

Communist Party of Ceylon Holds Ninth Congress

- Warmly acclaims Mao Tse-tung's thought and China's great proletarian cultural revolution and reiterates the necessity of applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the revolutionary practice of Ceylon.
- Strongly condemns Soviet modern revisionism and points out that modern revisionism is a bourgeois influence inside the working-class movement and is facing a final crisis.
- Comrade N. Sanmugathasan elected General Secretary. The Congress adopted a seven-point immediate programme.

THE Communist Party of Ceylon held its 9th Congress in April this year.

The weekly *Red Flag* of the Communist Party of Ceylon has recently published the press communique of the Congress and part of the Central Committee's political report adopted by the Congress, the part which deals with the international situation.

The documents pointed out the progressive deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the disintegration of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and other modern revisionist groups. They warmly acclaimed Mao Tse-tung's thought and China's great proletarian cultural revolution and reiterated the necessity of applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to the revolutionary practice of Ceylon. They repudiated a number of views on guerrilla warfare and on revolution, views which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The documents referred to the internal situation of Ceylon and put forward the revolutionary tasks of the Ceylon Communist Party. The Congress also adopted a seven-point immediate programme of the Ceylon Communist Party.

Dealing with the international situation, the documents pointed out that the revolutionary situation in the world is excellent. The general crisis of world imperialism is deepening progressively and the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people has intensified the economic crisis inside the United States. Inter-imperialist contradictions have developed in intensity. The documents cited the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the Black people's revolt inside the United States, the devaluation of the pound, the threat to the stability of the dollar, the decision of British imperialism to withdraw from east of Suez and the growing inter-imperialist contradictions as examples of the steady intensification of the general crisis of world imperialism.

The documents said that these manifestations of the intensification of the crisis of world imperialism bear

out the contention of the Marxist-Leninists that we are living in an era in which world imperialism is heading for total collapse.

The documents pointed out that since the 8th Congress in July 1965, there had been a tremendous worldwide advance of the all-conquering truths of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The flowering of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is one of the greatest events in our epoch, even more far-reaching in its effects than the October Revolution.

The documents said that it was the genius of the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which showed the way of how to carry out such a revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was his understanding, based on the experiences of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, that classes and class struggles continue to exist after the socialist revolution and even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This revolution has not only ferreted out the hidden enemies of the Party and the state, in particular the handful of top Party persons who had taken the capitalist road and had attempted to impose a bourgeois reactionary line in opposition to the revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. But it has also prevented the restoration of capitalism in China and preserved China as the base of world revolution and thereby ensured its early victory, the documents said.

The documents went on: In giving his personal leadership to the great proletarian cultural revolution and in guiding the world revolutionary movement in its fight against both imperialism and reaction and the modern revisionists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to a completely new stage which we now refer to as the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We wholeheartedly endorse the assessment made by the Communique of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which states as follows:

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory."

The documents said: We endorse the following analysis made by the Chinese comrades with regard to the contribution of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the development of Marxism-Leninism: "Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism."

The documents said: During the time of Lenin, whoever attacked Leninism was fundamentally attacking Marxism. Similarly, today, whoever is attacking the thought of Mao Tse-tung is fundamentally attacking Marxism-Leninism. Immediately after the October Revolution, Lenin said that the test of a socialist was his attitude to the Soviet Union. Today, it is his attitude to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to People's China.

The conscientious study of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, its widest dissemination among all sections of our people and the practical application of it to the concrete conditions of the revolutionary situation in Ceylon become the duty of every member of our Party, of every Marxist-Leninist, the documents said.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania are two brilliant examples of Marxist-Leninist Parties for emulation by us. In the way they built revolutionary Parties, adhered to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, carried out revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat and later safeguarded it from attack by imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all kinds and prevented the restoration of capitalism and safeguarded the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the way they are carrying the revolution forward in their own countries, they are models for all Marxist-Leninist Parties. We must humbly study their experiences and learn from them.

The documents strongly condemned Soviet modern revisionism and said that modern revisionism whose leading centre is in the Soviet Union is being exposed constantly. Events have completely borne out the analysis of the Marxist-Leninists that modern revision-

ism is nothing but an influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement. It is the final force from within the working class which world imperialism has called up in its hour of doom. It is today acting as a prop to the tottering and rotten tree of world imperialism.

The documents pointed out: The gradual restoration of capitalism inside the Soviet Union and the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the first workers' state by the Soviet modern revisionist ruling clique; their open collusion with U.S. imperialism, the enemy No. 1 of the peoples of the world, in all foreign affairs; their betrayal of all national-liberation struggles; their running errands for U.S. imperialism over Vietnam; their treachery to the Arab people in the recent U.S.-backed Israeli aggression against the Arab people; their supply of arms and other help to reactionary India to further its anti-China campaign; their friendship and assistance to the bloody reactionary regime in Indonesia; their participation in the U.S. imperialist global strategy of ringing China with military bases; their unashamed participation, along with the world's most reactionary circles, in the anti-China chorus vilifying the great proletarian cultural revolution — all these have more than convinced even honest doubters about the reactionary and pro-imperialist role played by the modern revisionists whose leading centre is in the Soviet Union.

The documents pointed out that modern revisionism is facing a final crisis. All attempts by the Soviet revisionist clique to summon an illegal meeting of Communist Parties of the world have miserably failed. All these are signs of disintegration within the modern revisionist camp and foretell its final and inevitable doom.

The documents said: It is necessary to reiterate our firm conviction that there can be no compromise, no halfway house, no building of bridges between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. There are some Parties and people who pretend to take up a "neutral" position between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. The declaration of "neutrality" in this titanic struggle is only the first step in the downward path towards modern revisionism. There is no third way.

Realizing that the majority in the ranks of the international revolutionary movement have seen through the false positions of modern revisionism whose centre is in the Soviet Party and realizing that modern revisionism can no longer deceive the people as earlier, they have pressed into their service certain alleged "neutral" forces who cloak themselves in Marxist-Leninist phraseology but, in fact, have become vehicles for dissemination of modern revisionist and anti-Marxist thought and have become opponents of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the documents said.

The documents repudiated a number of petty-bourgeois views on guerrilla warfare and on revolution, views which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao

Tse-tung's thought. The documents said: Realizing that the thought of Mao Tse-tung regarding protracted people's war and the setting up of revolutionary bases in the countryside is gaining increasing acceptance among the people, particularly the youth, a concentrated attempt seems to be on to oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung by the spreading of the fundamentally anti-Marxist views of some persons on guerrilla warfare.

The documents pointed out: An attempt is being made to popularize the thesis that notwithstanding the readiness of a people to carry out revolution, a band of determined revolutionaries can overthrow the existing state machinery, capture power and thereafter attract the people to their side.

This theory is based fundamentally on romantic and petty-bourgeois ideology which is characterized by negating the necessity for the leadership of the Communist Party and by a lack of faith in the masses. Rather than on the masses, it places its main reliance on a band of swashbuckling three musketeers type of bravadoes who are expected to perform miraculous exploits against terrific odds, the documents said.

The documents pointed out: This has nothing in common with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war which is based on complete reliance on the masses, and which urges revolutionaries to go and work among the masses, particularly the peasants, to integrate themselves with them, to set up rural revolutionary bases and wage a protracted people's war and finally surround the cities by the villages and liberate them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has clearly said that **"the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** Thus, the Marxist-Leninist theory of people's war is based on the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, under the leadership of the Party of the working class, and is aimed at the seizure of power, the documents said.

The documents pointed out: All Marxist-Leninists must be ceaselessly on guard ideologically and must be able to distinguish the genuine article from the faked one which the neo-revisionists are attempting to substitute.

The documents said: This Congress must reiterate our unqualified allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We must equip all our members with this most advanced theory of our times and help them to study it and apply it to the concrete conditions of the revolutionary situation in Ceylon.

Referring to the domestic situation, the documents pointed out that the United National Party (U.N.P.) had worsened the economic crisis by mortgaging Ceylon's economy to foreign imperialism. The people's discontent and anger against the U.N.P.-led government have increased tremendously. The documents condemned the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (L.S.S.P.) and the Keuneman revisionist clique for having, by their class col-

laborationist policies, become traitors to the working class and progressive movement.

Referring to the revolutionary tasks of the Communist Party of Ceylon, the documents pointed out: One of the basic tasks before the Party was to expose completely the illusions that prevailed among the people about bourgeois parliamentary democracy, to educate them about the futility of the parliamentary path and to convince them that parliament is merely an adornment which the bourgeoisie uses as a weapon to deceive the people and distract their attention from the real seats of power which are the armed forces. The Party must educate the people that only by forcible overthrow of the repressive imperialist-bourgeois state machinery can the working class and its allies ever hope to come to power.

The documents pointed out: In order to achieve this goal the Party must become a well-disciplined Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, employing the weapon of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses — as taught by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The documents pointed out that the Party must also bring into existence a united front of all the revolutionary forces — the workers, the peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all other patriotic and progressive forces. The worker-peasant alliance must be the bed-rock of this united front while the working class itself must lead it. The basic question of the united front is whether the Party can achieve the unity between the workers and peasants. Only on the basis of the achievement of this alliance can the unity with other progressive forces be achieved.

The documents called upon the entire Party not to confine its activities to the cities alone, but to go out to the rural areas and to mobilize the peasants and the plantation workers with a revolutionary perspective and to do good mass work with a correct style. The documents warned against the continuation of doing trade union and other mass work in a reformist way, and emphasized that all mass work should have as its aim the final capture of power by the working class.

The Congress adopted a seven-point immediate programme which includes the realization of genuine independence of Ceylon by freeing it from domination by Anglo-American imperialism; the establishment of real democracy for the people by the abolishment of feudalism; the building of an independent national economy free from imperialist control and based on self-reliance; the establishment of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal unity of all nationalities in Ceylon; the resolute opposition to all imperialisms, particularly to American imperialism, No. 1 enemy of the peoples of the world and firm support to all movements of national liberation against imperialism.

The new Central Committee which met after the Congress elected Comrade N. Sanmugathasan as the General Secretary.