is the only path of liberation for India. Within the two months of elections the propaganda of armed struggle reached its peak. The peasants stopped parting away with the share of paddy and started propagating that the police would not be allowed to enter the villages. In the month of March, the peasant conference declared that all lands will be seized. A slogan of liberating the villages was raised and seizure of lands started. The peasants armed themselves with traditional weapons and arms captured from the landlords. Many landlords surrendered arms to the peasant association. Many of them started fleeing. In a few areas, the police tried to enter the villages, but the resistance of the peasants stopped them. The peasants carried out processions and meetings in thousands, but there was no clash.

In the month of April, the landlords conspired with the police and killed Com. Bhadka Majhi of the Naxalbari police station area. The peasants of the Budagunj tried Nayan Roychowdhary, a landlord, in the people's court and gave capital punishment and all his properties were seized and distributed amongst the peasants. On May 24, the police tried to enter the village

forcefully and police inspector Wanjudi was killed and two other police officers were injured in a clash. When this news spread, the peasants came out onto the streets in thousands from every direction. They became afraid and tried to take revenge. On May 25, in an attack as a revenge they killed eleven persons including children and women. After that all the landlords left the villages. The Terai region came more or less under the control of the peasants. During this period, leaders like Hare Krishna Konar tried to make some compromise. By June, the United Front understood that no compromise could be made, because the whole area was handed over to the para-military forces and huge attacks were started on the peasants. Com. Tribeni Kame was killed by the military. Under this terror, we started thinking of how could we carry on the struggle through guerilla tactics. Police camps were set up at every village. The police blocked all the passages to enter or exit from the villages and we, the leading comrades were unable to come out of the area. In July, Com. Charu Mazumdar himself arranged some government jeep by fooling the police guards and took us to a safe shelter. There we started thinking of going to China.

We kept contact with Naxalbari and Siliguri and planned our visit to China. We set our feet on the soil of China at 6 o'clock in the morning of 15th September. We came across the Chinese Red Army in a forest on the mountains. We raised our hands and declared that we were not foes. After being satisfied about our identity, they took us to Lhasa-Khamandu Kotari road. After a long time they brought an interpreter in Hindi named Ma. He wanted to know about us in detail and we told him all about us. Then we were taken to Lhasa. We stayed at Lhasa for a week, because we could not be sent to Peking until positive response came from there. After seven days with a two hours break at Shantung we reached Peking in the evening. We were taken to the guest house in Peking. An interpreter named Li was appointed as a wholetime companion for us. He had studied in the Benaras Hindu University for three years. Com. Kang Sheng was appointed to look after us on behalf of the Party's Central Committee. He used to often have discussion with us on many

issues.

First they wanted to know what we wanted. We said that we had been there to know and learn from the Chinese revolution, about the social system in China and, above all, we would like to meet Com. Mao Tse-tung.

Within one or two days, Com. Wang, a professor in the Peking University was appointed to meet us every day to discuss on the experiences of the Chinese revolution. They also arranged for our visit to the common peasants, workers, people's army, people's militia, people's communes and industries etc. We had discussions with them and sometimes stayed and dined with them. Our idea about commune was some system of collectively arranged agricultural activities. But in reality it was not at all so. There were huge dairy farms, poultry, different industries, factories for producing cycles etc. The People's Army used to work in the fields and in the construction works in the cities. Besides this, at every area the cadres of the people's army used to have meetings with the people, invite them to criticise and make self-criticism. Both the cities and villages were very clean, unlike those of our country. In Calcutta we are used to seeing beggars and footpath dwellers. But in China we could not find any such person. There was a similarity in the health of the people. No one was so fat that he could not move, neither could we find anybody who had turned very thin from hunger.

Through certain events we could understand the love of the people and hatred of the class enemies of the Chinese. The Great China Wall is a historical monument, one of the seven wonders of the world. The competence and intelligence of the then rulers of China could be found in it, just as everybody remembers the love for Mumtaz and imaginative capability of Shahjahan while seeing the Taj Mahal. But while showing us the China wall, the love for the peasants of the Chinese guide was manifested and he started weeping while describing how the wall was built upon the blood and bones of the peasant-workers at that site.

We had similar experience when we visited the clay models of

"Rent Collection Courtyard". Through these clay models, the exploitation of the landlords of the olden days had been shown. Every day thousands of visitors go there. Just after entering the hall the sound of sobbing comes into the ear continuously, and it decreased only as one advanced towards the finish, because there one could see how the red army was punishing the landlords. This is one of the manifestations of act during the cultural revolution. The cultural revolution was an all out struggle against old ideas of the people through education, art, literature, sculpture etc. If this struggle could be carried on continuously everthing could be turned into its opposite.

One day while chatting with our interpreter and two other comrades -- a man and a woman -- we said that total number of Bengali-speaking persons in India and outside is more than Hindi speaking persons and asked them why did the Peking Radio read the news in Hindi only. We don't know whether because of that or something else, within a few days a Bengali programme was started.

Meanwhile one day, Premier Com. Chou En-lai hosted a dinner in our honour. Besides Com. Chou En-lai, Com. Kang Sheng and many other leaders were present.

In our three months' visit, we went to many places and listened to many things, all those cannot be described here. But what was of historic importance and most significant was our meeting with the great leader of the proletariat, Com. Mao-Tse-Tung. We did not think a leader of the stature of Com. Mao would have enough time to spare to meet people like us. On October 1, the anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, we saw Com. Mao sitting behind us on the dias at the Tien An-men square. Lakhs of people with great vigour joined the rally, coloured balloons were flying in the sky, bright lights of many hues were lit as far as we could see. And the sky and environment were reverberating with the slogan -- "Mao Chu Shi, Wan Sui". A wonderful tune for a slogan. But I could not understand why in that day of festivity tears were coming out of the eyes of the people. Why were they weeping? Were they afraid of missing their most beloved leaders?

Then on another day along with comrades of various other countries we met Com. Mao. He shook our hands as we were introduced to him. We thought we have got what we wanted.

There were only two days for the completion of our three months' stay there. We had many things to do in our country, we wanted to return. Suddenly at about 9 pm on December 13, few comrades came to us and told that they had a good news for us. Com. Mao wanted to meet us from 9 pm to 11.30 pm. We had seen Com. Mao twice earlier -- once from the close quarters and another time when we shook hands. From that we understood that he is not like the leaders of state in our country. In our country the habits, the language and attires of the leaders are quite different from the people. They live at a distant height from the people. But Mao was not like that.

However, with a mixed feeling of excitement, joy and awe, we reached the China Bhavan. The moment we got down from the car we saw that at the entrance Com. Mao was walking slowly under a bright light. We started shouting "Mao Chu Shi Wan Sui" and advanced. He welcomed us and showed us the way towards the end of the hall -- a huge hall nearly 100 yards long. There was nobody near Com. Mao. Others were at a distance. We sat near Com. Mao. He himself introduced us to the Chief of the General Staff, Com. Wang. There were many other higher officials of the PLA. And also present were already known Com. Chou En-lai and Com. Kang Sheng and an interpreter.

Right before us sat Com. Mao Tse-tung, whose name we had heard, whose writings we had read, whose pictures we had seen, whose name would bring fear in the hearts of the reactionaries all over the world. There was Com. Mao before us who was like a lakh of brave warriors. There was Com. Mao who arose the Chinese people. They fought in the path showed by him, sacrificed their lives and finally won the liberation. In India the heros of Telangana and Naxalbari gave up their lives. The workers, peasants, students and youth were ready to die in the name of Mao. It was unbelievable to find such a great personality and great leader to be so modest, so gentle and so affectionate.

After we took our seats, he asked about our health, gave us tea and offered kingsize cigarettes to each of us. Then he asked us, "Why have you come to China?" Listening to our reply, he said, "You will not be able to come this way in the future. We have state to state relationship with them; but we should remember that they are reactionaries also". He explained why such state to state relationship was to be maintained. He wanted to know about the Naxalbari struggle. Then he said, "We support your Naxalbari peasant struggle." We do not support Jyothi Basu or Sundarayya, they are revisionists. Now the Soviet Union is no more a socialist country, it has turned into a social-imperialist country -- "socialist in words and imperialist in deeds". We heard the word social imperialist for the first time from none other than Com. Mao himself. First we thought the interpreter might have made a mistake. We have never heard of Soviet Russia termed as social imperialist. But we did not have the courage to ask this question to Com. Mao. Later we asked Com. Liu Ping, a Central Committee member, about this. He said, "We are listening this from you for the first time."

Com. Mao asked me, "How far you have read?" I answered that I did not have the opportunity to read much. He said, "Much of the bourgeois education is no good. Jyothi Basu and Sundarayya are quite educated. But, in reality, they are fools, revisionists." Com. Mao asked us about the history of China. Then he went on that the history of China as well as the world is the history of class struggles. The slave system, the feudal system and the capitalist system have changed through class struggles only. He spoke at length about the peasant struggles against landlords and proletarian struggles against the bourgeoisie. From the features of one of us he told about his ancestors. He explained the route through which we had reached China.

Then Com. Mao jokingly said, "we have a conflict with your country for about 90 thousand square kilometers. If you may come to power, we shall leave that to you. What is your opinion?" At that time Com. Chou En-lai recalled his memory of visiting India and the slogan raised was "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai".

Then he started dancing and shouting "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai". All of us started laughing. At the end of the discussion, Com. Mao said : "Forget whatever you have seen or learnt here, you should practice Marxism-Leninism with the concrete class struggle of your country". At the end, our photographs were taken with Mao and other comrades in another room. We raised the slogan -- "Mao Chu Shi Wan Sui". Then Mao came with us upto the gate of the hall and bid us farewell. We did not even realise how we passed two and half hours with Com. Mao.

On problems of Socialism

1. Socialism -- scientific at that -- ceased to be just an ideal a long time ago. It is a reality, a part of life, a way of life for millions of people and a source of great inspiration for still more people. It is a social system proved to be totally distinct, fundamentally different and a superior system that the human society has ever seen. It has won unparalleled victories both in theory and in practise and has added rich experiences to the struggle of the human world for social progress.

2. Marx and Engels who had put forth the theory of scientific socialism elaborated it in the course of fighting the ideologies that were opposed to and that sought to distort the idea of socialism. Through their intimate connections or direct participation in many class struggles, more significantly, by drawing scientific lessons from the Paris Commune of 1871 which had stormed the heaven and installed the proletariat in power for the first time in human history, they had enriched the theory of socialism further. Lenin led the October Revolution on the basis of lessons from the Paris Commune. He creatively expounded and developed the theory of socialism in the course of fighting the opportunists of the Second International; in the courses of charting out the concrete road of socialism and handling the problems that arose in its course. He made a concrete study of the conditions that give scope for capitalist restoration and pointed out the concrete courses of struggle to prevent it. Stalin continued the task of building and defending socialism. He led the Party in laying the task of building and defending socialism.

He led the Party in laying a basis for an advanced industrial and economic basis -- strong enough to fight the internal sabotage and external blockade; to fight fascist aggression and perform the proletarian internationalist responsibilities towards the revolutionary movements in the world. Mao took the efforts and struggle to new heights. He applied the theory of socialism

and the experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism to the concrete Chinese conditions and evolved a concrete course for the Chinese revolution. He invented many and varied forms of struggle to defend socialism from the attempt at capitalist restoration.

3. The prolonged practise of socialism and the struggle in defence of it has set certain principles which are universal and which guide the Marxist-Leninists to understand the problems of socialism.

Marx said : "What we have to deal with here is communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundation, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*)

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*)

Elsewhere he added : "Socialism is the declaration of permanance of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations." (*Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850*)

Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat which has been victorious and has taken political power in its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but has intensified its resistance." (*Foreward to the speech on Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality*)

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that :

a) The overthrown exploiters always try in thousand and one way to recover the "paradise" they have been deprived off.

b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty bourgeois atmosphere.

c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialist threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Lenin warned : "It is quite natural that the petty bourgeois world outlook crops up again and again in the ranks of the broad workers' parties. It is quite natural that this should be and always will be so right up to the changes of fortune of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a profound error to think that the 'complete' proletarianisation of the majority of the population is essential before such revolution can be achieved".
(Marxism and Revisionism)

Mao also pointed out : "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and a dogmatism, and will ever remain invincible. They is a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad masses of workers and realise a democratic dictatorship. If in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases failed even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralised, if our

cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decades at most, before counter revolutionary restoration on national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour." (Note on "The Seven Well-Written Documents ..." May, 1963)

Most unfortunately, these prophetic warnings of Mao have come true not only in the Soviet Union, but also in China with the usurpation of power by the revisionists.

4. The debate on the problem of socialism is as old as scientific socialism. Basically, the debate was on two stand points. One is based on the standpoint of upholding the theory, basic principles and the road of socialism, and discussing the problems that arose in the course of building socialism with a view to overcome them. The other is based on the standpoint of turning the theory, basic principles of socialism and taking the road of abandoning socialism.

Now in the background of development in the Soviet Union, East European countries and China, etc., the debate on the problems of socialism has assumed new dimensions.

One debate is along this line: "Theory of Marx . . . cannot be devoid of certain limitations and imperfections". "The historical era in which classical scholars had created their theories was quite different from today's era in terms of content and nature of the problems facing humanity". (*Communist Party of Vietnam*); ". . . redefinition and reorientation of Marxism is necessary in order to guarantee its stability and reproof that there is no alternative to the Marxism" (*Communist Party of Nepal - UML*) ; "We do not regard Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine or dogma, where the final truth has been spelt out" (A. B. Bardhan, *CPI*); "Simple understanding of that general law has led to the establishment of a socialist model containing many deviations in theory and many shortcomings in reality right after the success of the October Revolution" (*Communist Party of Vietnam*). While

some complain that many problems arise from the adoption of a single model of socialism others declare : "There can no models -- socialist or democratic" (*A.B. Bardhan, CPI*). The dictatorship of the proletariat was wrong. The same should have been abandoned much earlier and replaced by the multi-party system. Different forms of ownership, more particularly, private ownership should have been allowed to compete for a long time in a socialist country. Now we have to correct the deviation and mistakes and advanced along the road of progress. These are only a few instances.

It is to be noted that all these parties were upholding the (erstwhile) Soviet Union as a socialist country till recently and their main complaint against the present Russian leaders was to abandon the mask of socialism. Thus it is clear that in the name of debating the problems of socialism these parties are declaring their freedom from Marxism-Leninism and the road of socialism. This is nothing but revisionism. This is nothing but moving along the road of Karl Kautsky, Trotsky, Eninovits, Bukharin, Tito, and the present Deng Xiao Ping.

We, the Communist Revolutionaries, uphold the theory, basic principles and the road of socialism. This theory and principles are to be applied to the concrete conditions of each country and a concrete course of building socialism is to be formulate and practised by the Communist Party of the concerned country. Mistakes and deviations are to be and can be corrected only continuously summing up the experience gained in practise in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and the principle of socialism. This is what Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao had done. We are determined to move in their footsteps. We are prepared to debate the problems with others on this basic standpoint. We consider it our task to point out the difference between the real socialism and sham socialism; to thoroughly expose all the attempts of revisionists and neo-revisionists to parade the road of capitalism pursued by Khrushchev, Deng, etc. under the cover of 'socialism' as socialism and open the flood-gates for the repudiation of Marxism-Leninism and socialism in the name of 'debating' the problems of socialism and creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the new historical conditions.

Why Marxism - Leninism - Mao Ze Dong Thought?

Lenin said that "revolutionary theory is not a dogma", that it "assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement", for theory must serve practice, for "theory must answer the questions raised by practice", for it must be tested by practical results.

The revolutionary theory of Marxism was applied by com. Lenin to the practice of the Russian revolution and tested in its course. His profound analysis of the development of capitalism into its highest and last stage, i.e. imperialism, and so, revolution, could succeed by breaking the weakest link in the imperialist chain and led to the victory of October revolution in Russia. Lenin delineated the strategy and tactics that should be followed by the Russian working class and put forward the national liberation struggle for the colonial countries. Eventhough Lenin applied Marxism to the Russian situation, the historical conditions under which it was done -- in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, rise of national liberation struggles in the backward of imperialism and the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International -- made it a further development of Marxism. Thus, Leninism became Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and Marxism-Leninism came to be accepted as the guiding ideology of the world proletariat.

Com. Mao Ze Dong applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. "The salvos of October revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China" (*Mao*). In the process of applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in China, Com. Mao enriched and further developed Marxism-Leninism. The uniqueness of his contribution to Marxism

Leninism has historical roots. The Chinese revolution, the product of Mao's revolutionary theory, took place when the interimperialist contradictions were sharpening more than ever before and led to the imperialist world war. This situation implied the weakening of imperialism in general and the acceleration of the revolutionary situation. It took place when the national liberation movements in colonial countries were surging forward, implying the conversion of the reserves of imperialism into the reserves of proletarian revolution. Under those circumstances, the victorious culmination of the Chinese revolution led by the proletariat under the guidance of Mao against the most reactionary forces -- feudalism, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism -- in one of the most backward countries made Com. Mao's leadership and his contribution to Marxism-Leninism a unique one. It clearly delineated the strategy and tactics that should be followed by the proletariat in colonial and semi-feudal countries. It worked out the revolutionary tactics to the advantage of the revolution. It unfolded a new path, the path of protracted people's war, for the revolutionary struggles of the world people.

Com. Mao for the first time put forward: the scientific thesis that the struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie will exist for a long time even after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production; the teaching about correctly distinguish and handling the two types of contradictions in the socialist society that are different in nature, those between ourselves and the enemy, and those among the people; the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the ideas underlying the General Line for building socialism. Com. Mao Ze Dong enriched and developed this body of brilliant thought on the basis of practical experience of socialist construction and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Thus Com. Mao's contributions to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism are not only a beacon light for the third world countries but also for the advanced and socialist countries. It inspired many a revolutionary struggles and national liberation.

movements in the third world countries. Thus Mao's Thought is the further development of Marxism-Leninism and the whole teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao came to be known as Marxism- Leninism and Mao's Thought.

Com. Lenin and the Communist International clearly visualised the dual character, i.e. anti-feudal democratic and anti-imperialist national characters, of the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Com. Mao further developed this idea by formulating that the stage of the New Democratic Revolution precedes the stage of socialist revolution as a distinct phase. The aim of the new democratic revolution is to abolish feudalism and drive out imperialism since the basic contradictions in colonial and semi-colonial countries are between the vast masses of people and feudalism, and between the nation and imperialism. It envisage the establishment of a united front of all revolutionary classes with peasant-worker alliance as the basis under the leadership of the proletariat, and the establishment of people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. This brilliant thesis not only enabled the Chinese revolution to succeed but also provided a new theoretical framework for the revolutions in the colonies and semi colonies.

The October Revolution followed the path of armed insurrection. Com. Mao charted out the path of armed protracted people's war path for the Chinese revolution. It envisaged the seizure of state power by first liberating the countryside and then encircling the cities through protracted armed struggle. Mao's contribution in the field of military strategy and tactics is guerilla warfare. This brilliant application of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics to the Chinese conditions led to the victory of the Chinese revolution. Its validity and applicability were tested in many revolutions as in Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia and is still being tested in many countries like Kampuchea, Philippines and Peru. Its applicability to the Indian situation was proved long back in the Telangana peasant armed struggle and Naxalbari and Srikakulam peasant struggles.

Com. Mao's brilliant thesis on the New Democratic Revolution and people's war path enriched Marxism-Leninism by answering

the questions raised by the revolutionary practice in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Thus Mao's Thought became an integral part of the revolutionary theory that guides the international proletariat.

In the new historical period since the founding of People's Republic of China, Com. Mao consistently upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice. Com. Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism as he led the CPC, the Chinese people and the world proletariat in a series of struggles. These were struggles to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction; to oppose various revisionist lines within China, to fight against imperialism and reactionaries of all countries and to combat modern Krushchevite revisionism.

The "Great Leap" Forward completed the basic transformation of the ownership of means of production to the socialist one. This was achieved by struggling against right and left deviations within the CPC. The "Great Debate" conducted under the leadership of Mao on the world scale against the modern revisionism defended the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and concretely applied them to the Post World War II situation and neo-colonialism.

Com. Mao's contributions during this period to the revolutionary theory were analysis of contradictions and the unity of opposites by means of dialectical materialism; analysis of classes and class struggle in the socialist society thereby unfolding the law of development of socialist society; summing up of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad and the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practise of Chinese socialist revolution, Com. Mao enriched and further developed Marxism-Leninism. His writing such as *"On Contradictions"*, *"On Ten Major Relationships"*, *"On Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People"*, *"On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture and the Current Class Struggle"* etc. are classical writings for the study

of students of Marxism-Leninism.

The new ideas and the new theses of Com. Mao concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat when put in to practice to launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It unleashed the immense initiative of the people in continuing the revolution against capitalist restoration and in the struggle against capitalist roaders within the CPC. It showed the true road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Com. Mao's contributions during the period of the New Democratic Revolution and socialist transformation in the course of the practise of proletarian revolution have greatly enriched the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory in the realms of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. They have not only charted a path for the Chinese people in their advance to establish classless society, but are also of great and lasting world significance. Hence Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought is the revolutionary theory of the world proletariat.

Some say that Mao's Thought is the application of Marxism to the conditions that are peculiar to China. Some others say that Mao's Thought was correct only upto the New Democratic Revolution. Some others denigrate Mao's Thought as pure peasant ideology. These arguments are only meant to rid Mao's Thought of its revolutionary content and world significance.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought is a science, and science fears no debate. Through the debate people will be able to distinguish between right and wrong and between real and sham Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought. Through the debate all the revolutionary forces in the world will be mobilised and all communists will be tempered ideologically and politically and will be able to integrate Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought with concrete revolutionary practice in a more mature way. Thus, Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought will undoubtedly be further enriched, developed and raised to new heights.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong Thought!

-- P. Jaswantha Rao

MLPD on Com. Mao :

It is right to rebel !

Speech delivered by Stefan Engel, Chairman of the MLPD
on November 6, 1993 in Bottrop/FRG

Dear guests from Germany and abroad,
dear friends,
dear comrades!

It is 100 years ago that Mao Tsetung was born on December 26, 1893.

We have to assume realistically, that even today Mao Tsetung is not known to a lot of people.

Even those who want to deal without any prejudice with Mao Tsetung -- the person and his work -- will come across difficulties when doing so. Because the predominant bourgeois opinion has sketched a distorted picture of Mao Tsetung and of China under his leadership, in the same manner as it eclipsed horror stories about Stalin.

Only recently, a certain Mr. Salisbury published a book, defaming Mao Tsetung in the most primitive style of tabloids not only as a "lunatic opium addict", so to say as a junkie of the revolution but also as "high-priest of Chinese communism" who, "with his own hands" had "done away with millions of his people". How unbelievably decadent is the US-culture, if this minion Salisbury -- according to his German publisher -- is said to be "one of the most famous journalists in the USA".

The ideologists and propagandists around Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping have brought about a great confusion in the international revolutionary and worker's movement.

Hence, it is particularly the task of the Marxists-Leninists to defend Mao Tsetung against all bourgeois and opportunist distortions and defamations and to spread his revolutionary ideas among the toiling masses and their youth.

The Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany is proud of supporting the international seminar "100 Years Mao Tsetung" in

Gelsenkirchen this weekend which has been organised jointly by the "Centre for Social Studies", Amsterdam and the "Workers' Education Centre", Gelsenkirchen-Horst. Here, altogether 900 social scientists, Marxist-Leninist theoreticians and many other revolutionaries from 32 countries have gathered to pay their tributes to the work and revolutionary ideas of Mao Tsetung. I am sure that I may -- on behalf of all those 1,500 who have gathered in this hall tonight -- convey the best wishes to all participants of that convent and all upon them.

Let us learn jointly from Mao Tsetung Thought !

Let us spread his teachings among the broad masses of the working people all over the world, as a contribution to a new upswing of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement !

Long live Mao Tsetung !

The epochal ideas of Mao Tsetung cannot be separated from his personality. As the son of poor peasants, he was born in Hunan province into a feudal-bureaucratic China. In these times, the imperialist powers had enslaved China and had distributed it between them in the form of semi colonies. Above the more than 500 million Chinese people, sat enthroned the emperor. The imperial mandarins squeezed the taxes from the skinny bodies of the poor peasants and kept them under bloody oppression, in co-operation with the feudal great landlords. The two millions of workers were concentrated in the big cities and major part worked in the companies of foreign imperialists.

Since the Taiping Rebellion of 1850, riots of the peasantry against the emperor and landlords raged, workers and vendors struggled, intellectuals, pupils and students rose in rebellion against the foreign imperialists and their Chinese collaborationists.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1911 under the leadership of Sun Yatsen was a climax of the revolutionary storm of the Chinese people. But the democratic revolution remained incomplete.

The October Revolution in Russia, exactly 76 years ago on the 6th November 1917 which changed the face of the earth,

had an enormous impact on China, just like the squalls of a furious storm. Mao Tsetung, studying in Changsha in 1917, described the impact of the October Revolution for himself and the Chinese liberation movement:

"The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and labouring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely new era in their thinking and life. They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change." (*Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, Vol. IV, p.413*)

Mobilised by the students of Beijing, the Chinese masses demonstrated on the 4th of May 1919 against the imperialist powers that had won the first world war. The "May 4th Movement", a youth movement, gave the decisive push for the Chinese liberation struggle to join the world front of socialist revolution.

For the first time, the relative strength of the still young workers' movement appeared.

The most important result of the "May 4th Movement" however, was the foundation of the Communist Party of China in 1921.

During the national liberation struggle together with the bourgeois Kuomintang under the leadership of Sun Yatsen, the young communist party could not grow rapidly.

The alliance broke up, when in 1927, the successor of Sun Yatsen, Chiang Kaishek had nearly all members of the CP in Shanghai slaughtered and the labour union movement in the cities destroyed.

Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, the Red Army was re-established and transformed into an effective military formation.

Mao set up the following rules for the soldiers of the New People's Army :

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Don't hit or swear at people.
6. Don't damage crops.
7. Don't take liberties with women.
8. Don't mistreat captives.

This behaviour of the Red Army was in sharp contrast to the armies of the emperor, of the landlords and of the bourgeois armies under Chiang Kaishek. Thus, the Red Army won rapidly the hearts of the people.

On October 18th, 1934, the legendary "Long March" started under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. It had become necessary, because in 1933 an "ultra-left" line had found acceptance in the CPC which -- rejecting Mao Tsetung's advice -- had started a regular war of position against the better equipped troops of Chiang Kaishek. This wrong line had resulted in heavy losses of the People's Army. From 300,000 troops, only 85,000 remained.

During the 368 days of the Long March, Mao Tsetung's People's Army marched 12,000 kilometres, traversed 18 mountain ranges and crossed 24 rivers, overcame deserts and swamps.

All along the way, new fighters were won.

The Long March became the starting point of the triumph of the Chinese revolution to come.

In January 1935, a new leadership of the CPC was formed and Mao Tsetung became the chairman. Mao's work as theoretician of Marxism-Leninism began. Finding the dogmatic left within the CPC, he developed the strategy and tactics of the new democratic revolution, and in doing so, he paved the way of national liberation for the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China.

In the first stage, the Chinese society had to be transformed into a democratic society that is independent of imperialism. This stage of the revolution was supported by different anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and strata. However, it was no bourgeois revolution of the old type as the one of 1789 in France, but a

new-democratic revolution under leadership of the working class and of the communist party as an integrated part of the socialist world revolution.

After the victory of the new democracy, the character of the revolution changed into socialism. In China, this task turned out to be less difficult than the overthrow of the old Chinese society. When on October 1st, 1949, the People's Republic of China was declared, the country had been run down completely by the politics of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, the Chinese were sucked out completely. Agriculture was not able to feed the Chinese population. Every year, millions died of starvation due to famine.

Six years later, in 1955, a western expert gave a sober judgment: "China is the country that has solved its nutrition problems."

The secret of this successful development was Mao's deep trust in the masses of the Chinese workers and peasants and his particular abilities to educate them in the spirit of Marxism Leninism to liberate themselves.

Mao Tsetung realised: There cannot be any revolution without or against the masses of the people because:

"It is the people, and only the people that make history."
(*Quotations, p. 140*)

Millions of people embanked the rivers, thus did away with floods and cultivated new farming grounds. Until 1953, no less than 150 million participated in social mass campaigns, e.g. for development of the cities, to extinct rats and flies, against pestilence, and in literacy campaigns.

While the People's Republic of China had great success in getting the country out of economic backwardness self-reliantly and not relying on foreign aid, most of the countries who broke out of the colonial chains after World War II, did not take a socialist way. The bourgeois governments and the ruling class in the dependent countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America dreamed of catching up rapidly in terms of economy by accepting the generously granted loans of imperialist countries and their monopolist banks, by co-operating in the economy or

by establishing subsidiaries of the international monopolies.

Until the beginning of 1990, no less than 36,600 multinational companies had already established 175,000 subsidiaries in almost all countries of the world. They are controlling foreign investments amounting to 2 trillion US- dollars, half of which are controlled by the 370 biggest international monopolies.

Today, the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe are being choked by foreign debts amounting to some 1.5 trillion US-dollars. Every attempt to get their head out of this deadly noose of the international finance capital chokes them further. Each attempt to service their debts by increasing the export of commodities and agricultural products is bound to fail, due to the rapid decrease in prices at the trading markets which are controlled by the international monopolies. Behind the mask of development aid lies pure imperialist exploitation.

This is the great balance of the capitalist world system:

700 million jobless or underemployed people. More than one billion people, that is one of five of the world population, who have to make ends meet with less than one dollar per day. 13 million children dying every year from malnutrition or diseases that cannot be cured.

The capitalist way of national liberation has only managed to get rid of the old colonialism by getting chained even stronger to imperialist exploitation and oppression by the system of neocolonialism. In the meantime, the economic disruption and the growing political destabilisation of most of the dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have driven the neo-colonial system itself into an open crisis. However, the crisis of neo-colonialism is, at the same time, the open bankruptcy of the capitalist way of national liberation. Only the socialist way of liberation remains for the working class and their allies in the dependent countries.

Long live Mao Tsetung's New Democratic Revolution as part of the international socialist revolution !

You can imagine that it was not easy to implement the principle of "self-reliance" in the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people had been influenced by feudal views, which had

a tradition of many centuries. The "wise Confucius" had taught the people the idea of submission to the emperor and to the ruling class as being the most important virtue. Mao Tsetung realised :

"It is of decisive and paramount significance to generate and propagate revolutionary ideologies and theories, as long as the masses have not yet understood the tasks the social development has provided." (*China Today, Vol.1, ed. KABD*)

The persistent ideological fight against all non-Marxist views and theories is the basic method of Mao Tsetung to penetrate all issues with the proletarian worldview. The more complicated the problems are, the more we have got to make ourselves familiar with the proletarian outlook and to master its theory, practice and method.

A broad united front of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist critics came up against the great importance of ideology in class struggle and in the revolution which Mao Tsetung has attached to it. The revisionist "dialectician" Rumjanzew for instance maintained that "Mao Tsetung thought" was "the attempt to reverse reality and turn it upside down" "to establish the rule of social consciousness over the social being and therefore this is pure idealism" (*Sources and Development of Mao Tsetung Thought, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1973*)

Everybody in this world may be allowed to utter stupid remarks and to write books full of them if he wants to. But everybody who labels himself as Marxist-Leninist, has to be prepared to be assessed by this standard. Rumjanzew has "finished off" Marx and Lenin as well in his hateful criticism of Mao Tsetung.

According to Marx, and contrary to our revisionists, the relation of existence and consciousness has always been a dialectical, reciprocal one. In addition to the materialistic basic view, that existence determines consciousness, he also realised that "when theory grips the masses it becomes a material force" (*Marx/Engels Works, Vol. 1*). Therefore, theory has of course to be in accordance with the objective reality. For this reason Marx stresses in the same paragraph : "A nation always realises theory only insofar as theory realises its needs."

There are no doubts about the fact, that Lenin as well underscored again and again the importance of socialist consciousness to mobilise millions of people. I will spare myself a quotation here.

The modern revisionists are obviously unable to imagine that there are other means than bureaucratic regulations, surveillance and material incentives to move the masses to solve the social tasks. Has the breakdown of the Soviet social imperialism or of the GDR not been a shattering answer to the revisionist practice of keeping the masses on a string and under control?

In 1976, the chief-theoretician of the DKP (German revisionist party), Willi Gerns, launched a fierce polemic when he wrote:

"Everybody who maintains that several decades after the complete victory of socialist conditions of production, where there exists only socialist property in the area of nearly all means of production capitalism and a new bourgeoisie will come into existence again under these conditions, everybody who maintains this cannot be taken seriously as well as someone who advocates the idea of immaculate conception." (*"The fairy - tale of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR" -- part of Maoist anti-sovietism*)

Well, today nobody will cast doubts any more on what is not possible according to the revisionist mode of thinking. In the USSR and the GDR, there has been a restoration of capitalism. There is a only disagreement on the exact time when this took place. Modern revisionists have to decide, whether they will adhere to the Roman-Catholic doctrine of "immaculate conception" or whether they will accept the views of Mao Tsetung, who already in 1964 realised:

"The bourgeois class and all the other exploiting classes that have been overthrown always strive for restoration of their own power. The class enemies at home and abroad know, that it is the first thing to have the communist party degenerated into a revisionist party in order to have a socialist state degenerated into a capitalist state." (*From an article of Beijing Review from 23.03.1964, quoted from "China Today 1"*)

The leaders of the DKP will rather come to terms with the

Pope than join forces with Mao Tsetung and thus undermine their own right to exist. The Pope recently has even criticised the "wild capitalism" and made an appeal not to overlook the "elements of truth" in the socialist programme. (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3.11.93) Anyway, the DKP leaders are vehemently determined to attend a seminar in Beijing in 1994, where they will come to terms with their new friend Deng Xiaoping about Mao Tsetung thought. One has not to be a visionary to tell predict the results. They will generously acknowledge the merits of Mao Tsetung in the struggle for the New Democratic Revolution and at the beginning of the construction of socialism. There will be a taboo however, on Mao Tsetung's struggle against the modern revisionism of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will be regarded as Mao Tsetung's gravest aberration.

Deng Xiaoping especially rejects the following core of Mao Tsetung thought. Mao writes:

"Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp".(*Selected Works*, Vol. V, p.409)

In Mao Tsetung's view, socialism has been the declaration of a permanent revolution until classless society is achieved on a world-wide scale.

In a document of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution we read the following statement:

"Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it still continues to make use of the ideas, the old manners and customs of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, win them over and achieve the aim of restoration by all means. The proletariat has to do the oppsite: It has to stand up to every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the proletariat, in order to change frame of mind of the whole society." (*Important Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*," German edition p. 147/148)

When in the mid-sixties, the then Prime Minister. Liu Schaotschi and General Secretary Deng Xiaoping maintained conversely, that there didn't exist class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie any longer, Mao Tsetung sounded the alert. On August 8th, 1966, the CC of the CPC carried a resolution on the personal advice of Mao Tsetung to start the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In the first place, it was directed against the centre of the counter-revolution in the leadership of the party, the state and the economy, the 'capitalist-roaders in power' like Liu Schaotschi and Deng Xiaoping. These people rejected the principles of independence and self-reliance and tried instead to implement the economic reconstruction of China with the aid of bourgeois experts and imperialist capital export. Since significant parts of the revolutionary party had been infected by Liu Schaotschi's poisonous ideas, Mao Tsetung could only rely on the support of the masses.

Therefore the Declaration for a Cultural Revolution says:

"The aim is to revolutionise people's mind in order to work more faster, better and more effectively in all fields." (*Decision of the CC of the CPC on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, paragraph 14*)

Modern revisionism had to be kept in check ideologically. Control of the bureaucracy had to be intensified very strongly.

In the revisionist parties all over the world, feelings of anxiety spread very fast. The revisionist leadership of the SED around Honecker and Ulbricht vented its anger. In an internal paper that had been classified and was published only recently after the documents of the GDR came to light such things were dealt with only in a very specific circle of people, because people were to produce and not to think about matters that didn't concern them at all - they maintained that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had only been an attempt by Mao Tsetung to set up a "military-bureaucratic dictatorship".

Contrary to the hostile assertion that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had turned into a state of chaos, it achieved its main aim: To rescue socialism from revisionist degeneration.

Many new features in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat came into being like the revolutionary committees. They were elected directly by the masses, were subject to criticism at any time; if they proved inefficient, they could be replaced or recalled by vote after discussions by the masses.

The mass campaign "one divides into two" taught the masses how to apply the dialectical method. An absurdity for a revisionist theoretician that the grass-roots are to conceive the dialectical method, this is only the cup of tea of philosophers, in particular the revisionist philosophers.

The positive results have been demonstrated by numerous scientific and technological achievements during and after the cultural revolution in such a way that even the anti-communist flagship of public opinion in Germany, "DER SPIEGEL" had to admit in 1971:

"Today, four years after the outbreak of the alleged cultural outrage ... China is the only socialist country without foreign debts. Its foreign trade currency is one of the most stable in the world ... it seems they have succeeded in directing the unleashed energies towards a huge, the whole people embracing technical-economic revolution with some characteristics of a distant utopia, but which nevertheless qualifies China as a partner of world-trade in the future. "(*DER SPIEGEL Nr. 3/1971*)

Immediately after Mao Tsetung passed away, a political coup d'etat was staged in which the left within the party, Yao Wen-Yuan, Di Jiang Tjiang, Wang Hung-Wen and Dschang Tschun-Tjiao were neutralized. Deng Xiaoping's rehabilitation marked the seizure of power of the new bourgeoisie, the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the beginning of the restoration of capitalism in China.

All those who maintain now on grounds of these facts, that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as an aberration have not understood the core of Mao Tsetung's teachings about the continuance of class struggle in socialism. Prophetically Mao Tsetung had called for vigilance.

"The present Cultural Revolution is only the first one of this

kind. In the future, the revolution will be followed by others. The question of who will gain the victory in the revolution can only be solved in a long historical period."(*Quoted from W.Dickhut, The Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union*)

Mao Tsetung considered it possible that socialism could suffer a setback. And I ask you, which unionist would consider waging economic struggles as stupid only because one is lost? The working class has to fight, for the everyday life, for their fundamental interest, for socialism. It will suffer defeats, it will learn from its defeats, but it doesn't have illusions that a single victory will be sufficient to win everything.

Under the guise of "socialist market economy" today there exists bare exploitation and the most oppressive reaction in China. 140 million jobless Chinese. This year, there were already 150 peasant's riots against corruption, the biggest of which with the participation of 10,000 peasants. The peasants accuse the bureaucrats of being worse than those of Chiang Kaishek. It is only a matter of time for bureaucratic capitalism to collapse in China. I don't think, the Chinese masses will give the Deng Xiaoping clique as much time as Khrushchev and Brezhnev had in the Soviet Union. Revolutionaries all over the world are observing with great sympathy outbreaks of peasant revolts, strikes and protest actions in the PR of China. This can stir up a new wave of revolutionary struggles of the battle-trying masses which will eventually drive away the bureaucratic capitalists in the PR of China.

Down with the betrayers of socialism and of Mao Tsetung thought around Deng Xiaoping!

Onwards to a new socialist revolution in the People's Republic of China!

Old revisionism has gloriously failed in practice and a new deception is being presented. Some very "firm" neo-revisionist theoreticians acknowledge the fact that modern revisionism has been put through at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956. Nevertheless, these countries are regarded as having been socialist until the end.

But how is it possible for a country to be essentially socialist

with a revisionist degenerated leadership and the workers being exploited and suppressed by a "bureaucratic regime of command"? That is impossible!

According to Marx, the predominant ideology is always the ideology of the ruling class. The victory of revisionism marks the assumption of power of the new bourgeoisie as Mao Tsetung said. And he was right. Neo-revisionism ultimately denies the decisive role of ideology and politics in assessing the balance of power in every class society and thus it continues with the failed ideological concept of the revisionists. The modern revisionists of all colours and their successors obviously have not learned their lesson from the wreckage of their so-called "real socialism"!

Lacking self-critical modesty, lack of ability to learn from previous mistakes have not been a defect of this caricature of socialism but are its essential ideological basis.

How does it say in that well-known song of the GDR? "The Party is always right!" It is impossible to sum up more clearly the idealistic metaphysics of a degenerated leadership.

Today, the universal heir of the collapsed Honecker-regime is the PDS, i.e. Party of Democratic Socialism. Not only has it many thousands of real estates, hundreds of millions in cash and a membership of some 140,000 as dowry for its new role in reunited Germany, it has also maintained its hostility against Mao Tsetung thought.

The rejection of an offer of the MLPD to form a broad electoral alliance for the forthcoming federal elections was based on the argument: "It is beyond reasonability for the PDS to have an alliance with forces who do not clearly dissociate themselves from Stalinism and Maoism". Bearing in mind the pile of dirt that was thrown at Stalin and Mao by the bourgeois mass media in recent years, the PDS leaders obviously assume that they do not have to say a single word in substance concerning the theory and practice of the MLPD. Instead, PDS Chairman Bisky stated, "PDS had taken the strategic decision to move away from the purely left sector". (*Frankfurter Rundschau* 27.6.1993)

Starting from marking off so-called "Stalinism and Maoism" in

an anti-communist manner, it is not far either from the opinion that is expressed by the leading PDS official Michael Brie: Under no circumstances should the PDS "formulate a radical negation of capitalism", because there was "greater evil than capitalism, for example Stalinism". (*Neues Deutschland* 28.9.1993)

Stalinism -- this devil of the workers' movement that can't be caught, for which so many definitions exist that it is impossible to agree on one. I have looked through many encyclopedias to find out what Stalinism means, but I couldn't find an answer -- Stalinism is the evil in the workers' movement and this is enough!

And such is declared by a party that because its name still claims to stand for socialism.

Obviously, PDS considers bourgeois reform parties as probable allies, such as SPD and the Greens which, since long, think of capitalism as the best of all systems. But, the PDS will fail in trying to succeed in this political field. Firstly, since long its political position has been occupied by the Social-Democrat Party and the Greens, and secondly, PDS's whole influence in East Germany is based simply on the fact, that Western capitalism turned out to be even worse than all that people had gone through under the Honecker regime.

However, in the long run, the working class does not look for the lesser evil, but for a genuine social alternative. The more intensive the search, the longer and deeper the present economic crisis will get. People sense the unsuitability of this society all the more. 8.5 million people are already unemployed in the whole of Germany. This is more than in the world economic crisis from 1929 to 1932. The so-called "social net", health-care, pension insurance, unemployment insurance have dissolved into uncertainty. The education system has become disastrous. At the universities, there are 1.9 million students, the universities however, are built and equipped to educate less than one million. State debts increased by leaps towards the enormous amount of 2 trillion DM. To cover these debts, all Germans getting wages and salaries would have to work for seven months without pay. Chronic inflation devalues

systematically the few pennies earned by hard labour.

Under this situation, people do not find any comfort in the 135th announcement of the economic boom that is supposedly soon to come. Again and again, we hear the same song:

Cutting down on wages, extension of working hours, cutting down on holidays, retiring at an older age, paying higher taxes, getting less social benefits -- all this and only this could improve our fortunes.

By the way, what I've said now could as well be read in the recent Beijing Review. This is the proposal of the Chinese leaders to the German politicians: "Workers in Germany are too expensive, they don't work enough" . . . and today, at the seminar as well, I have heard an unfortunate turn of phrase that the German workers, the workers in Europe, the workers in the imperialist countries would somehow hang around in hammocks . . .

Recently, a woman in the street outrageously stated: "Those in Bonn, they are not even able to clean away the garbage !" According to the last opinion poll of the first channel of German Television, only a 14% of the citizens in the West and a 19% in East Germany are still satisfied with the government coalition in Bonn. Quite a thin sheet of ice !

That is why we wholeheartedly support the mood that is now spreading everywhere:

We have had enough ! The Kohl government has to step down !

Monopolies and ruling parties became highly nervous, when in September 95,000 miners -- that is practically all productive miners in Germany -- and at the end of October, 20,000 steel workers occupied road crossings, party offices of the CDU, motorways and town halls in their struggle against redundancies and cuts of the unemployment benefits. Police and attorneys tried to get a grip on the suspected instigators of motorway blockings.

Mr. Vogel, spokesperson of the government, labelled the fighting workers as "terrorists". Solicitor Schauerte, deputy chairman of the parliamentary party of CDU in the state

parliament of Northrhine-Westphalia, complained about the violation of laws by the fighting workers : "Manners have been completely lost !" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26.10.'93)

But what kind of manners is it, if the capitalists are allowed to destroy no less than 750,000 jobs in industry alone in 1993? If a Chancellor Kohl is allowed to officially label the German working people as "lazybones" who could stroll around in the "collective recreation park" of Germany? Concerning manners, I can only say, that is these manners that since long had to be thrown on the scrap heap of history!

The whole hope for a new moral has been expressed in the two years by the never-ending manifestations and strikes of the workers. From January to October this year alone, almost 2.5 million blue- and white-collar workers participated in these actions. We have not seen such a wave since the end of World War II. Particularly since August, the workers' struggles against lay-offs and factory-closures grew into radical mass struggles against the government and found sympathies among broad masses of the working people. Their demands against job-cuts, dismantling of social securities and for higher wages, are linked more and more with ideas of a new policy for the benefit of the working class. An important pacemaker for this new policy is the "Joint Action for Jobs for Millions". It had its first nation-wide congress with 323 delegates representing 17 organisations and 75 local initiatives a month ago. In the meantime, the "action" has won the support of more than 50,000 people, a growing number of factory council initiatives, shop stewards, organisations of foreigners and organisations from the movement of jobless, youth, women and from the environmental movement. The action stands for a positive programme for creating millions of jobs. Obviously, the offer of a four-day working week without full pay is a response to the "Programme for Immediate Realisation - Jobs for Millions" by Volkswagen. Ofcourse the Volkswagen offer is unacceptable, because it wants to halt unemployment at the expense of workers' wages. Creation of millions of jobs is only possible in the struggle against the federal government and capital. This

means in particular :

Immediate implementation of the 35-hours working week with full pay in the whole of Germany!

For creation of five million jobs at the cost of monopoly profits!

Manners and customs seem to change radically on an international scale as well. Only last week, there was a general strike in Italy and strikes in Spain and Belgium. 250,000 government employees in Great Britain went on strike last Friday. At the centre of attention however, was undoubtedly the struggle of the airport employees of Paris. Massive police actions, media-campaigns, absence of any union funds for their strike could not prevent the colleagues from Air France from continuing their fight for more than two weeks and to force the state owned Air France to take back its plan for rationalisation and for cutting down 4,000 jobs. I am firmly convinced, that this struggle has taught important lessons as well to the German workers about the manners and customs that this capitalist order of society deserves.

From time to time, these lessons are hard to learn. Learning these lessons is accompanied

- by losing the illusion that the capitalist system can be reformed,
- by overcoming the lack of self-reliance,
- by giving up petty-bourgeois habits and
- by losing the amenities which had been granted by this system for decades in order to spoil class consciousness.

As a matter of fact, the strategic offensive of the ruling monopolies and their government has slackened, their tactical manoeuvres have lost efficiency under the condition of the economic and political crisis, and the fighting working class and the people's active resistance have seized initiative.

On the basis of the end of the social reform that had been granted "from above", reformism has plunged into a deep crisis and lose even more rapidly its mass influence. This is shown by the large-scale defection from SPD and Greens. The collapse of the Soviet Union and of the GDR forms the background for the

fact that modern revisionism has been driven into a deep isolation, interest in a social alternative, at least here in Germany, is growing.

Pushing back the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking has been a mass process. Defending their position the petty-bourgeois leaders are barring this way, because they do not want to understand that their time is over.

Neither can the working class take up the fight for socialism alone, nor can it win this fight alone. In today's Germany there is a broad and growing stratum of white-collar workers, of the intelligentsia within and outside of the factories, while the share of production industrial workers in large-scale enterprises has shrunk to 10-12% of the employed. Thus, forming a broad fighting alliance with the petty-bourgeois intermediate strata is an important task. However, this does not change the decisive role and task of the industrial proletariat as the leading force in the struggle for a socialist society. After all, these 4 million industrial workers in large-scale enterprises are responsible for approximately 75% of the newly produced items in the German society today.

PDS jumps to completely different conclusions from the changes in the class structure. For PDS it is important to gain votes. In the official electoral strategy of PDS for the elections in 1994, we can read the following, very interesting definition of its target group.

"Target groups should be particularly intellectuals, including students, women (the latter however not generally, but only those having higher education), furthermore youth; Pensioners, particularly those in East Germany who are still highly bonded to the GDR. Unemployed here in particular the jobless intelligentsia, including those from the former state apparatus of the GDR." Not to forget "the new strata of entrepreneurs in the East". (*Pressedienst der PDS 8.4. '93*)

Is this not literally marking out the working class?

It is not to be ruled out that the PDS, which is promoted again by the media, may be able to gain votes from the petty-bourgeoisie, particularly in Eastern Germany, by flattering it. At

the same time, PDS will have to pay a high price for its pervasive arrogance and ignorance towards the new worker's movement. That is what all petty-bourgeois organisations and movements in the FRG have already experienced in the last 20 years. PDS would not be the first that collapsed with the fluctuations of the petty- bourgeois movement.

Now it is more true than ever before what Mao Tsetung said in the 1930s about the leading role of the working class in the struggle for a society without exploitation and oppression. The working class is the one most free from narrow-mindedness and self-limitation, which all the other classes and strata show with regard to the revolutionary change of society into a genuinely new alternative to the capitalist profit system. The working class is the class that distests the most selfishness and pursuing selfish political aims at the expense of others. It will stand for realising the justified aims and demands of all working strata. Politically, the working class is the most open-minded. It does not know any prejudices against the intermediate strata, as long as these are willing to form a revolutionary alliance on the basis of the struggle against monopoly capital.

It is the best organised class and makes use of the experience of the progressive proletariat all over the world. It is an international class which is the one least receptive to dull xenophobia, racism and neo-fascist terror. In no other way would the recent workers' struggles be possible. It is the guarantor of international solidarity between the peoples. Thus, it embodies the future of this world.

The working class has proved its ability to apply the general experience of the international proletariat to the concrete national conditions and situation. (*Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, Vol I, p. 192*)

Mao Tsetung summed up this general experience as follows :

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will."
(*Quotations*)

However, things that we realise clearly, are not yet necessarily clear to the masses. I remember an older colleague, admitting

after a hot and substantial discussion at an information table of the MLPD in my residential area, that socialism is the only alternative to the unsuitability of the capitalist system. Anything else was not worth discussion. Then he bought the ROTE FAHNE and by shaking my hands he looked me straight into my eyes said: "May God help you keeping your belief in socialism. I don't believe that socialism is still possible at all after the bankrupcy in Eastern Europe."

Mind you, the colleague accepted socialism as the only alternative to capitalism, but for him, it remained only as an idea, as imagination, as a dream and utopia.

Only if we succeed in explaining socialism to the majority of the working class in such a way that they will realise socialism not as a utopia, but as a real social alternative, only then will the concept of socialism become again a material force. Thus, in the centre of the educational work is the question: Can Socialism be realised?

For answering this question convincingly, it is necessary to find out the material possibilities for a society without exploitation and suppression within capitalism.

According to Lenin, Socialism is nothing else but the next historic step forward of mankind, when the working class will take over all the achievements, high technology, international production and use them to meet the growing cultural and material needs of the masses of workers.

Socialism cannot produce goods at random. Socialist production can only be organised according to plan in order to satisfy the real needs of the masses. That is what Marx called the law of economy of time, the guarantee that production meets the needs of the people and is developed according to them. Those bourgeois politicians who are always attacking planned economy usually cover the fact that modern large-scale production cannot work without a relatively high degree of planning.

For the just-in-time-production at the Opel factory in Bochum tens of thousands of different parts from countries all over the world are delivered just at the moment that they are used. Every

tiny wheel, every small screw, thousands of workers - everything must fit into the modern large scale production. This process has not only melted whole branches into just one production scheme, but has also involved the whole world and combined 5.3 billion people in one single system of social production. But production according to plan with hundreds of thousands of producers in the whole world within capitalism cannot prevent large supplies of milk, butter, coal being produced for store and at the same time a quarter of the world population living in absolute poverty.

The capitalist principle of competition is providing those conditions : To eat or to be eaten up ! Everybody against everybody ! There is no other way for a production system which works for the sake of maximum profits.

Also the argument, production according to plan -- as in the GDR -- will end in bureaucratic disaster, is disapproved by the development of the productive forces. Today, for everyday, every hour, it is possible to be well-informed about the demand for food, the housing situation, education, health-care all over the world.

Everybody knows the so-called bar-codes attached to the goods in department stores. There are more than 11,000 cash-registers in German retail business which can recognise these codes. Not only do they read the prices, but they also register the sales to the central accounting department and adjust the figures of the supplies in store. Due to the fact that these companies are operating all around the world, this is a process that embraces the needs of millions of people.

The petty-bourgeois critics of socialism say, the GDR had collapsed due to its high concentration of production. That is bare nonsense. Today, more than one-thirds of the whole world production -- more than 21 trillions of US- dollars -- is owned by some few multinational enterprises, then production concentrated in the GDR with a gross national product of 140 billion US-dollars seems to be more like a middle-sized family-firm. Bureaucratic capitalism didn't break down because of its high degree of concentration of production, but because its

arthritic mode of production was not able to keep up with the capitalism of the Western type.

At the same time, the work productivity in state monopoly capitalism in different industries has reached levels, which Marx and Engels did not dare to dream of. Today, in the most advanced agricultural farms one farm worker can provide food for more than 60 people. One employee in one of the seven large-scale enterprises of Gelsenkirchen -- there are only seven left today -- had produced a turnover of 76,655 DM on an average per month in 1991. That corresponds to the monthly earnings of 22 working-class families with an average income of 3,500 DM.

A society without exploitation and suppression is not at all an utopia any more. Such a society is prevented only by the existence and power of a handful of multinational monopolies and an imperialist world system which weighs on the working classes and the peoples of the world, exploits them ruthlessly, sends them into wars against each other, causes dangerous damages to the environment and is prepared to commit every crime against mankind, only to maintain its position.

A big question, raised by many sympathisers of socialism, is the following one:

Doesn't it always happen, that within socialist society one stratum emerges, which eventually oppresses the masses, gets rich and finally destroys socialism? One cannot easily reject this concern.

Mao Tsetung teaches, that in socialism as a transitional stage from capitalism to communism, classes and class struggle will continue to exist and the question of who will gain the victory will only be decided in the course of several hundred years. Willi Dickhut has definitely defended this teachings and developed them further.

The emergence of a bourgeoisie of a new type within the central bureaucracy of the party, the economy, the government, i.e. the transformation of the bureaucracy from servants of the socialist state into bourgeois masters of society doesn't happen over night. It happens in three stages:

First stage: Development of a bureaucracy with party documents in its pockets

It is a process that will take decades, until the whole working population participates in the administration and thus, the particular stratum of administrative experts becomes unnecessary. The whole danger is, the new living-conditions of those in the administration have negative influence on their mode of thinking, that they lose touch with the life of the masses and develop a sense of superiority and power. This danger must be countered by permanent control of the mode of thinking and principle-based criticism and self-criticism.

Second stage: The petty-bourgeois degeneration of bureaucracy in socialism

A higher standard of living and claims to power promote the degeneration of the bureaucracy and its development into a petty- bourgeois stratum.

In a magazine, that had been published illegally under the title "Spartacus" in 1967 by members of the KPD, higher cadres of SED in the GDR were accused of striving for a petty-bourgeois lifestyle :

"In the meantime . . . the second generation of technocrats, 'specialists', bureaucrats and apparatchiks have grown up. And this generation is far worse than the first generation -- first of all, it is more perfect and shows stronger features of a new class. Usually, they go directly from school into leading positions and have less integration with the people, with the working and peasant class than their predecessors. They do not know class solidarity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; for them, manual work is a humiliation and they declare it for their own person also as 'inefficient'. For them, only production results, tactical and political advantages and last but not the least their personal advantages count." (*Problems of the Marxists-Leninists in the FRG, p. 17*)

The emergence of the petty-bourgeois stratum that grips for power makes a proletarian cultural revolution necessary to

defend socialism.

Third stage: The leap from socialism to bureaucratic capitalism

When the degenerated bureaucracy's striving for power and privileges grows stronger, it tries to rise into the class position of the bourgeoisie, alike the petty-bourgeoisie. Now, the petty-bourgeoisie takes power in the apparatus of party, state and economy and overthrows the dictatorship of the proletariat. It betrays the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, distorts it to pieces and phrases and tries to cover up its new class rulership under the mask of the so-called "real socialism".

Revisionism is the ideological basis of the restoration of capitalism, of the development of bureaucratic capitalism, a capitalism of a new type

The totality of degenerated bureaucrats has become a bureaucratic bourgeoisie which acquires collectively the means of production. There are different levels : from the small bureaucrats, to the peak of the state monopoly bureaucracy as the ruling stratum in the degenerated countries. Now, once again the proletariat has to make a socialist revolution for the overthrow of the new bourgeoisie and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mao Tsetung has analysed creatively the experience in the Soviet Union as the first socialist state and has realised that mobilising the masses in time for the struggle against the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy is the major kind of class struggle in socialism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution made Mao Tsetung's China the practical centre of world revolution after Marxism-Leninism had been successfully defended. All over the world, new Marxist-Leninist parties emerged, the communist movement of a new type upsurged. In almost all countries of Western Europe, parties and organisations emerged, claiming Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought.

However claiming it, by far is not the same as having understood the essence of proletarian philosophy.

"The most active forces of the student's movement took to the working class, studied Marxism-Leninism more or less" -- quite often they were able to read a book in one night and thus had stored Marxism-Leninism in their heads -- "and founded Marxist-Leninist groups. In their petty-bourgeois mode of thinking, they mixed petty-bourgeois revolutionarism, anti-authoritarianism, Trotskyism and anarchism, Marxism-Leninism and left-wing opportunism. From this blend, the so-called 'ML-movement' emerged. Besides fighting revisionism, it was as well necessary to fight anti-authoritarianism, which had an influence on many, due to the students' movement". (*Revolutionärer WEG 1-3, Preface p.7*)

From its beginning, petty-bourgeois claim for leadership, dogmatism, shematism, eclecticism, opportunism and sectarianism were characteristics of the petty-bourgeois ML-movement in Germany.

After flourishing for a short period in the 1970s, the petty bourgeois ML-movement collapsed completely at the beginning of the 1980s. The petty-bourgeois leaders of this ML-movement were unable to really integrate with the proletariat, to learn from it, to melt into it and to acquire a proletarian mode of thinking. When the spontaneous ML-movement decreased again, the petty-bourgeois leaders proved their lack of principles by returning into the lap of the bourgeoisie, by retiring into privacy or by joining the petty-bourgeois Greens party, in order to perhaps get a seat in the parliament . . .

They claimed that the workers' movement was dead -- one of the most typical appearances of the petty-bourgeois movement, we recognise the difference between petty-bourgeois and proletarian revolutionaries particularly by their attitude towards the working class. So, they claimed the workers' movement was dead and turned to their genuine cup of tea, to the movement of the petty-bourgeoisie, the defence of their own individualist, pacifist, nihilist or negativistic interests and matters. Even though they had acquired a more or less voluminous book-knowledge, the petty-bourgeois student leaders could not swim against the current, because they had not left their class position and had

not acquired the proletarian mode of thinking -- imagine a swimmer who has read a book on swimming but hasn't learned how to swim. Instead, they blamed the alleged unsuitability of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought and the supposed backwardness of the masses for their capitulating to the enemy : "Its clear. Our leaders were not responsible for their failure, but the masses were !" and thus, petty-bourgeois mode of thinking could only end in liquidation.

From this, Willi Dickhut concluded : "The question of the mode of thinking is of such importance for the working class, that it has to be controlled permanently; who has got the influence on whom". (*Revolutionärer Weg*, 15, p.11)

In accordance with Mao Tsetung's realisation of the inevitability of inner-party contradictions, Willi Dickhut developed the idea of the 'struggle of two lines as the objective law of inner-party contradictions'. This struggle of two lines appears in the permanent struggle of the proletariat and the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking within the party, within every comrade, as well within the chairman of the MLPD ! Under conditions of the state-monopoly capitalism it is more insufficient than ever, to only claim Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought as one's theoretical basis. One has to completely internalise the thinking, feeling and acting of the proletariat. The basis of building the Marxist-Leninist party has widened:

The Marxist-Leninist party has to work on the basis of the proletarian mode of thinking

This is the only way to avoid errors and to be able to win the decisive majority of the working class for the overthrow of imperialism and for the construction of socialism.

The mature proletarian mode of thinking is identical with the ability to deeply analyse the inert contradictions and to perceptively analyse every problem and acting systematically according to that. This three-fold thinking characterises the proletarian mode of thinking of a Marxist-Leninist party's cadres, which are able to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the concrete conditions, to lead the masses and to remould themselves to a proletarian mode of thinking. Thus, in its

essence, in its core, the proletarian mode of thinking is the scientific method to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete reality in society and in the human mind and acting. Thus, **it is the vivid mode of being of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought.**

Not only is Willi Dickhut's teaching about the mode of thinking the application of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought to the construction of the party of a new type, it is also of importance for leading the proletarian class struggle in the state monopoly capitalism and for building socialism. That is why for the MLPD, Willi Dickhut's teachings about the mode of thinking are the most significant conclusion from Mao Tsetung thought.

The rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, after Mao Tsetung had passed away, was the starting point of the restoration of capitalism in China. Thus, the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement lost its revolutionary centre for the second time. At the same time, we are about to face a new upswing of the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for socialism. These challenges can only be mastered jointly in the future. Perhaps this is even an advantage.

In my opinion, from this follow six principles of proletarian internationalism :

First :

The revolutionaries all over the world have to join forces, notwithstanding their differences in ideology and politics. The armed liberation struggle on the Philippines, the struggle against the apartheid-regime in South-Africa, the construction of a new-democratic order in Ethiopia and Eritrea, the developing worker's struggles in Europe and last, but not least the democratic people's resistance against the Kohl-regime -- all these are only different battlegrounds of the same international struggle for liberation from imperialism and for socialism. Learning mutually and co-operating in practice (not only discussions) for mutual advantage on the basis of equal rights, that is the way to re-establish the revolutionary forces on a global scale, that is the way of maturing of a new, and international revolution.

Second :

The development of the class struggle in the respective countries themselves is the basis for the revolutionisation and co-ordination of international class struggle. The struggle in the imperialist countries must lead directly to the overthrow of imperialism. Therefore, the decisive majority of the working class has to be won and the revolutionary alliance with the petty-bourgeois intermediate strata has to be forged in active people's resistance.

Winning the mass of youth will be decisive for this process of revolutionisation. Particularly the bright future of the youth is endangered by chronic mass-unemployment, dramatic destruction of the environment, growing danger of war and the ammassment of wars, dismantling of bourgeois-democratic rights and liberties, neo-fascist terror. At the same time, youth is the most flexible force within the mass-movement. Whoever has the youth will win the future. Here, I would like to congratulate our *Rebels*, our youth organisation for their successful efforts in building the REBELL, since the beginning of this year; these comrades have won 85% new members!

Third :

The Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries have to develop systematically an international solidarity. At present, the international working class has no stronger power than its number. Only in its international alliance and in the alliance of the working masses in the imperialist and those in the oppressed countries does the superiority of the world proletariat over the imperialist system appear.

The proposal to build an international workers' support organisation is a practical chain link to get the struggles of the working class, active people's resistance and revolutionary liberation struggles out of their national isolation and to make them the object of the international revolutionary movement.

Last week, the Turkish government in co-ordination with German imperialism called for a total war against the Kurdish liberation struggle. The Turkish government should in the future bear in mind : Whoever dares to challenge one part of the

international revolutionary movement will have to deal with the whole revolutionary movement.

Solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Kurdish people!

Stop the persecution and criminalisation of PKK by the federal government of Germany!

Stop the Bonn aid for Turkey!

Long live international solidarity !

Fourth :

The process of revolutionising and co-ordinating international class-struggle must not rule out a single form of class struggle for the basic interests of the working class and the masses of the people. Union struggles and political struggles, peasants' protests or students' riots, legal forms of struggle as well as armed struggle, economic, political and cultural co-operation, all this is the manifold and universal interaction which has to be organised and developed between the peoples of the world.

Therefore, the support of the women's struggle all over the world against their double oppression is of particular importance. Women are half the sky, said Mao Tsetung and without their forces being part of the liberation struggle, this struggle cannot be victorious.

Fifth :

The Marxist-Leninists all over the world have to realise, that the development of an internationalist consciousness has to be an integral part of the development of class-consciousness. Every chance must be used to promote and develop it systematically. This applies to the proletariat and the working masses in the imperialist countries as well as to the dependent countries that are oppressed by imperialism.

The struggle for national and democratic revolution in the dependent countries cannot be developed successfully without the firm integration into the process of international revolution.

Sixth :

Co-ordination and revolutionisation of international class struggle is only possible if Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought become the dominant influence in class struggle and in

the international liberation movement. This is only possible in the struggle to overcome modern revisionism. Therefore, it is necessary to make use of the theoretical efforts of the particular parties and organisations in the different countries, to continuously co-operate and share views in the analysis of new appearances and to come to an always growing ideological-political unity by means of a process of principle-based criticism and self-criticism on a basis of equal rights. The dialectical unity of theory and practice, the proletarian mode of thinking, is the basis on which the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movements must re-establish itself.

In 1955, Mao Tsetung said: "The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them . . . Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it . . . Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step". (*Quotations p. 143*)

Only with a proletarian mode of thinking can the enthusiasm of the masses for socialism burst forth.

That is the legacy of Mao Tsetung.

Onwards with Mao Tsetung thought to socialism !

Onwards to international revolution !

It is right to rebel !

Make success :

All India convention against imperialist cultural aggression

*Sponsored by various cultural organisations on
3rd and 4th April 1994, Shaheed Com. Nutan Nagar
(Rana Pratap Hall), Hyderabad.*

Dear friends,

Despite the tremendous uproar and protest from all corners of the country the Indian Government has signed the GATT agreement (now renamed WTO) and accepted the Dunkel Draft proposals which are against the interests of vast masses. The rulers did not have the slightest hesitation in signing the agreement which implies total submission to the dictates of the imperialists. This would further tighten their exploitative noose around our necks. These comprador rulers, by the very nature of their class, are for the total sell-out of the country's economy to the imperialist super-powers, to the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. They, for the last five decades after the transfer of power, have pushed the economy into an abysmal crisis with their pro-imperialist policies and now they say, "There is no alternative to survive but to become a part of the GATT or to beg a fresh instalment of loan from the IMF and the World Bank". They vociferously mouth the slogans of liberalisation, privatisation and inculcate the ideology of colonial slavery in the masses, particularly the educated middle class. Naturally it is the same ruling classes who perpetuate communalism, advocate Hindu fundamentalism, engineer attacks on dalits, minorities, women, tribals and nationalities -- according to the very dictates of the imperialists. Infact imperialism cannot survive unless it allies with the most reactionary force, feudalism. Hence the comprador ruling classes, comprising of big bourgeoisie, big landlord classes strive to maintain the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of the economy while selling out the country to the

imperialists. It is in this backdrop that the recent spate of Hindu fundamentalism and the uprise of reactionary feudal ideology such as superstition, backwardness, mysticism, pessimism, *karma* etc. have to be understood.

The comprador ruling classes, through their New Economic Policy, New Industrial Policy, Liberalisation and privatisation policies, are making every effort to hand over the country's economy to the imperialist powers in the name of globalisation and free market, aiding them in their attempts at recolonisation. Imperialism which goes hand in glove with feudalism would tighten its stranglehold over our country with complete support from the treacherous native compradors. They will drastically cut down import taxes while increasing further the tax burden on people multifold, giving easier access to the imperialists. While making our lives miserable, they will provide subsidies to foreign investors but withdraw even the so-called social welfare measures cutting down even the so called subsidies to people -- all this to make our country a part of the global 'free' market. Brutal repression on the struggling masses is inevitably on the increase. Those who protest are either implicated under TADA or killed in fake encounters or tortured to death. Patriotic people fighting imperialism and feudalism are branded terrorists. 'Hindutva' is being projected as nationalism.

Since 1947, the Indian State, which declares itself 'secular', has infact been acting as a Hindu state. The same ruling classes, who have adopted Hindu fundamentalism as their philosophy to perpetuate their exploitation, are advocating globalisation to serve the interests of the imperialists. They promote decadent imperialist and feudal cultures simultaneously to propagate the ideas of 'being slave to a master', which means feudal submissiveness to an imperial master. Imperialist culture with ingredients such as pornography, popculture, wham culture, personal anarchy, lumpen culture and consumerist culture is promoted and propagated by the ruling classes. Extravagant pop shows are organised by multinational companies and the government promotes them. Pop music which originally emerged as a protest against the system played a significant

political role in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Multinational music companies have been largely successful in deflecting, degenerating and diverting the protest into personal anarchy and pornography. The pop music yielded, since it lacked a political consciousness and commitment. Today it is sheer commerce.

The feudal culture, essentially undemocratic in nature, aims to keep people in the dark. In the context of its alliance with imperialist culture, it is also adopting modern and sophisticated forms. In a very polished manner, it may say that women and dalits can also read Vedas, Puranas and perform rituals, but its oppressive content remains unchanged. It must be reiterated that the feudal and imperialist cultures are in a strong alliance. They compliment one another and operate to reinforce each other. Hence in our country, it is impossible to analyse or fight imperialist culture in isolation. It has to be tackled with its essential counter part -- the feudal culture.

Imperialism cannot be understood merely as an economic-military system of control. Cultural domination is an integral dimension to any sustained system of exploitation. Imperialism, in its efforts to plunder the third world politically and economically, is also invading the cultural spheres of these countries. Cultural imperialism colludes with the native feudal culture and strengthens it to breed a hybrid semi-feudal -semi - colonial value system. The comprador ruling classes and the imperialists have realised the importance of cultural intervention, as any idea of protest can be countered to prevent it from materialising into a movement of political struggle. Though there has been much ado about the government yielding to IMF, World Bank, WTO, not much is said about the cultural dimension of imperialism. Cultural imperialism is equally dangerous as it works and penetrates silently. In the recent past our government has made several cultural polices allowing imperialist satellite and network electronic media to invade our cultural skies, and propagating decadant ideas. The government is trying hard to privatise Doordarshan which as it is away from the masses and propagating decadent values by advising it to compete with an unequal, mammoth competitor -- Star TV. While government

sponsored cultural festivals abroad patronise feudal culture fashion parades, beauty contests, star nites, musical extravaganzas etc. are promoting imperialist culture onto our land.

The government has subsidised import tariffs on innumerable imperialist cultural commodities to ease their influx and their lucrative advertisement propaganda is already on a full swing on Star TV and US media channels which have penetrated into a majority of Indian households. One of the recently conducted survey indicates that the increase in the number of TV sets is directly proportional to the decline of average individual income. It is not surprising to note that the culture and communication equipment are slowly replacing the manufacturing goods by occupying 20% of the US and European economies, while they were 2% three years ago and are on the upswing in our economy too. This makes it evident that the cultural invasion is essentially an economic factor. This cultural invasion is injecting the ideology of colonial slavery in to our veins, simultaneously strenghtening feudal values such as superstition, backwardness, religion etc. All this to make us silently accept the imperialist plunder and feudal exploitation.

Cultural imperialism has two major goals, one economic and the other political : to capture markets for its cultural commodities and to establish hegemony by shaping popular consciousness. It plays a major role in dissociating people from their cultural roots and traditional solidarity replacing them with media created 'needs'. The political effect is to alienate people from traditional class and community bonds, atomising and separating individuals from each other. Cultural imperialism emphasizes the segmentation of people and encourages them to think themselves as a part of heirarchy highlighting minute differences with those below them, rather than the vast inequalities that separate them from those above. Imperialist entertainment and advertisement target the most vulnerable youth and give a message that 'modernity' is associated with consuming imperialist products. Mass media manipulates adolescent rebelliousness and channels discontent into

consumer extravagances. Cultural imperialism focusses on youth not only for the market but also for political reasons, to undercut a political threat in which a personal rebellion could become mass political revolt against economic as well as cultural forms of control.

In relation to the Third World in general and our country in particular, cultural imperialism can be defined as the systematic penetration, and domination of the cultural life of the popular classes by the ruling classes of the imperialist countries in order to reorder values, behaviour, institutions and identity of the oppressed peoples that conforms with the interests of the imperial and native feudal classes. Cultural imperialism takes both traditional feudal forms and modern forms. Through religious fundamentalism and fanaticism cultural imperialism operates in the traditional form and through mass media, publicity, advertisement and 'secular' entertainers in the modern form. Intellectuals play a major role in the latter. Cultural imperialism today is oriented towards capturing mass audiences and it is global in scope and homogenising in its impact. The mass media as instruments of cultural imperialism are private only in the formal sense. The absence of formal state ties provides a legitimate cover for the private media projecting imperial interests as 'news' or entertainment, and political interests are projected through non-imperial subjects.

The mass media have become an integral part of the imperialist system of global political and social control as well as a major source of super-profits, the latter emphasising its growing economic significance. As the levels of exploitation, inequality, poverty and unemployment increase in our country, imperialist controlled mass communications operate to convert a critical public into passiveness and deflect potential unrest. They create illusions of international and cross-class bonds. Through TV images a false intimacy and an imaginary link is established between the successful subjects of the media and the impoverished spectators. These linkages provide a channel through which the discourse of individual solutions to private problems is propagated. The message is very clear -- victims are

blamed for their own poverty, success depends on individual efforts in relation to 'karma' or 'fate'.

While imperialist arms disarticulate civil societies and their banks pillage the economies, the imperial media provides individuals with escapist identities. Economic terrorism as practised by the IMF, World Bank and WTO destroys local industries, erodes public properties and savages wage and salaried households. Cultural terrorism is responsible for physical displacement of all forms of people's culture and people's artistes. Though cultural terrorism preys on the psychological weaknesses and deep anxieties of our people, particularly their sense of being backward, traditional and oppressed, it provides new images of mobility and free expression only in the frame-work of feudalism to preserve and strengthen feudal values further. Cultural imperialism in the name of self-expression tyrannises our people, 'entertains' them, coerces them and titillates them to be 'modern' to submit to the demands of the imperialist market and feudal exploitation. It makes use of terms like 'globalisation' or 'internationalisation' to justify attacks on all forms of solidarity, community and social values. The images of individual mobility, the 'self-make person', the emphasis on 'self-centered existence' and slogans like "privatise or perish", "globalise or perish", "make a fast buck"

have now become major instruments in dominating our country. The new imperialist cultural norms -- private over the public, individual over the social, sensational and violent over everyday struggles and social realities -- contribute to inculcating precisely the egocentric values that undermine collective action. The culture of images, of transitory experiences, of sexual conquest, anarchy and vandalism, works against reflection, commitment and shared feelings of affection and solidarity. Cultural imperialism distracts from power relations and erodes collective forms of social action.

If the threat and danger posed by imperialism in the cultural front is so enormous, what then is the task ahead of us, fighting for people's culture? At the outset we must recapitulate and reiterate the fact that the imperialism, however gigantic it may

appear, is on its deathbed. It's only a paper tiger! Since it has entered into an unprecedented crisis it is coming up with new aggressive designs in economic, political and cultural spheres to capture and conquer the third world countries. This aggression is only a transitory phase but if underestimated can result in dire consequences. We must realise the importance of cultural intervention, in the broadest sense including ideology, consciousness and social action, which is the crucial link converting objective conditions into conscious political intervention. Cultural imperialism cannot succeed as a sustained phenomenon as the stark reality stands opposed to it. The personal experience of misery and exploitation caused by the imperialists and the native comprador ruling classes that have collaborated with it, the brutality of state violence, growing poverty, hunger can never be changed by the escapist imperialist media. Within the consciousness of the oppressed people there is a constant struggle between the demon of individual escape cultivated by the mass media and the past experiences of collective action and responsibility. There are absolute limits in the capacity of cultural imperialism to distract and mystify people beyond which popular rejection sets in. The false promises of cultural imperialism become objects of bitter jokes in the reality of abject poverty, hunger and perpetual denial of minimum livelihood to millions of people. Where class, racial, gender and ethnic bonds endure and practices of revolutionary collective action are militant the influence of cultural imperialism is rejected. Historical movements are abundant among the oppressed people who have been reeling under the yokes of feudalism and imperialism for centuries. Where people of different occupations and communities converge on class basis with collective revolutionary cultural traditions and practices, cultural imperialism will have to retreat.

People from all sections and different walks of life must realise the immediate danger posed by cultural imperialism hand in glove with feudalism and break the myth and fetishism it tries to create. This is possible only by a collective action of all like minded democratic, secular, and patriotic people led by the

working class. Genuine people's culture, the culture of the toiling masses, has to be unearthed from the filth of feudal and imperialist cultures. The culture would have to be purified, sharpened and enlightened with scientific proletarian world outlook. Only this new democratic cultural value system, which is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist can be a potential alternative to the oppressive feudal and imperialist cultures. Hence it is our prime task to struggle and build such a cultural value system that envisages a just, humane, egalitarian and democratic society that is free from all kinds of exploitation and oppression. This can only be achieved under the leadership of the working class which is the prime leading force in alliance with the broad peasantry which is a motive force, of conscious revolutionary social change and the harbinger of the dawning new society.

Building of a people's cultural movement and achieving cultural liberation is dependent on the development of a socio-political force capable of confronting state terror that goes together with cultural conquest. Hence the movement against for the liberation of the country from the clutches of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial oppressive system and to establish a new democratic society. Since the feudal and imperialist cultures are instruments aimed at perpetuating exploitation and oppression, the struggle against them for a new democratic culture has to be closely linked with the economic and political struggles waged by the oppressed classes under the leadership of the working class. It is such struggles that are anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-comprador bourgeois ruling classes, with which the new democratic cultural movement has to be deep-rooted, strengthened and united to stand firm against the aggressive designs of cultural imperialism which tries to segment people and make them preys for exploitation. Undoubtedly victory shall be ours !

We, militant cultural organisations striving to build a new democratic cultural movement and establish people's culture, call upon all sections of people to react to the grave threat posed by cultural imperialism. We plan to organise a two day All India Convention against the Aggression of Imperialism in

Culture on 3rd-4th April 1994, at Hyderabad. We are aware that this convention cannot be a grand success without the active participation and solidarity from democratic, secular, patriotic people and likeminded organisations, groups, sections, and individuals. Hence we request all such organisations, groups, sections, individuals and people to join hands with us in this fight against cultural imperialism. We appeal to one and all to extend a helping hand in conducting this convention. The enemy may seem gigantic and the task enormous but people are invincible. Nothing can stand against the mighty force of united collective action of the toiling masses led by the working class. Our faith in the new society that shall be built upon humane, just and democratic values and culture is scientific and invincible. Our confidence in the ultimate victory of people's culture is immovable. Let us all stand united, hand in hand. Let us build a human wall that would raze to the ground the anti-people "technical excellence" of cultural imperialism and reactionary feudalism. Let us uphold the banner of people's struggle and people's cultural movement.

- * Down with imperialist aggression in culture
- * Down with feudal culture
- * Down with semi feudal-semi colonial culture
- * Down with anti-people cultural policies of the government
- * Long live people's culture
- * Long live new democratic culture
- * Down with state violence
- * Down with cultural imperialism
- * Long live New Democratic Revolution

*Preparatory Committee for the All India Convention
against Imperialist Cultural Aggression.*

26.1.1994

Hyderabad.

Telangana bleeds

"Catch and kill", that is how the security forces and the State Police in Andhra Pradesh operate. This operation in the name of containing 'Naxalite violence' is bleeding Telangana, the scene of a peasant movement since the late sixties on the heels of the Srikakulam tribal uprising. 'Encounter' is the name given to this phrase of catch and kill to lend legal credence to the operation. Veermallu, an activist of the CPI (ML) Janashakti, was arrested by the police in Bejjanki village in Karimnagar on Dec. 13th and shot dead proclaiming it to be an 'encounter'. Puli Anjaiah, the Secretary of the State Committee of the People's War Group, was apprehended by the A.P. Police in Bangalore and shot dead declaring that he was killed in an 'encounter', near Warangal in A.P.

Everytime a political activist belonging to the communist revolutionary organisation is killed by the police the monotonous story of an encounter murder is doled out, but what actually happens is cold-blooded murder by the police. That over a thousand people were killed under the facade of encounter in the last two decades has been sufficiently proved by various civil and human rights' organisations in the country. In the year 1992, 256 people were killed by the police in this fashion and in the year 1993 some 140 more were "bumped off". A majority of those killed were poor peasants, dalits whose only crime was to assert their basic right to struggle for a better life.

Civil rights activists engaged in exposing such extra-judicial murders and fighting for the cause of civil rights have also made targets of. A new dimension was added to the killings of civil rights leaders by the police by not making the plea of an encounter. Narra Prabhaker Reddy, APCLC President of the Warangal unit and a practising lawyer was shot dead at his very residence. Back in 1985, an armed police procession barged into the clinic of Dr. Ramanathan, the then Dist. President of APCLC, Warangal and killed him there in broad daylight. A

journalist, Ghulam Rasool, who had the courage to expose the misdeeds of certain politicians and police officials in Hyderabad city was not spared. He was picked up along with his friend, tortured and killed and the next day a police story appeared that two extremists were killed in an encounter on the outskirts of Hyderabad city. The purpose here is not to list out incidents of such killings for that would become a monotonous repetition but to show the dangerous pattern being adopted by the armed wings of the state to annihilate political and social movements targeting not merely those leading such movements but the mass of the people at large. Today, if one visits the police stations in Warangal and Karimnagar Districts one finds ordinary poor people who may be marginally or not even associated with any kind of activity, detained for the purpose of staging an 'encounter' whenever the police feel it necessary. Today, the word encounter is so brazenly used by the police that one often hears that such and such person would be killed in encounter. Infact, recently, when the MLA of CPI(ML) Janshakti approached the SP of Karimnagar District seeking permission for a public meeting, he was told by the SP that he would shoot down a leader of the MLA's party in an encounter if he came across that leader. Fake encounter killings of communist revolutionaries and of ordinary people are aimed at brutally suppressing people's movements, in particular the agrarian struggle of the peasantry and the rural poor which are essentially democratic in character. People's right to struggle, people's right to hold political views are sought to be curbed by the State through this method of extra-judicial murders.

While such killings go on unabated without any let up, the free use of the draconian TADA is another means to stifle political dissent and democratic activity. On 6th Jan. when the Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao visited his native constituency, Nandyal in Kurnool District, activists of AIFTU, RCS, PDSU and the POW (Stree Vimukthi) organised a protest demonstration against the Dunkel Proposals. Some 200 activists who had blocked the PM's convoy to submit a memorandum were lathi-charged and 56 were detained under the notorious TADA.

Five days later, on 11th Jan. Sandhya, Vice-President of POW (Stree Vimukthi) and leader of the anti-arrack agitation in Kurnool district was picked up by the police and detained under the same act, because on the 6th Jan. she had led a demonstration of some 100 women with empty pots and submitted a memorandum to the PM on the water problem in the town. A normal democratic activity of expressing political opinion on the enslaving Dunkel proposals, a women's demonstration demanding water in the perennially drought-hit Rayalseema are construed as 'disturbing' and 'terrorist' activities. This incident would suffice to demonstrate the impunity and brazenness with which the Congres (I) govt. in the state unleashes repression on democratic movements and activity through the use of TADA. It is therefore not surprising that 5600 people had been detained under the TADA at one point of time or another, which includes even civil rights' activists. And a majority of those detained under this act, belonged to the rural poor and the tribals.

One need not reel out instances of the use of third-degree methods by the police on those arrested on mere suspicion of having links with armed extremists or for supporting a certain political activity. For it is too common to link torture from the investigative and functional methods of the police. But, what needs to be understood here, again, is that torture is not merely an instrument to beat down an individual into submission but an organised weapon to terrorise people from exercising their basic democratic rights. That is why we witness tortures not only in police stations but in full public view in Karimnagar and Warangal Districts. This apart, newer and more brutal methods of torture are being used by the police. Devaiah, a poor Dalit associated with our Sangham was arrested in Oct. '93 and subjected to a new method of torture. He was forced to sit in such a position on the mouth of a bottle and pressed from above that the tip of the bottle would rip open his anus leading to profuse bleeding.

In Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts and in the tribal tracts of these districts, violence on women by the armed forces of the state is not some spontaneous but well-organised

drive to isolate them from the movements of the people. The growth of women's movements in these parts of the state in close conjunction with the struggle of the rural poor and the tribals is something that the power that be would not tolerate. On 24 Dec. 1992 forty jawans of the BSF raided the village of Kantiatmakur in Warangal and 3 women, Swarooma, Samakka and Iamma were raped by them. Apart from killings in fake encounters, detentions under TADA, tortures and physical attacks on women, the Cong(I) Govt. again in the name of containing Naxalite violence imposed a 'ban' on PWG and some mass organisations. We condemn the ban on these organisations, for repressive administrative measures are no answers to socio-political movements. At the same time, those organisations which are not banned are also subjected to prohibition in exercising their normal democratic rights. For instance, our Rytu Coolie Sangham even today cannot hold a public meeting or take up any mass programme in the Ranga Reddy District which adjoins Hyderabad. Pasting of posters or distribution of leaflets would lead to arrests and tortures in this part and over 430 people were thus subjected to arrests and tortures in '92-93. In Sircilla, Karimnagar the police are adopting two methods to stifle mass activity -- one is to blatantly deny permission to organise meetings and rallies and second is to grant permission and then organise raids in villages openly threatening people with dire consequences if they participated in the rallies or meetings organised by the MLA. On 15th Nov. in Rudrangi village the police and the security forces foiled a meeting of the RCS by beating up whoever went to the venue of the meeting.

Thus, state violence in its varied forms is 'organised' and the targets of this violence are not only the communist revolutionary and democratic organisations engaged in building political and mass movements, but the people themselves. And, this violence goes on in the name of curtailing the 'menace' of naxalism. The communist revolutionary or the naxalite movement is seen as a movement devoid of any political philosophy. It is seen as a law and order problem in the perception of the state, thereby

resorting to the use of brute force to suppress it. On the other hand, very often the Govt. issues statements calling upon the 'Naxalites' to come out into the "mainstream" (whatever it means) as if to suggest that the naxalite movement is no mass movement and is delinked from the people. It is often projected that the naxalites are gun-totting men indulging in violent activities and therefore the use of force by the state is sought to be justified. We would like to state that the naxalite movement is a political movement aimed at a revolutionary transformation of an inequitable and exploitative socio-economic system. It is the agrarian struggle built up by the communist revolutionaries over the last 25 years against feudal exploitation and oppression and for land, that lies at the basis of this socio-political movement. The state's response to these struggles has been one of unleashing repression to maintain the exploitative 'order'. Therefore the violence being perpetrated by the state is directly on the people for asserting the right to hold political views. People's rights cannot be curbed by such a violence, for they have their own dynamics of resistance to defend the right.

We demand:

1. The state should immediately put a stop to the killings in staged encounters.
2. The draconian TADA should be withdrawn and those arrested under the Act should be released forthwith.
3. The ban on the PWG and its mass organisations should be lifted.
4. Prohibition and restrictions on the right to assemble, to hold meetings should end.
5. All the para-military forces, -- BSF, ITBF, CRPF -- should be withdrawn from the state immediately.

18th Jan. 1994

N. V. KRISHNAIAH

MLA, Sircilla,

Andhra Pradesh.

Workers' initiative to break impasse

On December 19, 1993, about 3,000 workers of Kannoria jute mill, Phuleswar, Howrah unlocked the main gate and entered the mill with the slogan: We shall start the production on our own ! And they translated this slogan into action by starting production on December 22. The workers had set up a departmental committee and a production team with one representative for every fifty workers of all departments. They carried on all the production on their own. The decision to sell the products at the mill gate from 25th December was suspended for the time being as the promoter of the mill, Pasaria, got a stay order from the High Court. An appeal was filed before the High Court bench while the workers continued with the production. On December 26, the departmental committee made an ad hoc payment of Rs. 100 to the workers from funds built through public contribution and loans. What are the circumstances that led to this militancy of the workers?

Cyclical and periodical lock-outs are a regular feature in the jute sector. The jute mill owners have not implemented the industry-wide tripartite agreement reached upon in 1992 by the mill owners, TUs and the state government. With the connivance of both the state government and the TU leaders, they are using the strike-lockout-mill level agreements-cuts in wages-retrenchment cycle. While the left front government remained a mute spectator to the gross violation of the tripartite agreement, the TU leaders restricted the workers to ritual gate meetings and gheraos. The workers are tired of assurances and promises made by the TU leaders, employers and the government for these promises are never kept. For instance, the management of Victoria jute mill promised to pump in 2.5 million ponds in 1989, but the money has not still come. A worker of the Victoria mill, Kedarnath Saha died in Gourhati ESI

hospital of malnutrition. Moreover the management has not paid promised wages and bonus eventhough Puja celebrations were nearing. The infuriated workers thrashed the mill's union leaders who they said had become agents of the management. The pent up anger and frustration is seeking its own ways of expression.

The workers of Kanoria jute mill are not demanding either a raise in wages nor fresh incentives. Their only demand is that they be paid their legitimate dues and that the labour department take action on the management for the violation of labour laws.

Workers' dues at Kanoria

Item Amount	(Rs. in lakhs)
Gratuity	85
Bouns for 1987	15
P.F.	85
E.S.I.	35
Bonus for 1992-93	15
Wage for 1987	4
Wage cut	300
DA for 1992	9
DA for 1993	6
Total dues	554

The Kanoria jute mill workers formed a Sangrami Shramik Union a year ago. The workers struck work to realise these legitimate dues on November 23. The management refused to have any discussion with the SSU. To prove that the SSU represented a majority of the workers, the SSU organised a procession with 3000 workers wearing identity cards issued by the management. The management declared suspension of the work in the mill on November 25. The workers observed a *rasta roko* on November 30, *rail roko* on December 10, fast unto death by two SSU leaders from December 15, and finally started production on December 19.

The SSU declared that the workers were not going to accept suspension work and also maintained that workers would take control of the mill and run the canteen on their own to vent their protest against the audacious management. It also declared that it would not oppose the present management if it wanted to run the mill after clearing up the legitimate dues of the workers; or if anyone other than Pasaria agreed to run the mill; and in the absence of any such party, the state government should take over the mill. Otherwise the workers would takeover the mill.

The Kanoria workers' initiative to break the impasse had the desired effect. It earned solid public sympathy and support. Notwithstanding the scathing comment ("They are a bunch of lumpens") by the labour minister Shanti Ranjan Ghatak and the venomous imputation of conspiracy to "deunionise workers" by the CITU, many workers, people and activists are lending their support to the Kanoria workers. A delegation of the AIFTU comprising of Com. Priyabrata Bose, Pradeep Banerjee, Jiten Dasgupta and Kajal Sen visited the Kanoria mill. The West Bengal unit of the AIFTU is supporting the workers and arranging propaganda at different factory gates for mobilising support and financial assistance from the working class. The Kanoria workers also decided to send 400 volunteers to the villages from amongst themselves for rallying support.

The Kanoria workers by their initiative have put the management in the dock and exposed the anti-labour attitude of the left- front government. As correctly observed by the SSU leader Prafulla Chakravarty : "Nothing could be achieved by burning and beating as the event in Victoria showed"; and co-operatives or participation in the management "create a privileged class and thus create a split among the workers". The SSU leadership is well aware of the real limitations of the initiative of the workers it has channelised into. The realisation of the immediate and long term demands of the workers could be possible only through a protracted struggle that defeats their capital.

-- Our correspondent.

Poem :

Vantillu

(The Kitchen)

I remember the kitchen's flavour upon flavour,
a mouth watering treasury, pungence of seasonings,
and the aroma of incense from the prayer room next door.
Each morning the kitchen awoke to the swish
of churning butter, the scraping of scoured pots.
And in the centre, the stove, fresh washed with mud,
painted and bedecked, all set to burn.
We saved secret money in the seasoning box; hid sweets too,
and played at cooking with lentils and jaggery.
We played Mother and Father, in the magic world of kitchen
that wrapped childhood in its spell.
No longer playground for the grownup girl
now trained into kitchenhood.
Like all the mothers and mother's mothers before her,
in the kitchen she becomes woman right here.
Our kitchen is a mortuary. Pans, tins, gunny bags crowd it
like cadavers that hang amid clouds of damp wood smoke.

Mother floats, a ghost here, a floating kitchen herself,
her eyes melted in tears, her hands worn to spoons,
her arms spatulas that turn into long frying pans, and other
kitchen tools.
Sometimes Mother glows like a blazing furnace,
and burns through the kitchen, pacing, restless, a caged tiger,
banging pots and pans. How easy, they say
the flick of a ladle and the cooking's done.
No one visits now. No one comes to the kitchen
except to eat.
My mother was queen of the kitchen,
but the name engraved on the pots and pans is Father's.
Luck, they say, landed me in my great kitchen,
gas stove, grinder, sink, and tiles.

I make cakes and puddings,
not old-fashioned snacks as my mother did.
But the name engraved on the pots and pans
is my husband's.
My kitchen wakes to the whistle of the pressure cooker,
the whirr of the electric grinder.
I am a well-appointed kitchen myself,
turning round like a mechanical doll.
My kitchen is a workshop, a clattering, busy, butcher stall,
where I cook and serve, and clean, and cook again.
In dreams, my kitchen haunts me, my artistic kitchen dreams,
the smell of seasonings even in the jasmine.

Damn all kitchens. May they burn to cinders,
the kitchens that steal our dreams, drain
our lives, eat our days -- like some enormous vulture.
Let us destroy those kitchens that turned us
into serving spoons.
Let us remove the names engraved on the pots and pans.
Come, let us tear out these private stoves,
before our daughters must step solitary into these kitchens.
For our children's sakes,
Let us destroy these lonely kitchens.

-- Vimala