

SELECTED WORKS OF
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What Possibility The Year 1965 is Indicating 1965

There are some comrades who get scared at the mentioning of armed struggles, and go on seeing the specter of adventurism. They think that the work of building a revolutionary party has ended with the very adoption of the programme in other words with the adoption of the programme that is the strategic documents at the Seventh Congress of the Party. Merely from some resolutions on movements adopted at the Party Congress, they arrived at the decision as if besides the present stage of revolution and the class composition, the tactics of the present era had also been decided at the Seventh Congress. From their words, it appears as if peaceful mass movement itself is the main tactic of struggle of the present era. Although they do not openly state Krushchov's tactics of peaceful transition to socialism, what they want to say almost amounts to the same thing. They want to say that there is no possibility of revolution in India in the near future. So at present, we shall have to move along the peaceful path. In the era of world-wide struggle against revisionism, they cannot openly state the revisionist decisions. But they are abusing as adventurist and police spies anyone who is speaking of armed struggle. Yet, even if we leave out the mass movement of Kashmir, the government has killed at least 300 people during the last eight months, the number of prisoners have risen to

several thousands and one after another, the States have been shaken by mass movements. What programmes are we placing before these agitators? Nothing! On the other hand we are dreaming — under our leadership organized peaceful mass movements will grow up. This itself is a shameless instance of revisionism. We are still unable to realize that in the present era we cannot build up peaceful mass movements. For, the ruling class will not give us and is not giving us either, such an opportunity. We should have drawn this very lesson from the tram fare resistance movement. But we are not taking that lesson. We have become anxious to organize satyagraha movements, we are not realizing that in the present era this satyagraha movement is bound to fail. It does not mean that satyagraha movements are altogether outmoded today. All types of movements have to be carried on at all ages; but the form of the main movement depends on the ruling class. The present feature of our age is that the government is fighting every movement by violent attacks. So for the people, the armed resistance movement has appeared as the most important necessity. So in the interest of mass movements, the call should be given to the working class, the fighting peasantry and every fighting people: (1) Take to arms; (2) Form armed units for confrontation; (3) Politically educate every armed unit. Not to give this call means pushing without any consideration the unarmed masses to death. The ruling class wants that, for in this way they can break the strength of mind of the fighting masses. The agitated masses today attack railway stations, police stations, etc. Innumerable agitations are bursting forth upon government buildings, or on buses, trams and trains.

This is like that Luddites' agitation against machines. The revolutionaries will have to give conscious leadership; strike against the hated bureaucrats, against police employees, against military officers; the people should be taught — repression is not done by police stations, but by the officers in charge of police stations; attacks are not directed by government buildings or transport, but by the men of the government's repressive machinery, and against these men that our attacks are directed.

The working class and the revolutionary masses should be taught that they should not attack merely for the sake of attacking, but should finish the person whom they attack. For, if they attack only, the reactionary machinery will take revenge. But if they annihilate, everyone of the government's repressive machinery will be panic-stricken. We should remember that the teaching of Comrade Mao. Mao Tsetung's: "The enemy's armory is our armory." To build up that armory the working class should take the lead. It should give leadership to the peasantry in the villages, and those very armed units will be transformed into guerilla forces in the future. If these armed units also are trained in political education, they themselves can build base areas for struggles in the countryside. Only through this method we can make successful the People's Democratic Revolution. By forming these fighting units among the working class and the revolutionary classes, we will be able to build up that revolutionary Party, the Party which can stand firmly on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and can carry out the responsibility of the coming age. The government is failing to supply food to the people, so the people have become agitated. So it is in the interest of the reactionary bourgeoisie

of India that India has attacked Pakistan. The US imperialist plan of the world war is also operating behind this war. By attacking Pakistan, the ruling class again wants to create a tide of bourgeois nationalism. But this time it is clear like daylight that India alone is the aggressor. So, as a result of the defeat of the Indian army, the anti-government struggle will fast crystallize among the masses. So Marxists want today that the aggressive Indian army should be defeated. This defeat will create new mass agitations. Not merely wishing that they should be defeated; Marxists at the same time should make efforts so that this defeat becomes imminent. In every province of India agitations should be created on the lines the mass agitation in Kashmir is progressing. The ruling class of India is trying to solve its crisis by imperialist tactics. To resolve the imperialist war we should advance along the path determined by Lenin. "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" — we should understand the significance of this slogan. If we can realize the truth that the Indian revolution will invariably take the form of civil war, the tactic of area-wise seizure of power can be the only tactic. The tactic of seizure of power of China is the only tactics. The tactic which was adopted by China's Great Leader Comrade Mao Tsetung — the same tactic should be adopted by the Indian Marxists.

From this year's experience the peasants have seen that the government did not take any responsibility of providing food to the poor peasant, but on the contrary the repressive machinery of the government was unleashed the moment the peasant masses took to the path of any movement. Over and above this, by attacking Pakistan, more burdens were imposed upon the peasants. So the poor peasants should get prepared for next year. If they are

deprived of the crops in the field, they will have to die of starvation next year. So prepare yourselves now. How can the struggle to preserve the crops be conducted ? (1) Organize armed forces in every village. (2) Make arrangements so that these forces can collect as much arms as they can and fix secret places to keep the arms. (3) Fix places for hiding the crops. In our past days we did not make any permanent arrangement for hiding the crops. So most of the crops were either destroyed or fell in the hands of the enemy. So permanent arrangements should be made to keep the crops hidden. Where can they be hidden? In every country of the world, wherever the peasant fights, crops have to be hidden. For the peasant, the only place to hide the crops can be under the earth itself. In every area, every peasant will have to make a place to hide the crops under the earth. Otherwise by no means the crops can be saved from the enemy. (4) Besides armed units, small bands of peasants should be formed to keep guard, and maintain communications and other work. (5) Every unit will have to be given political education and political propaganda should certainly be carried on. It should be remembered that it is only the political propaganda campaign that can make this struggle more wide-spread and strengthen the fighting spirit of the peasant. Two to three months are now left for harvesting. Within this period the Party units in the peasants areas should carry on political and organizational preparations to continue this work, and should attain good grasp of the tactics of secret work.

Carry on the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

1965

We shall have to carry on daily the struggle against revisionism, adopting the tactics of area-wise seizure of power. Certain revisionist ideas are firmly rooted inside the party. We shall have to carry on the struggle against them. We are discussing some questions here.

(1) The question that has assumed importance today in the struggle against revisionism is the complete support given by the Soviet leadership to the reactionary ruling class of India. They have announced that they will give India an aid of Rs. 600 crores during the Fourth Five Year Plan. The idea that Soviet aid is strengthening India's Independence is extremely wrong. For, there is no class analysis behind this. We shall have to place clearly before the people our views against this support. If support is given to the government of India which is following the path of cooperation with imperialism, and feudalism, it is the reactionary class which is strengthened. So Soviet aid is not strengthening the democratic movement of India, but is increasing the strength of the reactionary forces in co-operation with US-led imperialism and the Soviet. It is the Soviet-US. co-operation of modern revisionism that we are observing in India—a satanic association against the people's liberation struggles in the future. We are seeing from our experience in India that the dominance of the big

monopolists exists on the production of the big industries that have grown in the public sector with Soviet aid. So the State will not be able to control the power of the monopolist employers through public sector industries, it is the monopolist employers who are controlling the production of the public sector industries. Our experience is the same in both the cases of steel and petroleum.

(2) The question that has become important to us to-day is bourgeois nationalism. This nationalism is extremely narrow and it is narrow nationalism that is today the biggest weapon of the ruling class. This weapon they are using not only in the case of China, but also on any question like Pakistan, etc. By raising the slogan of national unity and other slogans, they want to preserve the exploitation of monopoly capital. We should remember that the sense of unity of India has arisen as a result of anti-imperialist movement. As the Indian Government is carrying on compromising with imperialism, that sense of unity is being struck at its root. There is only one aim at the root of the slogan of unity given by the present ruling class, and that is unity for the exploitation by monopoly capital. So this slogan of unity is reactionary and Marxists must oppose this slogan. The slogan—"Kashmir is an inalienable part of India"—is given by the ruling class in the interest of plundering. No Marxist can support this slogan. It is an essential duty of the Marxists to accept the right of self-determination by every nationality. On the questions of Kashmir, Nagas, etc., the Marxists should express their support in favor of the fighters. The consciousness of a new unity will come in the course of the very struggle against this government of India of imperialism, feudalism and big

monopolists, and it is in the interest of the revolution that it will be necessary to keep India united then. That unity will be a firm unity. It is from this consciousness of nationality that there have been struggles in South India against the imposition of Hindi and 60 people have lost their lives in this year of '65. So if the significance of this struggle is belittled, the working class will isolate itself from the struggles of the broader masses. It is in the interest of the working class that the efforts for development of these nationalities should be supported.

(3) "Establishing class analysis in the peasants' movement". At the present stage of the revolution the entire peasantry is the ally of the working class, and this peasantry is the biggest force of the People's Democratic Revolution of India and it is by keeping this in mind, we shall have to march forward in the movement of the peasantry. But all peasants do not belong to the same class. There are mainly four classes among the peasants—rich, middle, poor and landless—and there is the rural artisan class. There are differences in their revolutionary consciousness and ability to work according to the conditions. So Marxists must always try to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the entire peasant movement. The mistake that is often made while analyzing the class of the peasants is to determine it on the basis of the title deeds of land. This is a dangerous mistake. It has to be analyzed on the basis of their earning and level of living. The peasant movement will become militant to the extent we establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the entire peasant movement. It should be remembered that whatever

fighting tactics is accepted on the basis of the support of the broad peasantry, it can never be in any sense adventurism.

It should be remembered that all these years, basing ourselves on the support of the non-peasantry we have looked for narrowness of the peasant movement, and whenever repression came we thought that there must have been some adventurism. It should be remembered that no movement of the peasants on basic demands will follow a peaceful path. For a class analysis of the peasant organization and to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants, the peasantry should be told in clear terms that no fundamental problem of theirs, can be solved with the help of any law of this reactionary government. But this does not mean that we shall not take advantage of any legal movement. The work of open peasant associations will mainly be to organize movements for gaining legal benefits and for legal changes. So among the peasant masses the most urgent and the main task of the party will be to form party groups and explain the programme of the agrarian revolution and the tactics of area-wise seizure of power. Through this programme, the poor and landless peasants will be established in the leadership of the peasant movement.

(4) From 1959, on every democratic movement of India, the government has been increasingly launching violent attacks. We have not given leadership to any active resistance movement against these violent attacks. We gave the call for passive resistance in the face of these attacks, like the mourning procession after the food movement, among such instances. We shall have to remember Comrade Mao Zedong's

teaching—"Mere passive resistance against repression drives a wedge in the fighting unity of the masses and invariably leads to the path of surrender." So, in the present era during any mass movement, active resistance movement will have to be organized. The programme of active resistance has become an absolute necessity before any mass movement. Without this programme, to organize any mass movement today means to plunge the masses in despondency. As a result of the passive resistance of 1959, it was not possible to organize any mass rally on the demand for food in Calcutta in the years 1960-61. This organization of active resistance will arouse a new confidence in the minds of the masses and the tide of struggle will arise. What do we mean by active resistance? First, preservation of cadres. For this preservation of cadres, proper shelters and communication system are necessary. Secondly, teaching the common people the techniques of resistance, like lying down in the face of firings, or taking the help of some strong barrier, forming barricades, etc. Thirdly, efforts to avenge every attack with the help of groups of active cadres, which has been described by Comrade Mao Zedong as "Tit for tat struggle." At the initial stage, in proportion to their attacks, we shall be able to avenge a few attacks only. But if even a little success is gained in one case, extensive propaganda will create new enthusiasm among the masses. These active resistance struggles are possible in cities and in the countryside, everywhere. This truth has been tested in the Negro resistance movement of America.

(5) There is no clear-cut idea in the Party about the underground organization. A secret organization does not grow merely if a few leaders stay underground. On the

contrary, these very leaders face the danger of getting isolated from the Party ranks. If party leaders go underground and work as leaders of open mass organizations, they will invariably get arrested. So the underground leadership will have to go forward with the work of building a secret Party. So, it is not a fact that the task of forming a secret Party is solely that of the underground leaders; every Party member should work for the secret organization and through those new Party cadres the Party's links with the masses will be established. Only then the underground leaders will be able to work as leaders. So in this era, the main call before the Party is—every Party member will have to form a Party Activist Group. These Activist Groups will have to be enthused with revolutionary politics. This task of forming Activist Groups will be the main task for all Party members of all fronts. How soon we can raise these activists to Party membership will depend on how many new activists these activists will be able to collect. Only then we can get a large number of Party cadres unknown to the police and all the difficulties of underground leaders in maintaining links with the party ranks will disappear. Some revisionist ideas among us, about political and organizational matters and mass organizations etc. have been pointed out here. Today Party members will have to think anew about every mass movement. In the style of our movement, in our organizational thinking, in other words in almost every sphere of our lives, revisionism has built its nest. As long as we cannot uproot it, the new revolutionary Party cannot be built, India's revolutionary possibilities will be hindered. History will not forgive us.

Make the People's Democratic Revolution Successful by Fighting Against Revisionism 1965

As revisionist thinking nestled in the Indian party for a long time, we could not build up a correct revolutionary party. Our primary task today is to build up a correct revolutionary party fighting uncompromisingly against this revisionist thinking.

(1) The first among revisionist thought is to regard 'Krishak Sabha' (peasants' organization) and trade unions as the only Party activity. Party comrades often confuse the work of peasants' organization and trade union with the political work of the Party. They do not realize that the political tasks of the Party cannot be carried out through the peasants' organization and trade union. But it should be remembered at the same time that the trade union and the peasants' organization are one of the many weapons for serving our purpose. On the other hand, to regard peasants' organization and trade union work as the only work of the Party, can only mean plunging the Party in the mire of economism. The proletarian revolution cannot be made successful without an uncompromising struggle against this economism. This is the lesson that com. Lenin has given us.

(2) Some comrades think and are still thinking today that our political task ends with the launching of a few movements on demands, and they regard a single victory through these movements as a political victory of the Party. Not only that, these comrades seek to confine the responsibility of carrying out the political tasks of the Party within the limits of these movements only. But we, the true Marxists know that carrying out the Party's political responsibility means that the final aim of all propaganda, all movements and all organizations of the Party is to establish firmly the political power of the proletariat. It should be remembered always that if the words "Seizure of Political Power" are left out, the Party no longer remains a revolutionary Party. Although it will remain a revolutionary Party in name then, it will be actually reduced to a reformist party of the bourgeoisie.

When speaking of seizure of political power, some mean the Center. They think that with the gradual expansion of the limits of the movement, our only aim will be to capture power centrally. This thinking is not only wrong; this thinking destroys the correct revolutionary thinking within the party and reduces it to a reformist party. At the World Trade Union Congress in 1953, the well-tested and well-established Marxist leader of China, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, asserted firmly that in the coming days the tactics and strategy of the unfinished revolution of Asia, Africa and Latin America will follow the footsteps of China. In other words, the strategy and tactics of these struggles will be area-wise seizure of power. It was not only that comrade and member of the Central Committee of

the Chinese Party, but Com. Lenin also mentioned area-wise seizure of power in his writings. Above all, the working class in Russia gave a concrete proof of Lenin's conclusion when they kept the town of Kronstad under seizure for three days. In the era of socialism, all the elements of area-wise seizure of power are present in our framework.

A burning instance of the fact that this is possible is the Naga rebellion. The main condition of this area-wise seizure of power is weapons in the hands of the revolutionary forces. To think of seizing power without arms, is nothing but an idle dream. Our Party has a very long history of struggles. We gave the leadership to the peasants' and workers' movements in the extensive countryside of North Bengal. Naturally, we shall have to examine and analyze the movements of the past and draw lessons from them and we shall have to move forward anew in the present revolutionary era.

Analysis of the concrete events and experiences of the Tebhaga Movement in 1946 and 1947

The participant peasants in this movement numbered about six million. It should be remembered that in the entire peasant movement this was a golden era. In the massiveness of the movement, in the intensity of emotions, in the expression of class hatred, this movement was the highest stage of class struggle. To help understand that stage, I am citing a few moving instances of that movement.

A day's event:—

I was then living underground in the interest of the movement. I have personally witnessed the tide of the revolutionary movement. I have seen how a single little note made a man ten miles away come running like a mad man. On the other hand, I have also seen standing beside the husband, a newly wed young Muslim woman who was subjected to demoniac barbarous assault by the class enemy. I have heard the pathetic appeal of that unarmed husband—Comrade, can't you take revenge? The very next moment, I have seen the intense hatred of the exploited against the exploiter; have seen that awful spectacle of killing a living man in cold blood by twisting his throat.

Comrades, the above-mentioned incidents demand from us some analysis.

Firstly, what was the historical reason as a result of which this massive form of that movement in those days could create intense hatred against the class enemy?

Secondly, what again were the causes that turned that vast movement into a failure?

First, it was the slogan of seizure of political power that created the massive form of that movement of those days, created the intense hatred against the class enemy. On the opposite side, it was this slogan that made the class enemy adopt his class role. It is the expression of this that we find in the barbaric rape of the young peasant woman and the beastly violent attack to smash the movement. On the other hand the peasants also did not hesitate to attack the class enemy. This

raises the question: Why couldn't power be seized even after this? It couldn't be seized for one reason only—it was because the fighting people of those days looked to the center for arms; we then lost faith in the path indicated by Lenin. We hesitated in those days to accept that bold declaration of Lenin to carry forward the revolution by collecting arms locally and seizing power area-wise. As a result, the unarmed peasants could not stand up and resist in the face of arms. Even those who fought defying death had also to retreat finally. The lesson that has to be drawn from the mistakes of those days is that the responsibility of collecting arms lies with the local organization, not with the center. So the question of collecting arms will have to be put up before every Activist Group from now on. 'Dao', knives, sticks—all these are weapons, and with their help at opportune moments, firearms will have to be snatched. The events described above are manifestations of revisionist thinking in its theoretical aspect. Now, from the organizational point of view, those mistakes will have to be found out which were hurdles in the way of a correct leadership of the vast movements of those days, so that they may not find a nest afresh in the revolutionary Party. To smash all those mistakes in the Party, the Party will today first have to establish its leadership over the mass organizations. For, a review of the history of the party over a long period would reveal that as a result of the revisionist thinking of regarding leaders of trade unions and peasant organizations (krishak sabha) as the real representatives of the people, the party was reduced to a party of a few individuals. Because of this thinking, the party's political activities became inert, and the proletariat also became deprived of a correct revolutionary leadership. All movements became confined within the bonds

of movements on demands. As a result Party members became enthusiastic over a single victory and despondent over a single defeat. Secondly, as a result of overestimating the importance of this organization, another type of localism is born. Comrades think that the Party will suffer a serious loss if any comrade is shifted from his area and they take this as a loss to personal leadership. From this localism another type of opportunism develops. Comrades think that their area is the most revolutionary; naturally nothing should be done here so that there is police persecution. Because of this viewpoint they do not analyze the political situation of the entire country. As a result, commandism develops and organizational and daily propagandist work suffers. As a result, when there is a call for a struggle, they assert that they will not do any small work and commit adventurism. Naturally the question arises—what are the methods that help to get out of these deviations? What are those Marxist directives which become essential tasks for building up a revolutionary party?

Firstly, all works of organization of the future will have to be done as complementary to the Party. In other words, the mass organizations will have to be used as a part of serving one main purpose of the Party. For this reason, naturally, Party leadership will have to be established over the organizations.

Secondly, immediately from now the entire effort of the Party will have to be spent on recruiting newer and newer cadres and on forming countless Activist Groups consisting of them. It should be remembered that in the coming era of struggles, the masses will have to be educated through the illegal machinery. So every Party member from now on will have to

be made habituated to illegal work. To get used to illegal work, it is an essential task for every Activist Group to paste illegal posters. It is only through this process that they will be able to act as the bold core in leading struggles in the era of struggles. Otherwise, the revolution will be reduced to a petty bourgeois idle dream.

Thirdly, it is through these active organizations that the Party will be able to establish its leadership over the mass organizations. So from now on we shall have to help the members of the Activist Groups so that they can fearlessly criticize the leaders of the mass organizations, and their work.

Fourthly, the work of the mass organizations will have to be discussed and decided upon in the Party before it is implemented in the mass organizations. It should be remembered here that the policies of the mass organizations have been wrongly practiced so long in the Party. To hold discussions on Party decisions is not called democratic centralism. This thinking is not in accordance with Marxism. And from all this thinking the conclusion has to be drawn that the Party's programme will be adopted from below. But if it is adopted from the lower level, then the correct Marxist way is not implemented; in all these activities there inevitably is bourgeois deviations. The Marxist truth of democratic centralism is that the Party directive coming from higher leadership must be carried out. Because the Party's highest leader is he who has firmly established himself as a Marxist through a long period of movements and theoretical debates. We have the right to criticize Party decisions; but once a decision has been taken, if any one criticizes it without

implementing it, or obstructs work, or hesitates to implement it, he will be guilty of the serious offense of violating Party discipline.

As a result of having this idea of Party democracy as that of a debating society, the road for espionage inside the Party is thrown open. Naturally, the revolutionary leadership of the Party then becomes bankrupt and the working class is deprived of a correct revolutionary leadership. This petty-bourgeois sort of thinking inside the Party leads the Party on to the verge of destruction. And this is the manifestation of petty-bourgeois thinking inside the Party. Their comfortable living and attitude of undisciplined criticism reduces the Party to a mere debating society. This thinking becomes a hurdle in the path of building up a Party of the proletariat—strong as iron.

Fifthly, the undisciplined life of the petty-bourgeoisie draws them towards undisciplined criticism; that is, they do not want to criticize within the limits of the organization. To get rid of this deviation, we should remain conscious of the Marxist viewpoint regarding criticism. The characteristics of Marxist criticism are: (1) Criticisms must be made within the Party organization, that is, at the Party meeting. (2) The aim of criticism should be constructive. That is, the aim of criticism is to advance the party from the point of view of principles and organization, and we must always be vigilant that there is no unprincipled criticism within the Party.

Come, comrades, in the present revolutionary era, let us complete the People's Democratic Revolution by fighting uncompromisingly against revisionism.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION.

What is the Source of the Spontaneous Revolutionary Outburst in India?

1965

Comrades,

Two events occurred in the world in the era after the second world war. As, on the one hand, the naked form of the defeat of the so called Fascist powers was exposed before the people, so also, on the other, the world socialist state system under the leadership of Comrade Stalin created confidence in the minds of the people. As a result, a spontaneous revolutionary outburst was witnessed throughout the entire world. Above all, the success of the Chinese revolution in 1949, without the war itself, brought about a new revolutionary high tide in the midst of this spontaneous outburst about which the Communist Party of India could never make a correct assessment. As a result the revolutionary change in the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America brought about by this great revolution was never noticed by us. Hence, we failed to understand the significance of this bold revolutionary slogan, the clarion call of the 650 million revolutionary people--"See, we have on our own taken ourselves on to the path of socialism. No, even U.S. imperialism failed to check the tremendous motion of our irresistible revolutionary current."

But the fighting people did not make the mistake. That revolutionary spark spread to Vietnam, Cuba, every country in the whole of Latin America.

The people of India responded to that call. We saw the expression of this in the spontaneous democratic revolution of 1949 which was dimmed by us in trying to confine it within the narrow bounds of socialist revolution. Not only that, there was an attempt to negate the significance of the entire Chinese Revolution by openly criticizing the source of this spontaneous movement, the great Chinese Revolution and its Great Leader Comrade Mao Zedongn . Above all, later on, it was as a consequence to the denial of this Chinese Revolution that the slogan was raised within the Party that the revolution will be achieved not through the Chinese path but only through a truly Indian path. And from here itself was born today's revisionism. It was because of that left sectarianism of those days that we were unable to guide that movement along the correct path.

But, no, Comrades! The tide of that revolutionary movement of 1949 could not be exhausted, because no imperialism could wipe off the Chinese Revolution, the Red Flag of hope of the city of Peking.

We saw again that ebbing movement turning into a huge tide in 1951 during the Korean war. It is a full blossoming of this that we saw in spontaneous meetings, processions, in greeting the counter attack made unitedly by China and Korea. It was

the objective form of this that we witnessed in the great victory of the Communist Party in the 1951 election.

And it was the fighting form of this that we saw in the spontaneous erection of barricades by the fighting masses in 1953-54.

We could not understand. But the bourgeoisie could understand, could recognize the form of the fighting masses, could know its course. It realized that this great revolution could no longer be ignored, so to dupe the people it turned its face towards the socialist State, towards the great Chinese Revolution. That is why it participated in Panch Sheel, in the Bandung Conference.

Decadent imperialism also realized that it was not possible to carry on in the old method. So it took a new form, introduced a new method of exploitation by giving dollars as gift. Neo-colonialism began.

When imperialism and all the reactionaries of the world were grouping for a way out, to save themselves, the revisionist policy of the traitor Krushchov in 1956 made its appearance before them with a light of new hope. The reactionary government of India found a way to create illusion about Krushchov's independent capitalist path. But the reactionary government knew that it was impractical, illusory. That is why the reactionary government of India's bourgeoisie entered into a secret pact with the U.S. imperialism in 1958.

That is why in 1959 as it launched an attack on democracy, on the one hand, by suspending the constitution in Kerala, so also it started, on the other hand, slandering against the source of the spontaneous movement, the great Chinese People's Republic. It provided shelter to Tibet's imperialist agent, Dalai Lama. But when in spite of this the people spontaneously started along the path of struggle, the bourgeoisie without any delay shot dead 80 people. Thus the last possibility of peaceful transition to socialism ended.

But, no, Comrades, even then the people did not stand still before the government's might. The spontaneous strike of 1960 spread all over India on a massive scale, because the light of Chinese Revolution, the container of a force hundred times, thousand times stronger than this force, is showing them the way. That is why, comrades, even without the Communist Party, the people started on the path of struggle.

When the fighting people of this spontaneous struggle, being defeated with arms, were thinking of still harder struggle, the slogan of alternative government of 1962 could not create revolutionary enthusiasm in their minds. Because they wanted a reply to the question--What will happen if the Kerala episode is repeated in Bengal? We could not give a correct answer to this question. We could not put forward this correct and bold slogan at that time--In the event of the Kerala episode recurring in Bengal, it is armed struggle that would be the only way of overthrowing the government.

But the bourgeoisie did not make any mistake in noticing the image of the militant masses. That is why in 1962 the panic

stricken Indian government attacked the source of the struggle of the fighting masses, it attacked the great Chinese Democracy. But two events occurred as a result of which the bourgeoisie itself dug its grave. First, because of the defeat of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, the naked form of the weakness of this government became as clear as daylight before the fighting masses. The fighting masses found a new light of struggle. Secondly, because of the unilateral withdrawal of the Chinese troops from the Indian areas, the poisonous influence of perverted nationalism could not touch the peasants. The bourgeoisie became panic-stricken; it imprisoned the communists.

But it could not stop the spontaneous struggle. Work stopped in Bombay. The "Dum Dum Dawai" was started. To get out of this terrible situation, the bourgeoisie released the communists and tried to utilize their internal conflicts. But the notorious letter of Dange, the running dog of imperialism, spoiled their hope. A new revolutionary Party was formed, Krushchov fell from power, world revisionism received a terrific blow. The pillar, by depending on which the bourgeoisie had started attacks against China, began to shake in Viet Nam. The bourgeoisie saw the danger and found themselves, with their back to the wall, unable to make any retreat. So it attacked, imprisoned two thousand communists. But the fighting masses gave their verdict in Kerala, the government saw the outburst of spontaneous movement. It tore off the last mask of democracy.

But no, this spontaneous movement cannot be prevented even by imprisoning hundreds and thousands of communists and

resorting to thousand ways of repression. Because the Chinese Revolution cannot be destroyed. No stormy wind can put off the light of that Revolution. The delirious bourgeoisie knows that, so it has started raving about its own weak spots. It is trembling, imagining an organization being formed within the military. It has started seeing the ghost of Telangana.

Yes, Comrades, today we have to speak out courageously in a bold voice before the people that it is the area-wise seizure of power that is our path. We have to make the bourgeoisie tremble by striking hardest at its weakest spots. We have to speak out before the people in a bold voice--See, how poor, backward China, within sixteen years, has with the help of the socialist structure, made its economy strong and solid. On the other hand, we have to expose this traitorous government which has, within seventeen years, turned India into a playground of imperialist exploitation. It has converted the entire Indian people into a nation of beggars to the foreigners. Come, Comrades, let all toiling people unitedly prepare for armed struggle against this government under the leadership of the working class, on the basis of the programme of agrarian revolution. On the other hand, let us lay the foundation of the New People's Democratic India by building liberated peasant areas through peasant revolts.

Let us together, shoulder-to-shoulder, roar:

**Long live the unity of the workers,
peasants and the toiling masses!**

**Long live the imminent armed struggle of
India!**

Take This Opportunity

1966

During the last two years, the spontaneous struggles of the petty-bourgeois youths and students have created a stir from one end of India to another. Although at the beginning the demand for food was the main demand, but gradually the demand for ousting the Congress government has become main. Chairman Mao has said: "The petty bourgeois students and youth are a part of the people and at the inevitable conclusion of their struggle, the struggle of the workers and peasants will reach a high tide." So hardly had the struggle of the students and youth ended, the peasants' struggle has begun in Bihar. Hundreds of peasants are harvesting and carrying away the crops. They are seizing the hoarded stocks of crops of landlords. This struggle is bound to spread in the coming days to West Bengal and other states. The government is resorting to violent repression to suppress the agitating peasants. Chairman Mao has said: "Where there is oppression there is bound to be resistance against it." So we are witnessing spontaneous resistance in the struggles of the students and youth. The peasants of Bihar are carrying on resistance spontaneously. The official spokesmen are repeatedly declaring that they would resort to further repressive policies to preserve peace and order. So the responsibility of consciously building up resistance struggles has come up before the revolutionary working class and its Party.

This era is the era of active resistance movement. Active resistance movement will open up the source of the revolutionary genius of the revolutionary masses. It will spread the tide of revolution all over India. So in this age, to lead legal trade union or peasant association movement can never be the main task before the revolutionary cadres. Trade union or peasant association (Kisan Sabha) movement cannot be the main supplementary force in the present age of revolutionary tide. It would not be correct to draw from this the conclusion that trade unions or peasant associations have become outmoded. For trade unions and kisan sabhas are basically organizations to build up unity between Marxist-Leninist cadres and working class and peasant masses. This unity will be consolidated only when Marxist-Leninist cadres move forward in the work of building up the revolutionary party among the working class and peasant masses with the tactics of revolutionary resistance movement. The revolutionary working class and Marxist-Leninist cadres will have to go forward in the face of peasant struggles to give active leadership to the peasants' struggles through resistance or "partisan" struggles. The reactionary government of India has adopted the tactics of killing the masses; they are killing them through starvation, with bullets. Chairman Mao has said: "This is their class character. They launch attacks on the people even at the risk of being defeated." There are some leaders who faced with these indiscriminate murders, get scared and seek protection. Chairman Mao has said about them: "They are cowards and unworthy of revolutionary leadership." There is another group of people who boldly face death. They try to avenge every

murder — they alone are revolutionaries and it is they who can show the masses the path.

Apparently the government might look powerful, because it has in its hands food and arms. The people do not have food; they are unarmed. But it is the unity and firm spirit of these unarmed masses that smash all the arrogance of reaction and make the revolution successful. So Chairman Mao has said: "The reactionary force is actually a paper tiger." In the present era, our main task will be on the basis of three main slogans.

First, unity of workers and peasants. This unity does not mean that the workers and petty-bourgeois masses will give only moral support to the peasant movement. This slogan means the realization that the peasants are the main force of the revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India, the unity of peasants and workers can grow only on the basis of class struggle. So on the question of seizure of state power, Chairman Mao has said: "It is the liberated area in the countryside which is the concrete application of workers-peasants unity." So it is the responsibility of the workers, and particularly of the petty-bourgeois masses to develop peasants movement for building liberated areas. So Chairman Mao has told petty-bourgeois students and youth about movement: "Whether they are revolutionaries can be determined only by how much they become participants of this movement." Those who will not participate in this movement have the danger of becoming reactionaries.

Secondly, the revolutionary resistance movement, armed struggle. The reactionary government of India has declared

war against every struggles for democratic demands of the masses. Inside India, it has created a playground for imperialist and feudal exploitation, and in its foreign policy it has turned India into a base of reaction in collaboration with imperialism and modern revisionists. The people of India have become rebellious against this intolerable situation. In this situation, the revolutionary resistance movement or armed partisan struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party against reaction and the passive resistance movement of the revisionist party, have today become the main part of the Party's politics. So every Party member and revolutionary cadre will have to grasp this tactic of struggle. They should learn to practice it and temper the revolutionary spirit of the masses through propaganda among the masses. The success of the struggle is depending on how far we can popularize the politics of armed struggle through propaganda of it among the masses.

Thirdly, the building up of a revolutionary Party. In this revolutionary situation in India today, our Party organization is not capable of giving leadership. Without being firm in theory, clear in politics and without a mass base in respect of organization, it is impossible to give leadership in this revolutionary age of today.

(1) On the theoretical question: — It should be remembered that the Party leadership of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, has been captured by a revisionist clique. As a result, revisionist influence has fallen on the Communist Parties of different countries of the world. In our country also as this revisionist influence was felt, the need for forming a

separate Party was felt. And as a result of that, a separate Party was formed at the 7th Congress. The formation of a separate Party does not mean that the fight against revisionism has ended. Revisionism speaks of fighting against imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary force, but in deeds it widens the path of collaboration with these forces. Marxism-Leninism firmly opposes these forces, avenges their every attack, and mobilizing the masses through long-drawn struggle alone destroys these reactionary forces. The old ideas become manifest in (i) not accepting the leadership of the great Chinese Party against international revisionists; (ii) in not accepting the new developing forces; (iii) in not making the working class conscious of this new realization; (iv) in not aiding the struggle of the peasantry, which is the main ally of the working class.

(2) Political: — The People's Democratic Revolution will have to be seen as the task of this moment. Chairman Mao has said, "No dying force gives up its power easily: freedom comes out only from the barrel of a gun." So in our politics the main part will be armed struggle for seizure of power. The common people have started this armed struggle spontaneously. The main aim of our politics will be to establish consciously this armed struggle on mass base. The basic three points are, (i) Worker-peasant unity under the leadership of the working class. (ii) Consciously establishing armed struggle on mass base, and (iii) firmly establish the leadership of the Communist Party. It is imperative not to leave aside any of these three tasks. This politics will have to be propagated extensively among the masses.

(3) Organizational: — The mass base of the Party will have to be extended. We have seen during the last few years, thousands of militant cadres come to join the work of the organization during different movements and struggles, try to give leadership to the struggles, but the moment the movement stops, they again become inactive. Today, in the age of the revolutionary upsurge, people of many backward areas are coming forward on the road of struggles, and it is through those struggles that many young militant cadres are joining the work of the organization. If we can educate these cadres in our revolutionary theory and politics, the Party can get its mass base. We shall have to begin working boldly on collecting these cadres and on forming secret groups with them. These cadre-groups will carry on political propaganda and will act as units of armed struggle. The striking power of the Party depends on how far we are able to form these groups in increasing numbers among workers and peasants. With whom we are forming the groups and organizational details, like shelter, dumps, etc., should certainly be kept secret. But our theories, politics and the slogan of Party formation must never be kept secret. In the age of armed struggle, every Party unit must be participants in the armed struggle and be a self-reliant leader. The general elections are coming. During these elections the discontented people desire to and will listen to politics. Before the elections, every party will try to propagate their politics among the masses. We shall have to take advantage of these elections to propagate our politics. Let us not be confused by the false slogan of non-congress democratic government. We shall have to take to the masses courageously the politics of our People's Democratic Revolution, that is, the politics of worker-peasant unity under

working class leadership, of armed struggle, of establishing the leadership of the Party. If we fully take advantage of this it will not be possible for any leftist leader to oppose us. We shall have to take full advantage of this opportunity.

Our Tasks in the Present Situation

1966

The Congress government has arrested one thousand communists during the last one month. Most of Central and Provincial leadership are in jail today. Gulzarilal Nanda has announced that he will not accept the verdict of the electorate (and he has not), and he has started telling absurd stories about guerilla warfare. This offensive against democracy has begun because of the internal and international crisis of capitalism. The Indian government has gradually become the chief political partner in the expansion of American imperialism's hegemony of the world. The main aim of American imperialism is to establish India as the chief reactionary base in South-East Asia.

The Indian bourgeoisie is unable to find any way to solve its internal crisis. The perennial food crisis, its ever increasing price level, are creating obstacles for the Five-Year Plan, and as a result of this, there is no other way for the Indian bourgeoisie to come out from this crisis excepting importing more and more Anglo-American imperialist capital. As a result of this dependence on imperialism, the internal crisis of capitalism is bound to increase day by day. The Indian bourgeoisie has not been able to find out any other way except killing democracy, faced with the instructions of American

imperialism and its own internal crisis. There were imperialist instructions behind these arrests, since the American police chief 'Macbright' was in Delhi during the arrest of the communists, and the widespread arrests took place only after discussions with him. By killing democracy there can be no solution of this crisis, and the Indian bourgeoisie also will not be able to solve this crisis. The more the Government will be dependent on imperialism, the more it will fail to solve its internal crisis. With every passing day, the people's discontent will increase, and with every passing day, the internal conflict of the bourgeoisie is bound to increase.

Imperialist capital demands the arrest of communists as a precondition before investing; so also it wants a temporary solution of the food problem. To solve this food crisis, some steps to stop trade and profiteering in food are necessary, and it is for this that control is necessary. In a country of backward economy like India, this control invariably faces Opposition from a large section. This conflict of the bourgeoisie is not mainly a conflict between monopoly capitalists and the national bourgeoisie. This conflict is mainly between the trading community and the monopoly industrialists. In a country of backward economy, trade in foodstuff and essential commodities is inevitable for the creation of capital, and control creates obstacles in the creation of this capital, and as a result of that, internal conflict takes the form of internal crisis. India is a vast country. It is not possible to rule the 450 million people of this country by following a policy of repression. It is not possible for any imperialist country to take such a big responsibility. American imperialism is writing in death pangs, in keeping its commitment to those

countries of the world which it has assured of giving aid. Meanwhile, an industrial crisis has developed in America. It can be seen from President Johnson's utterance itself that the number of unemployed is increasing in the country. According to the official statement, four million people are absolutely unemployed; 35 million people are semi-unemployed and in factories also semi-unemployment is continuing. So the Indian Government will fail to suppress the ever-increasing discontent of the people. This attack on democracy will inevitably transform the people's discontent into struggles. Some indication of the shape of the protest movement of tomorrow is available from the language movement of Madras. So, the coming era is not merely an era of big struggles, but also an era of big victories. The Communist Party therefore will have to take the responsibility of leading the people's revolutionary struggles in the coming era, and we shall be able to carry out the responsibility successfully only when we are able to build up the party organization as a revolutionary organization.

What is the main basis for building up a revolutionary organization? Comrade Stalin has said: "The main basis for building up a revolutionary organization is the revolutionary cadre." Who is a revolutionary cadre? A revolutionary cadre is he who can analyze the situation at his own initiative and can adopt policies according to that. He does not wait for anyone's help.

Our Organizational Slogans

1. Every party member must form at least one Activist Group of five. He will educate the cadres of this Activist Group in political education.
2. Every party member must see to it that no one from this group is exposed to the police.
3. There should be an underground place for meetings of every Activist Group. If necessary, shelters for keeping one or two underground will have to be arranged.
4. Every Activist Group must have a definite person for contacts.
5. A place should be arranged for hiding secret documents.
6. A member of the Activist Group should be made a member of the Party as soon as he becomes an expert in political education and work.
7. After he becomes a Party member, the Activist Group must not have any contact with him.

This organizational style should be firmly adhered to. This organization itself will take up the responsibility of revolutionary organization in the future.

What will be the Political Education?

The main basis of the Indian Revolution is agrarian revolution. So, the main-slogan of the political propaganda campaign will be--make successful the agrarian revolution. The extent to which we are able to propagate the programme of agrarian revolution among the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie and educate them in it, to that extent they will be educated in political education. Every Activist Group should discuss the class analysis among the peasantry, the propaganda of the programme of agrarian revolution.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION.

Carry Forward The Peasant Struggle by Fighting Revisionism

1966

In the post-election period our apprehensions are being proved correct by the actions of the party (CPI-M) leadership itself. The Polit Bureau has directed us to "carry on the struggle to defend the non-Congress ministries against reaction". This suggests that the main task of Marxists is not to intensify the class struggle, but to plead on behalf of the Cabinet. So a convention of party members was convened to firmly establish economism within the working class. Immediately thereafter, an agreement for a truce in industry was signed at the Cabinet's initiative. Workers were asked not to resort to gheraos. What could be a more naked expression of class collaboration ? After giving the employers full right to exploit, the workers are being asked not to wage any struggle. Immediately after the Communist Party joined the Government that was installed as a result of a mighty mass movement, the path of class collaboration was chosen. The Chinese leaders predicted long ago that those who had remained neutral in the international debate would very soon take to the path of opportunism. Now, the Chinese leaders are saying that these advocates of a neutral stand are in reality revisionists and they would soon cross over to the reactionary

camp. In our country we are experiencing how true is this prediction. We have witnessed the betrayal of the working class. To this is to be added the announcement of the Communist Party leader, Harekrishna Konar. In the beginning he promised that all vested lands would be distributed among the landless peasants. Then the quantity of land to be distributed was slashed. In the end he informed that the existing arrangement would be left undisturbed this year. Remission of land revenue was left to the mercy of junior land reforms officers (JLROs). The peasants were shown the path of submitting petitions. They were further told that forcible seizure of land would not be permitted. Harekrishna Babu is not only a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee, he is also the Secretary of the Krishak Sabha in West Bengal. It was in response to the call of the Krishak Sabha led by him that the peasants had waged a struggle for recovery of vested and benami land in 1959. In the interest of landowners the Government had resorted to repression and had given decisions in favor of eviction, yet the peasants had not given up possession of land in many-cases and had stuck on to the land on the strength of village unity. Did the Krishak Sabha leader support their movement after becoming a Minister ? No. The meaning of what he said was that vested land would be re-distributed. Who will get it ? On this point the JLROs would seek the Krishak Sabha's views. But would such views be accepted? No such assurance has been given by Harekrishna Babu. But if the JLROs reject the Krishak Sabha's views, the peasants would under no circumstances be permitted to occupy land forcibly. Harekrishna Babu lost no time in making himself clear on this point. What is this? Is it not acting like a bill-collector of the government and jotedars?

Even Congressmen would not have dared plead on behalf of the feudal classes so unashamedly. Therefore, obeying the instructions of the party leaders would mean blindly accepting the feudal classes' exploitation and rule. So the responsibility of the Communists is to expose the anti-class and reactionary role of this leadership to Party members and the people, to hold on to the principle of intensifying class struggle and march ahead. Suppose, the landless and poor peasants accept Harekrishna Babu's proposal and submit petitions. What will happen then? Some of the vested lands are no doubt fallow, but most of it is cultivable land. There are peasants in possession of such lands. Today, they are enjoying the land by virtue of licenses. Or, they are giving a share to jotedars. When that land is redistributed, it will inevitably result in frictions among poor and landless peasants. Taking advantage of this, rich peasants will establish their leadership over the entire peasant movement, because as the rich peasant has opportunities for canvassing, so also he is a partner of feudal influence. Therefore, Harekrishna Babu is not only trying to forsake the path of struggle today, but he is also taking steps so that the peasant struggle may not become militant in future also. Yet we have adopted the programme of a people's democratic revolution and the task of that revolution is to carry out land reforms in the interest of the peasants. Land reform in the peasant's interest is possible only when we are able to put an end to the sway of feudal classes over the rural areas. To do this, we shall have to seize land from the feudal classes and distribute it among the landless and poor peasants. We shall never be able to do this if our movement is confined to the limits of economism. In every area where there has been a movement for vested land it is our experience that the

peasant who has got possession of vested land and secured the license is no longer active in the peasant movement. What is the reason ? It is because the poor peasant's class has changed within a year--he has turned into a middle peasant. So, the economic demands of poor and landless peasants are no more his demands. Therefore, economism causes a breach in the unity of fighting peasants and makes the landless and poor peasants frustrated. Advocates of economism judge every movement by the quantity of paddy in maunds or of land in bighas that the peasant gets. Whether the peasant's fighting consciousness has increased or not, is never their yardstick. So they do not make any effort to raise the peasant's class consciousness. Yet we know that no struggle can be waged without making sacrifices. Chairman Mao has taught us that where there is struggle, there is sacrifice. At the initial stage of the struggle the strength of reaction must be greater than the strength of the masses. Therefore, the struggle will be protracted. Since the masses are the progressive force, their strength will increase day after day but as the reactionary forces are moribund, their strength will decline steadily. So, no revolutionary struggle can be successful unless the masses are roused to make sacrifices. From this basic revolutionary outlook, economism leads on to the blind alley of bourgeois outlook. This is what the party leaders are trying to achieve through their activities. A review of all our past peasant struggles will show that the Party leaders have imposed compromises on the peasants from above. Yet it was the responsibility of Party leadership to establish the fighting leadership of the working class over the peasant movement. They did not do this before, they are not doing it even now. Now they are suggesting reliance on laws and the

bureaucracy. Lenin has said that even if some progressive legislation is enacted but bureaucracy is given the charge of implementing it, the peasants will get nothing. So, our leaders have gone a long distance off the revolutionary path. Agrarian revolution is the task of this very moment; this task cannot be left undone, and without doing this, nothing good can be done for the peasants. But before carrying out agrarian revolution, destruction of State power is necessary. Striving for agrarian revolution without destruction of State power means outright revisionism. So, destruction of State power is today the first and principal task of peasant movement. If this cannot be done on a country-wide, State-wide basis, will the peasants wait silently? No, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taught us that if in any area the peasants can be roused politically, then we must go ahead with the task of destroying State power in that area. This is what is known as peasants' liberated area. The struggle for building up this liberated area is the most urgent task of the peasant movement today, a task of this moment. What shall we call a liberated area ? We shall call that peasant area liberated from which we have been able to overthrow the class enemies. For building up this liberated area we need the armed force of the peasants. When we speak of the armed force we have in mind the arms made by the peasants. So also we want arms. Whether the peasants have come forward to collect awns or not is the basis on which we shall judge whether they have been politically roused. Wherefrom shall the peasants get guns ? The class enemies have guns and they live in the village. Guns have to be taken forcibly from them. They will not hand over their arms to us voluntarily. Therefore, we shall have to seize guns forcibly from them. For this, peasant militants will have to be taught

all tactics, right from setting fire to the houses of class enemies. Besides, we shall secure guns from the armed forces of the Government by attacking them all on a sudden. The area in which we are able to organize this gun-collection campaign shall quickly be transformed into a liberated area. So, for carrying out this task it is necessary to propagate extensively among the peasants the politics of building up armed struggle. It is, moreover, necessary to organize small and secret militant groups for conducting the gun-collection campaign. Simultaneously with propagating the politics of armed struggle, members of these groups will try to successfully implement specific programme of gun-collection. Mere collection of arms does not alter the character of struggle--the guns collected have to be used. Only then will the creative ability of the peasants develop and the struggle will undergo a qualitative change. This can be done only by poor and landless peasants, the firm ally of the working class. The middle peasant is also an ally, but his fighting consciousness is not as intense as that of poor and landless peasants. So he cannot be a participant in the struggle right at the beginning--he needs some time. That is why class analysis is an essential task for the Communist Party. The great leader of China, Chairman Mao Tsetung had, therefore, taken up this task first and was able to point out infallibly the path of revolutionary struggle. So the first point of our organizational work is establishing the leadership of poor and landless peasants in the peasant movements. It is in the process of organising peasant movement on the basis of the politics of armed struggle that the leadership of the poor and landless peasants will be established. Because, of the peasant classes, they are the most revolutionary. A separate organization of

agricultural laborers will not help this task. Rather, a separate organization of agricultural laborers encourages the trend towards trade union movement based on economism and intensifies conflicts among peasants. The unity of the allied classes is not strengthened, because in our agricultural system the exploitation of feudal classes is foremost. Another question that comes up in this very context is that of compromise with small owners. What shall be the Communists' outlook in this regard? In regard to compromises we shall have to consider whom do we support. So, we cannot support any other class as against them. In the peasant movement (in India) the Communists have always been compelled to give up the interests of poor and landless peasants in the interest of the petty-bourgeoisie. This weakens the fighting determination of the poor and landless peasants. In regard to middle and rich peasants also we should have different stand. If we look upon rich peasants as middle peasants, the poor and landless peasants will be frustrated. Again, if we look upon middle peasants as rich peasants, the fighting enthusiasm of the middle peasants will diminish. So, the Communists must learn to make class analysis of peasants in every area in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions.

Again and again the unrest among the peasants of India has burst forth. They have repeatedly sought guidance from the Communist Party. We have not told them that the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign constitute the only path. This path is the path of the working class, the path of liberation, the path of establishing a society free from exploitation. In every State throughout India the peasants are today in a state of unrest, the Communists must show them

the path. That path is the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign. We must firmly uphold this one and only path of liberation. The great cultural revolution of China has declared a war on all kinds of selfishness, group mentality, revisionism, tailism of the bourgeoisie, eulogy of bourgeois ideology--the blazing impact of that revolution has reached India also. The call of that revolution is--"Be prepared to resolutely make all kinds of sacrifices, remove the obstacles along the path one by one, victory shall be ours." However terrible the appearance of imperialism, however ugly the snare laid by revisionism, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered, the bright sunrays of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought shall wipe off all darkness.

So the question naturally arises: Is there no need for peasants' mass struggle on partial demands in this era ? Certainly the need is there and will be there in future also. Because India is a vast country and the peasants are also divided into many classes, so political consciousness cannot be at the same level in all areas and among all the classes. So there will always be the opportunity for and possibility of peasants' mass movement on the basis of partial demands and the Communists will always have to make full use of that opportunity. What tactics shall we adopt in conducting movements for partial demands and what shall be their objective? The basic point of our tactics is whether the broad peasant class has rallied or not, and our basic objective shall be the raising of the class consciousness of the peasants--whether they have advanced along the path of broad based armed struggle. Movements based on partial demands shall intensify class struggle. The political consciousness of

the broad masses shall be raised. The broad peasant masses shall be roused in making sacrifices, the struggle shall spread to newer areas. The movements for partial demands may take any form but the Communists shall always propagate the necessity of higher forms of struggle among the peasant masses. Under no circumstances shall the Communists try to pass the type of struggle acceptable to the peasants as the best. In reality the Communists shall always carry on propaganda among peasants in favor of revolutionary politics, i.e., the politics of armed struggle and gun-collection campaign. Despite this propaganda, the peasants will possibly decide to go on mass deputations and we shall have to conduct that movement. In times of white terror the effectiveness of such mass deputation must in no way be underestimated, because these mass deputations will increasingly draw peasants into the struggle. Movements on partial demands are never to be condemned but it is a crime to conduct these movements in the manner of economism. It is a crime, moreover, to preach that movements on economic demands will automatically take the form of political struggle, because this is worshiping spontaneity. Such movements can show the path to the masses, help develop clarity of outlook, inspire in making sacrifices. At every stage of struggle there is only one task. Unless that task is done, the struggle will not reach the higher stage. In this era that particular task is the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign. Whatever we may do without carrying out this task, the struggle will not be raised to the higher stage. The struggle will collapse, the organization will collapse, the organization will not grow. Similarly, there is only one path of India's revolution, the path shown by Lenin--building up the people's armed forces and

the republic. Lenin had said in 1905 that these two tasks must be carried out wherever possible, even if these were not feasible in regard to the whole of Russia. Chairman Mao has enriched this path shown by Lenin. He has taught the tactics of people's war and China has attained liberation along this path. Today that path is being followed in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Leopoldville, Congo, in different countries of Africa and Latin America. That path has also been adopted in India, the path of building the people's armed forces and the rule of the liberation front which is being followed in Naga, Mizo and Kashmir areas. So the working class will have to be called upon and told that it must lead India's democratic revolution and the working class will have to carry out this task by providing leadership to the struggle of its most firm ally, the peasantry. So, it is the responsibility of the working class to organize the peasant movement and raise it to the stage of armed struggle. The vanguard of the working class will have to go to the villages to participate in armed struggle. This is the main task of the working class "Collect arms and build up bases of armed struggle in rural areas"--this is called the politics of the working class, the politics of seizure of power. We shall have to rouse the working class on the basis of this politics. Organize all the workers in trade unions--this slogan does not raise the political consciousness of the working class. This does not certainly mean that we shall not organize any more trade unions. This means that we shall all not get the Party's revolutionary workers bogged in trade union activities--it would be their task to carry on political propaganda among the working class, i.e., to propagate the politics of armed struggle and gun-collection campaign, and build up Party

organization. Among the petty-bourgeoisie also our main task is political propaganda and propagation of the significance of peasant struggle. That is to say, on every front the responsibility of the Party is to explain the importance of peasant struggle and call for participation in that struggle. To the extent we carry out this task, we shall reach the stage of conscious leadership in the democratic revolution. Opposition to this basic Marxist-Leninist path of the Party is coming not only from revisionists. The revisionists are taking the path of class-collaboration straightaway, so it is revolution; the bourgeois parties had come to power and there was power in the hands of workers', peasants' and soldiers' soviets also. Because of the existence of this dual power, leadership of the working class became effective and only when in these soviets the petty-bourgeois parties handed over power to the bourgeoisie did it become possible for the working class to accomplish the October revolution.

They do not analyze the objective conditions of India. They do not take lessons from the struggles that are being waged in India. The main cause of success of the Russian revolution was the correct application of the tactics of the united front. The question of united front tactics is equally important in India too. But the tactics of India's democratic revolution will be different in form. In India also, in Naga, Mizo, Kashmir and other areas, struggles are being waged under petty-bourgeois leadership. In the democratic revolution, therefore, the working class will have to march forward by forming a united front with them. Struggles will break out in many other new areas under the leadership of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. The working class will also enter into

alliances with them and the main basis of this alliance will be anti-imperialist struggle and the right to self-determination. The working class necessarily admits this right, together with the right to secession.

Although those who dream of revolution in India along the path of October revolution are revolutionaries, they are not capable of providing a bold leadership because of their doctrinaire outlook. They do not realize the significance of peasant struggles and thus unconsciously become propagandists of economism within the working class. They are unable to assimilate the experiences of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A section of them becomes disciples of Che Guevara and fails to emphasize the task of organising the peasantry, main force of India's democratic revolution. Consequently, they inevitably become victims of Left deviation. So we shall have to pay special attention to them and help them gradually educate themselves. Under no circumstances should we be intolerant in regard to them. Besides, there is amongst us a group of revolutionary comrades who accept the Chinese Party and the Thought of the great Mao Tsetung and also accept that as the only path. But they view the book 'How to be a good Communist' as the only road to self-cultivation and are consequently led into a serious deviation. The only Marxist road to self-cultivation taught by Lenin and Chairman Mao is the path of class struggle. Only through tempering in the fire of class struggle can a Communist become pure gold. Class struggle is the real school of Communists and the experience of class struggle has to be verified in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and lessons have to be taken. So the main

point of Party education is application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in class struggle, arriving at general principles on the basis of that experience and taking back to the people the principles summed up from experience. This is what is called 'from the people to the people'. This is the basic point of Party education. These revolutionary comrades are unable to realise this fundamental truth of Party education. As a result they commit idealist deviations in regard to Party education. Chairman Mao Tsetung has taught us that there cannot be any education apart from practice. In his words, 'doing is learning'. Self-cultivation is possible only in the process of changing the existing conditions through revolutionary practice. Revolutionaries of the world unite !

**Long live the unity of workers and
peasants!**

Long live Chairman Mao Zedong!

The Main Task Today is the Struggle to Build Up the True Revolutionary Party Through Uncompromising Struggle Against Revisionism

1966

The Party leaders after long imprisonment, after the Party Congress, for the first time had a session of the full Central Committee. The central leadership of the party which was formed through struggles against revisionism, adopted an ideological resolution and declared bluntly that all the criticisms made against the Indian government by the great Chinese Party were wrong. At the same time they have stated in the resolution that criticism of Soviet revisionist leadership should not be made public now, as otherwise the people's faith in socialism will decrease. That is, the mask must not be torn off the attempt that is being made by the Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the U.S. imperialism to establish world hegemony.

The leader of the Great Chinese Revolution, the Communist Party of China, and its leader Com. Mao Tsetung, are leading today the proletariat and revolutionary struggles of the world. After Lenin, Comrade Mao Tsetung has today filled Lenin's position. So the struggle against revisionism cannot be carried out by opposing the Chinese Party and Com. Mao Tsetung.

The purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be maintained. By opposing the Chinese Party, the Indian Party leadership has forsaken the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism. They are trying to pass off revisionism by putting it into a new bottle. So Party members should understand this clearly today that in the struggle against revisionism, this Party leadership is not at all our comrade-in-arms, not even an associate.

Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism is today trying for world hegemony. They are acting as enemies of every national liberation movement today. They are trying to establish the revisionist leadership by splitting the revolutionary parties and are shamelessly acting as agents of the US imperialism. They are today the enemies of the people's liberation struggles in every country, enemies of the revolutionary struggles, enemies of revolutionary China, even the enemies of the Soviet people. So no struggles against American imperialism can be made without carrying out an open struggle against this Soviet revisionist leadership. It is impossible to lead the anti-imperialist struggle if it is not realized that the Soviet revisionist leadership is not a partner in the anti-imperialist struggle. The party leadership, far from following this path is rather trying to convince the people through different writings that the Soviet leadership, in spite of a few mistakes, is basically opposing the policies of the Indian government, and is still moving along the path of socialism. That is, they are trying to conceal in a cunning manner the fact that the Soviet leadership is transforming the Soviet Socialist State into a capitalist state gradually and that the Soviet-American collaboration itself is because of that.

So, in the political and organizational analysis of India during the last two years, there has been no mention of imperialist, particularly American imperialist interference, although from Johnson to Humphrey, all the representatives of US imperialism have repeatedly declared that they will use India as a base against China. Such an important question did not come to the notice of the Central Committee at all. So in the political and organizational resolution, no word of caution has been uttered for party members against the imperialist counter-offensive. On the contrary, after reading the entire resolution it appears that there has been no particular change in the situation; that in some cases rigours have increased and they can be fought through ordinary movements. The Party leadership is absolutely silent about the new feature in the struggles during the last two years — the expression of revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence — this new emerging trend of mass movements. They posed the questions of mass movement in such a way that the simple conclusion that follows from it is that our main aim during the coming elections will be to establish a non-congress democratic government. In no part of their resolution it was mentioned that this election was being held to hide the exploitation and indirect rule by imperialism. The reactionary government of India through this election wants to spread constitutional illusion and behind that, under imperialist instructions wants to build up our country as a counter-revolutionary base of South East Asia, and wants to stem the resistance of the people by violent attacks on the revolutionary sections of the masses. The experience of Indonesia has taught us how violent today dying imperialism

can become. It was the responsibility of the Party leadership to prepare the Party members to face this situation and to hold up clearly that the only way was revolutionary violence and to organize the entire Party on that basis. The leadership of the Indian Party not only did not do this work, but it has also made any talk about revolutionary resistance illegal within the party.

The party leadership is raising the hue and cry of adventurism whenever it hears about "revolutionary resistance" or "armed struggle" But at the same time they indiscriminately use the words "dehoarding of stocks," "gherao," "continuous stride," etc. But whenever there is any talk about resisting the repression that invariably follows these struggling tactics, they regard it as adventurism. The slogan of "State-wide continuous strike" is nothing else but a petty-bourgeois like ultra-Leftist slogan. On the one hand this ultra-Leftist slogan and on the other, in regard to the political question, a desperate desire to forge unity in the electoral field which means acting as an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

So this Party leadership is refusing to take the responsibility of the democratic revolution of India and as a result of that they are resorting to the cunning tactics of modern revisionism, that is, the path of being revolutionaries in words and an appendage of the bourgeoisie in deeds. So the revolutionary party can come up only through the destruction of the present party system and its democratic framework. So to abide by the so called 'form' or "constitutional frame work" of this party, means to render Marxist-Leninists ineffective and to co-operate with the revisionist leadership.

So from the party leadership to the ordinary workers, all those who believe in Marxism-Leninism, must come forward before the party members with the revolutionary views of Marxism-Leninism. Only then we can start work on building the revolutionary Party. The Indian government has been forced to retreat in the face of the India-wide mass outburst. As a result, the scope of democratic movement has increased in the period preceding the elections. The government is organizing the counter-revolutionary forces in this period. The revolutionary forces also will have to take full advantage of this apparently democratic atmosphere. The fighting tactics adopted by the masses during the recent mass movements, were nothing but "partisan" struggles of an initial stage. So the revolutionary forces must lead in an organized manner those "partisan" struggles and before the massive counter-revolutionary offensive starts, Party members must be well-trained in the tactics of these struggles through theories and concrete application.

The meaning of the Party Activist Groups today is that they will be "combat units". Their main duty will be political propaganda campaign and to strike against counter-revolutionary forces. We should always keep in mind Mao Tsetung's teaching — "Attacks are not for the sake of attacking merely, attacks are for annihilating only". Those who should be attacked are mainly: (1) the representatives of the state machinery like police, military officers; (2) the hated bureaucracy; (3) class enemies. The aim of these attacks should also be the collection of arms. In the present age these attacks can be launched everywhere, in cities and in the

countryside. Our special attention should be paid especially to peasant areas.

In the post-election period, when the counter revolutionary offensive will assume a massive character, our main base will have to be established in the peasant areas. So immediately now, we shall have to clearly put up before our organization this view that with the development of sense of responsibility among working class and revolutionary petty-bourgeois cadres, they will have to go to the villages immediately. So with the development of the sense of responsibility among the working class and petty bourgeois cadres, they will have to be sent to the villages. In the period of counter-revolutionary offensive, our main tactics of struggle will be that of Great China, the tactics of encircling the cities with villages. How fast we can silence the counter-revolutionary offensive depends on how soon we can build up the people's armed forces. It is true that in the beginning, we can achieve some success, but in the face of massive counter-revolutionary offensive, we shall have to retaliate in the interest of self-preservation alone. Through this long-drawn difficult struggle, the People's Revolutionary Army will grow up — the army which is inspired by political consciousness, and made firm through political campaign movements and encounters. Without this type of an army, it is not possible to make the revolution successful, it is not possible to protect the interests of the masses.

Comrades, instead of running behind spontaneous movements, partisan struggles will have to be developed in an organized manner today. Not even six months are left. If we

cannot begin this struggle within this period, we shall have to confront the difficult task of organizing in the face of imperialist attacks.

It is Time to Build Up a Revolutionary Party

1967

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has adopted a political line which is basically anti-revolutionary, opposed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Marxism-Leninism and based on class-collaborationist and revisionist ideology. At its Madurai meeting the C.C. has made a declaration in favour of peaceful transition to Socialism and has chosen the path of the country's progress through parliamentary democracy.

Despite high-falutin polemics on the international ideological disputes, it has, in fact, wholly rejected the ideological stand of the great Chinese Party and the Thought of Chairman Mao. While keeping silent about the capitalist revival in the Soviet Union it has discarded straightway the postulate of Comrade Stalin's last writing, Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and has at the same time opposed the line of the great Chinese Party by its open declaration that the Soviet Union is still a member of the socialist camp. What it all implies is lending support to the revisionist Soviet policy on the Vietnam issue in the international sphere and discovering a progressive role of Soviet economic 'aid' and trade-relations and welcoming them. On the issue of peasant struggles the

C.C. has adopted without any presence the Menshevik political line and ended by opposing the peasant struggle.

Naturally, the C.C. meeting at Madurai has dragged down the party to the level of a revisionist bourgeois party. Therefore, to the genuine Marxist-Leninists there remains open no alternative but to oppose this policy. Now that the Madurai Resolution has been adopted it is obvious that the Central Committee is not a revolutionary Committee. Hence it is the revolutionary duty of every Marxist-Leninist to declare war against this Central Committee. The ulterior motive of the conceited bombast in which the whole of the C.C. Resolution is couched is but to deceive the revolutionary section inside the party, and more, to act secretly as a stooge in the interests of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reactionary forces.

The only purpose the Marxist-Leninists have behind all ideological discussions is how to apply the ideology in the objective conditions existing in their own countries. An abstract discussion of ideological issues as such has no revolutionary significance because its truth is subject to test through its application in the particular context. The C.C. has discussed the international ideological issues as abstract concepts, and what it has done concretely in that respect has in reality led it openly to declare the Soviet type of revisionism as the only path for India, and hence its opposition to the great party of China.

Its bourgeois outlook reveals itself in its stand on the issue of nuclear arms stockpile. It has not explained the real character

of the joint nuclear monopoly by America and Russia, but has only aired a semblance of criticism in this vein: "Why has not the Soviet Union exchanged with China the secret of nuclear science?" The nuclear weapon is being used today as the most formidable weapon in the fight for power in the international arena. Under such circumstances, the collaboration between America and Russia turns out in fact to be a collaboration for world domination. This plain truth has been covered up behind much petty forgery. The C.C. has ignored an event like exchange of nuclear secrets between America and Russia and so, the logical conclusion to be arrived at there from has not been arrived at by it. The only reason is that it considers the international ideological dispute to be a conflict of national interests that occurs between bourgeois countries and so fails to understand its real significance. That is, it refuses to see that this struggle is, in truth, a struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism—a struggle between the revolutionary ideology and the counterrevolutionary ideology.

By refusing to refer to the reactionary character of the Indian government and by pointing out that "the Congress party still holds considerable political influence among the people", it tries to beautify the reactionary Indian government before the people. By keeping silent about the countrywide mass upsurge it has refused to lead these mass movements and by its policy of continuing in the U.F. Governments it has indirectly supported every step taken to suppress the mass movements and justified these anti-people activities. Without the slightest attempt to analyse the class-character of the different partners of the U.F. governments it has unhesitatingly given the

directive to win over these constituent parties in favour of the Communist Party Programme through persuasion. If this is not undiluted Gandhism, what else is? Words and phrases such, as class, class-interest, class-struggle and so on find no place in the C.C. analysis. That is to say, by discarding the Marxist outlook and cursorily inserting a few Marxian terms, the C.C. has in fact rejected the entire doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

By spinning out the yarn that the Congress still retains a mass base, the C.C. has tried to exaggerate the strength of the Indian reactionary forces. They cover up the undeniable fact that the economic crisis of this government is ripening into a political crisis through mass upheavals and thus, they underestimate the strength of the people. When the weakness of the reactionary Congress government is clearly revealed even to the common man, the C.C. is trying its best to pacify the people by magnifying the strength of the government out of all proportions. This brazen canvassing in favour of the reactionary government would have put even the Congress to shame. Even when American imperialism and Soviet revisionism in spite of their giving all possible help are failing to revive people's confidence in the government, the C.C. like a faithful lackey comes forward in defence of this reactionary government. The C.C. has thus proved to be an ally and friend of American imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Indian reactionary government.

The C.C. is trying to show that it does not recognize the leadership of any other Party. The bourgeoisie has always been saying that the Communist Parties toe the line of the

Soviet Party. The C.C. is trying to counteract this bourgeois propaganda by declaring that it does not accept any other Party's directives or analyses. We, communists, believe in a single scientific doctrine, known as Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung. If we acknowledge the truth of a science, we must necessarily acknowledge the authority of those who have developed it. Those who had wished to be Marxists without being followers of Lenin were cast eventually into the cesspool of history. The Thought of Mao Tse-tung is today the highest form of Marxism-Leninism and those who are opposing this international Marxist authority are doomed to take refuge in the fold of imperialism.

India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. So the main force which can change the colonial condition in this country is the peasantry and their anti-feudal struggle. No change is conceivable in this country without agrarian revolution. And it is the agrarian revolution that proves to be the only path towards the liberation of this country. Not only has the C.C. maintained silence over this question of agrarian revolution, but the C.C. is determined to oppose the revolutionary struggles of the peasantry wherever they have resorted to them. What intense hatred for the militant peasant revolutionaries of Naxalbari, what glee at the temporary success of the repressive policy of the reactionary U.F. government, has found expression in the words of the C.C. spokesman! As befits a faithful agent of the bourgeoisie, they insist on a precondition: they must receive the guarantee of success before they will condescend to lend their support to the struggle.

Today the duty of each and every Marxist-Leninist is to oust the C.C. from the revolutionary front. That alone can release the flood-tide in the movements and pave the way towards the final victory. Far from being a partisan, this revisionist reactionary C.C. is an enemy of every kind of anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle. It is only by severing all ties with this C.C. and its evil ideology that a revolutionary party can grow and develop. The smashing of this bourgeois ideology is the only guarantee for the growth of revolutionary ideology. Without uprooting this reactionary ideology the Indian revolution cannot advance even a step. So, for all genuine revolutionaries in the party submission to this political centralism can only mean acceptance of bourgeois authority. Therefore, the primary precondition, without which it is impossible for a revolutionary party to grow, is to defy the centralism of this C.C.

The first task towards building a revolutionary party is the propagation and dissemination of revolutionary ideology, that is the propagation and dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. The only path of the people's democratic revolution is to build up revolutionary bases in the rural areas through agrarian revolution under the proletarian leadership and subsequently to encircle the urban centres by expanding these revolutionary bases; to organize people's liberation forces from among the peasants' guerrilla forces and to lead the revolution to victory by capturing the cities, that is, to put into practice the tactics of people's war as formulated by Chairman Mao. This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist line for the liberation of India. A vigorous campaign in favour of this line is to be launched not only among the party members and

sympathizers but also among the broad sections of the masses. Only thus can revolutionary struggles and a revolutionary party grow and develop. Only by propagating this mass line we can make the people conscious of the hollowness of the bourgeois reactionary documents of the C.C. and overcome the influence of this reactionary leadership on the struggling masses. Chairman Mao teaches us that we must ceaselessly propagate this mass line on all fronts. This teaching has a special significance for India. That there are a large number of revolutionary workers in the party is true, but it is equally true that the party has over a long stretch of time been inured to the rut of revisionism and bourgeois pattern of activities. As a result, there persist among the revolutionary party workers old revisionist habits, which are reflected in the trend of economism in every sphere, in the manner of functioning characteristic of economism. The experience in our area has shown how, despite their acceptance of the revolutionary ideology, the old party organizers on the peasant front or in the workers' unions hesitate to propagate it among the masses and how, faced with a revolutionary struggle, they get panicky, lose all confidence in the masses and in many cases even choose the path of open opposition. This does not in all cases assume the form of open opposition but is reflected in their lack of confidence in people's strength and exaggeration of the enemy's strength. The harmful effects of the actions of such party workers can be effectively overcome provided there is a sustained campaign in favour of this mass line among the larger section of the militant masses around these party workers. In such cases, those workers who have in them a genuine revolutionary urge may overcome their weakness.

We shall be faced with such a situation in every area, for the party members cherish many revisionist ideas as they have long been accustomed to the revisionist way of functioning. They cannot get over them in a day or two: only sustained revolutionary practice can enable them to do so. The campaign in favour of this mass line of our party would draw into the fold of the party new revolutionary cadres from among the vast revolutionary masses outside the party. These cadres would by their vigorous revolutionary consciousness remove the inertia within the party and instill a dynamic revolutionary energy.

It is only through long-drawn and hard struggles that the revolution in India can be brought to its successful culmination, since this vast country of fifty crore-strong population happens to be a strong base of the imperialist powers and the mainstay of Soviet revisionism. So with the victorious completion of the revolution in India the doomsday of imperialism as well as of Soviet revisionism would fast draw near. Hence it is nothing strange or unnatural that they would rush in to oppose the revolution in India, the citadel of world reaction. In this situation, to think of an easy victory is nothing but wishful thinking. Nevertheless, our victory is certain, since this country spreads over a vast area with a population of fifty crores. So all the might of the imperialists and revisionists will fail to stop the tide of revolution in this country.

But revolution can never succeed without a revolutionary party—a party which is firmly rooted in the Thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a party composed of millions of

workers, peasants and middle-class youth inspired by the ideal of self-sacrifice; a party that guarantees full inner-party democratic right to criticism and self-criticism and whose members freely and voluntarily abide by its discipline; a party that allows its members to act not only under orders from the above but to judge each directive with full freedom and even to defy wrong directives in the interest of the revolution; a party which ensures voluntary job-division to every member who attaches equal importance to all sorts of jobs ranging from high to low; the party whose members put into practice the Marxism-Leninist ideals in their own lives and, by practicing the ideals themselves, inspire the masses to make greater self-sacrifice and to take greater initiative in revolutionary activities; the party whose members never despair under any circumstances and are not cowed by any predicament but resolutely march forward to overcome it. Only a party like this can build a united front of people of different classes, holding different views in this country. Only a revolutionary party like this can lead the Indian revolution to success.

The great ideal that Chairman Mao Tse-tung holds high before all Marxist-Leninists is bound to be realized. Only then can we bring into existence a new democratic India and this new democratic India will then resolutely march forward towards socialism.

The Indian People's Democratic Revolution

1968

The victory of the People's Democratic Revolution in this country of 500 million people will lead to the inevitable collapse of world imperialism and revisionism.

The People's Democratic Revolution in this country can be led to a victorious end only in opposition to all the imperialist powers of the world. Particularly, we shall have to reckon with U. S. imperialism, the leader of world imperialism. U. S. imperialism has not only adopted all the aggressive features of prewar Germany, Italy and Japan, but has further developed them to a great extent. It has extended its aggressive activities to all corners of the globe and has enmeshed India in its neocolonialist bondage. The Vietnamese people are in the forefront of the struggle against this aggressive imperialism, which is raging in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The victorious Indian revolution will destroy this imperialist monster.

The People's Democratic Revolution in this country will have to be carried through to a victorious end by actively opposing the Soviet Union- the lard of the great October Socialist Revolution. This is because the present leaders of the Soviet state, party and army have adopted a revisionist line and set

up bourgeois dictatorship in their country. In collusion with the U. S. imperialists, they have extended their exploitation and established their domination over various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In India, the Soviet leaders have become the chief pedler of U. S. imperialism despite their flaunting of the name of the great Lenin. With the help of their stooges (the Dange clique and the neo-revisionist clique), nurtured by themselves, the Soviet leaders are turning India into a field for their unrestricted exploitation and are deceiving the fighting masses, thus proving themselves to be the running dogs of U. S. imperialism and friends of the Indian reactionaries. The victory of the Indian revolution will not only bury Soviet revisionism and its Indian lackeys in the soil of India, but also ensure its death all over the world.

The People's Democratic Revolution in our country can be led to a victorious end only on the basis of the thought of Chairman Mao. The extent to which one assimilates and applies the thought of the Chairman will determine whether one is a revolutionary or not. Moreover, the extent of the revolutionary upsurge will depend on how widely we can spread and propagate the Chairman's thought among the peasants and workers. This is because the Chairman's thought is not merely the Marxism-Leninism of the present era, the Chairman has advanced Marxism-Leninism itself to a completely new stage. That is why the present era has become the era of the Chairman's thought.

The People's Democratic Revolution in India has to be directed against the bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie in the country and against feudal exploitation in the vast rural

areas. Because forty crores of people out of the total population of fifty crores live in the rural areas in our country and because even today, feudal exploitation continues to be the main form of exploitation to which they are subjected, the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords in the countryside remains even today the main contradiction. This contradiction can only be resolved in the countryside through the establishment of liberated zones by the peasants' armed forces under working class leadership. This is the biggest and most important task that faces us today, for India is at present going through a period of revolutionary upsurge and this path pointed out by the Chairman is being increasingly accepted by growing numbers of peasants and revolutionary masses.

Our revolution has to be directed against the Congress government which represents the bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie and which, frightened by the postwar mass upheaval, came to terms with the imperialists with the help of the feudal lords. The leaders of the so-called Communist Party of India actively cooperated with these reactionary forces either in the name of making compromises or by open betrayal. They have disgraced the red banner which was dyed in the blood of the heroes of Kayyur, the fighters of Punnapra and Vayullur, the fearless heroes of Telengana and hundreds of martyrs of Bengal and other parts of the country. Today, all the political parties of India have turned into active accomplices of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reactionaries, and become enemies of the revolution. That is why the new democratic revolution in India can be victorious only under the leadership of the working class and by following the thought of the Chairman.

To organize this new-democratic revolution and lead it to victory we need a party of the working class, a Communist Party, whose political ideology will be Marxism-Leninism and its highest development—the thought of Mao Tse-tung. But how can such a party be built? Could we perhaps gather together the various so-called Marxists who profess the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and revolt against the leadership of their party, and declare that a Maoist party has been formed? Certainly not. Because merely raising the banner of revolt is not enough to build up a Maoist party. These rebel comrades must apply in practice the thought of the Chairman and must thereby train up worker and peasant cadres. Only then can we claim to have made progress in building up a genuine Maoist party.

The old political cadres will no doubt be in such a party. But, basically, such a party will be formed with the youth of the working class, the peasantry and the toiling middle class, who not only accept the thought of the Chairman in words but also apply the same in their own lives, spread and propagate it among the broad masses and build bases of armed struggle in the countryside. Such a party will not only be a revolutionary party but will at the same time be the people's armed forces and the people's state power. Each and every member of such a party must participate in struggles in the military, political, economic and cultural spheres. We must immediately take in hand the task of building such a party. It may not be possible right now to build up such a party on an all-India basis but that should not discourage us. We must begin our work wherever we can build up such a party no matter how small

that area may be. We must shed fears of being in the minority and advance with unshakable faith in the thought of the Chairman. Our task is in no way easy, but is extremely difficult. Our struggle will generate new enthusiasm in the minds of all the fighting people of the world. Only thus can we successfully help the heroic fighters of Vietnam. Only such a revolutionary party can successfully lead the armed struggle and build up the broadest united front—the two weapons with which the revolution can be led to a victorious end.

Those who think that our main task is to attract the great majority of the members of the so-called Marxist parties towards us and that a revolutionary party can be built up in this way, are consciously or unconsciously thinking of forming only another party for fighting elections. They forget that the members of these so-called Marxist parties, whatever revolutionary qualities they may still possess, have been accustomed to the practice of unadulterated revisionism and as a result of this practice, have lost many of their revolutionary qualities. They must undergo the process of new practice to become revolutionaries again. This is why a revolutionary party cannot be built up by relying upon the members of the old party. The new party must be built up with the fresh revolutionary youth of the working class, the peasantry and the middle class by educating them in the thought of the Chairman and through revolutionary practice.

The primary condition for building up a revolutionary party is to organize armed struggle in the countryside. Until this task is taken in hand all talk of revolution simply amounts to

accepting revolution in words only. And so they are, as the Chairman has said, revolutionaries in words. But our party will be built up with those who are revolutionaries in deeds. Otherwise, the party will be reduced to a debating society, like the Burdwan plenum..

What happened at Burdwan? The Soviet ruling clique has become the number one enemy of the national liberation movements of various countries and is openly working for the destruction of the national revolutions; yet, people engaged themselves in a heated controversy at Burdwan over the extent of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. To engage oneself in a controversy over the restoration of capitalism in a country where the proletarian dictatorship has already been abolished and bourgeois dictatorship established, is to confuse the people and to blunt the edge of struggle against the main enemy. So, what happened at Burdwan has gladdened the hearts of the revisionists of the world, and marks the success of the revisionist conspiracy. Not a single person attending the Burdwan plenum broke away from these revisionist traitors.

So, if we rely on the revolutionary force inside the party we shall never be able to build up a revolutionary party. We must lay our main stress on the hundreds of thousands of young people outside the party. Only then can we build up a genuinely revolutionary party and establish revolutionary bases of armed struggle.

Comrades! A great responsibility rests on us. All the reactionaries of the world have turned our country into their

base and are using it as the center for destroying the liberation struggles of Southeast Asia. They are trying to use India as their base for supplying cannon-fodder for their aggression against the great Chinese people. It was precisely this that the renegade Kosygin, Tito and Chester Bowles conspired about with Indira Gandhi in New Delhi recently. So, to make revolution in our country is a great international responsibility. This is exactly why the little spark of Naxalbari brings joy and enthusiasm to the fighting people of entire Southeast Asia, to the leaders of the great Chinese Party-the leaders of the world revolution and to the revolutionary peoples of the entire world.

A most sacred international responsibility lies on our shoulders and we absolutely must fulfill it. There is no doubt that this would demand heavy sacrifices from us, but what revolutionary ever feared to make sacrifice?

Chairman Mao teaches: We must dare to fight and dare to win. He is still with us. Victory shall be ours!

Long live Mao Zedong!

A long, long life to Chairman Mao

**Long live India's New-Democratic
Revolution!**

One Year of Naxalbari Struggle

1968

Full one year has passed since the peasant struggle in Naxalbari began. This struggle is different from all other peasant struggles. Where is the difference? Peasants have always struggled against various injustices and oppressions. This is the first time that the peasants have struggled not only for their partial demands but for the seizure of state power. If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us, it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops etc., but for the seizure of state power. It is precisely this that gives the Naxalbari struggle its uniqueness. Peasants in different areas must prepare themselves in a manner so as to be able to render ineffective the state apparatus in their respective areas. It is in Naxalbari that this path has been adopted for the first time in the history of peasant struggles in India. In other words, the revolutionary era has been ushered in, and this is the first year of that era. It is for this reason that the revolutionaries of all countries are heartily welcoming the Naxalbari struggle.

India has been turned into a base of imperialism and revisionism, and is acting today as a base of reactionary forces against the people struggling for liberation. That is why the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a national struggle; it is also an international struggle. This struggle is difficult, and the path we have chosen is in no way easy or smooth. The path of

revolution is difficult, not smooth or easy, and difficulties, dangers and even retreats will be there. But the peasants who are fired with the spirit of the new internationalism have defied all this and refused to submit. They continue to persist in their path of struggle.

Our experience during the last one year shows that the message of this struggle in a small area has spread to every corner of India. Each one of the existing political parties has opposed the Naxalbari struggle, yet the people are thinking in terms of this struggle and are coming forward to take the path charted by this struggle. The heroic leaders of the Naxalbari struggle are still living and the reactionary government, in spite of all their attempts, has not been able to destroy them. This shows how true are the words of Chairman Mao: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying but in reality are not so powerful."

The Chairman has said, "the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

Let us march forward to usher in that brilliant sunshine of liberation!

The United Front and the Revolutionary Party

1968

The party that is not engaged in directing an armed struggle has no business in talking about a united front. This is because such a party is quite unable to build a united front on the basis of an independent and clear-cut policy. Consequently, it inevitably finds itself at the tail-end of things. A united front can be successfully built up only by directing successfully an armed struggle. The principal thing about a united front is that it is the united front of the working class and the peasantry. Only such a united front can unite the middle classes and can unite, even though temporarily, with all those with whom unity is possible. Only a revolutionary party can carry out this task. And in the present era the sole criterion to judge whether a party is revolutionary or not is whether the party is directing an armed struggle or not.

At present much hullabaloo is being raised in India over the so-called united front. This united front is, however, nothing more than the ganging up of some reactionary parties to gain power. The sole object of their ganging up is to capture the ministerial guddis. The so-called Left parties also are uniting, as they did in West Bengal and Kerala, with the same object in their view. That no Leftism brought them together has been amply proved by the actions of the cabinets which they

formed. And what was the result of all this? In Kerala the Congress has been able to secure a single party majority in the municipal elections, while in West Bengal even the Jan Sangh has been able to increase its strength. The nine-month United Front rule in West Bengal has made it sufficiently clear that all the Left parties have united against the workers and the peasants and taken upon themselves the task of confusing the middle class. As it is no longer possible for the Congress to do this, the so-called Left parties have come forward to shoulder this burden in order to ensure that the reactionary forces can continue to wield power without difficulty. The Left Communist leaders have performed this task most faithfully. This is why Chavan is now having second thoughts about the Left Communists. This is clearly proved by the fact that Dinesh Singh [a member of the Central Cabinet - Ed. Liberation] hurried to Calcutta just after the Burdwan Plenum had started, sent for Jyoti Basu and had a secret meeting with him. In other words, the reactionary Congress rulers instructed Jyoti Basu & Co. to raise a storm over the teacup, if need be, but to avoid a split. What happened at Burdwan was merely the monkey-dance at the waving of the baton by the Congress masters.

Didn't we see how the United Front regime in West Bengal implemented the food policy formulated by the Congress? But when it came to owning up this dark deed, we found how without batting their eyelids, the firebrand revolutionaries, who adorned the U.F. cabinet, passed the entire burden of the crime on to the shoulders of Sri Prafulla Ghosh. One may ask, if as a member of the cabinet, Sri Prafulla Ghosh had the right to uphold and further the interests of a particular class, what

prevented Sri Harekrishna Konar from upholding and furthering the interests of the poor peasants? The reason is obvious: the interests of the poor peasants run counter to the class-interests which Sri Harekrishna Konar and Co. represent. This shows that each and every constituent party of the United Front is an enemy of the oppressed workers and peasants. This explains why no real conflict ever developed in the United Front during its tenure in office. This United Front has been formed precisely on the basis of this class-antagonism towards the working class and the peasantry. In Bihar, U.P., Rajasthan and Madras, where the United Fronts have been formed on the basis of collaboration between the feudal classes and reactionary parties, it is not very difficult to understand the class-character of such fronts. One or two Communists of the Left or Right variety, who entered the cabinets formed by these United Fronts, have only exposed their class character. But it is necessary to have a close look at the United Fronts formed in West Bengal and Kerala in particular. This is because the Left Communists happen to be the largest constituent party in the United Fronts in both these states. This has clearly shown that the Left Communist Party as such is unworthy of being called Communist. They are merely the running dogs of the foreign and Indian reaction and of the Soviet revisionists. It was on behalf of the Indian and foreign reaction that Dinesh Singh came and warned Jyoti Basu not to expose their reactionary character too much at the Burdwan Plenum. In this way the conspiracy of international revisionism was successful at the Burdwan Plenum. The revisionists of the world are congratulating themselves over the fact that they could, even if temporarily, at least do something to deceive the revolutionary masses of India. After

this they are sure to launch an all-out attack against the revolutionary section of the Party and will infiltrate into and plant agents among the revolutionary ranks to sabotage the programme of action of the New Democratic Revolution at an opportune moment and to lower the revolutionary section in the estimation of the people . It is the tactics which international revisionism has mastered through practice over a long period. So every revolutionary must today study Chairman Mao's article Combat Liberalism and draw lessons from it. China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taught us that to carry on an internal struggle is a task which we must undertake. To neglect this task will inevitably mean that the fruits of our work will be grabbed by the enemies of the revolution.

When a revolutionary party wants to build up a united front it must first of all make an analysis of the classes in the country. As we all know, our Revolution is a New Democratic Revolution. This is because the Democratic Revolution in our country has not been completed. The bourgeoisie is unable to carry this Revolution through to the end. In one or two small countries and under special circumstances the democratic revolution may win temporary victory under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, as happened in Cuba under Fidel Castro. But even there it is not possible today to accomplish the main task of democratic revolution, viz., the seizure of all power from the feudal classes and to develop capitalism fully on the basis of nationalizing all land. That is why Castro, with all his empty revolutionary phrase-mongering, does not care to interfere with land relations. This has forced him to keep his country constantly dependent upon and under the tutelage

of a big power. This is the main lesson of the Algerian Revolution also. To think of making a successful revolution under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie in a vast country like India is sheer daydreaming. Here the democratic revolution can be victorious only as the New Democratic Revolution. And what is a New Democratic Revolution? It is the revolution which can achieve victory only under the leadership of the working class in alliance with the broad peasant masses and by carrying on armed struggle against the foreign and Indian reactionaries. Who are the allies of the working class in this revolution? Basically, they are the entire peasantry, that is, the poor and landless peasants and the broad masses of the middle peasants. A section of the rich peasants may also take part in the struggle at a certain given stage. Apart from these, the toiling middle class will also be with the working class. These three classes are the main force of the revolution. Among these, the peasants constitute the overwhelming majority. For this reason, the revolution depends mainly on them. The outcome of our revolution will depend on the extent to which we can win this class over to the side of the revolution. Hence, the working class as the leader and the middle class as a revolutionary class must unite with the peasantry. It is precisely this unity which we call the united front. This is the only Marxist understanding of the united front.

The united front can be built up only in the course of an armed struggle led by a revolutionary party. And only such a revolutionary party can unite the uprisings of various nationalities. The victory of the national struggles now being led by various petty bourgeois elements depends on how

much such struggles develop into class struggles. Their complete victory will depend on how much class struggles can unite these national struggles. The revolutionary party must resolutely and unequivocally declare that we must firmly unite with these national struggles against the common enemy and that each and every nationality has and will have the full right to freedom and independence. A revolutionary party can unreservedly unite with the national struggles of the Nagas, Mizos and others on the basis of this principle. The precondition for forming such a united front, however, is that the nationalities must be carrying on armed struggle. Many people think that the Communist Party should lead the various national struggles and that the New Democratic Revolution can be accomplished through such struggles of the nationalities. This is an erroneous idea. The Communists should not be the leaders of national struggles. The Communists should, however, forge unity with the national struggles but the duty of the Communists is to develop class struggle and not national struggles. In order to prevent disruption of class struggle, the Communists must declare that every nationality has the right at self-determination including the right to secede. Such a declaration will assure the nationalities that by uniting they will not fall into the clutches of a new set of exploiters. And only when they feel assured of this, will they participate in the class struggle. We, Communists, can never become leaders of the national struggles, even if we try. By trying to become leaders we can only reduce ourselves into mere appendages of the petty bourgeoisie of various nationalities. But after we declare our attitude to the nationalities, we will find that as we march forward as the leader of class struggles, the character of the

various national struggles itself will begin to change. And on the eve of victory every national struggle will ultimately be transformed into class struggle.

Notes:

The United Front in West Bengal, a conglomeration of 14 parties - Bangla Congress, a breakaway faction of the Congress, S.S.P., P.S.P., C.P.I., C.P.I.(M), S.U.C. and so on formed a ministry in West Bengal in March 1967 with Ajoy Mukherjee, the Bangla Congress leader as Chief Minister, and Jyoti Basu as the Deputy Chief Minister. It survived until November 1967, when it was dismissed by the Center

Y. B. Chavan was then the Union Home Minister.

To Comrades

1968

ISOLATION from the broad peasant masses constitutes a most harmful political weakness on the part of the revolutionaries. This danger appears at every stage of the struggle. That is why Chairman Mao, in explaining the tactics of guerrilla warfare, has said: "Divide your forces to arouse the masses, concentrate your forces to deal with the enemy." This is the first law. This process of arousing the masses is never completed. The second lesson is that guerrilla warfare is, basically, a higher stage of class struggle, and class struggle is the summation of economic and political struggles. The more I am trying to have a clear understanding of the thought of Chairman Mao, the more I am learning ever newer lessons from it. Comrades in every area will have similar experience and only then will our understanding deepen and we shall become better Marxists. However, it cannot be said just now that all of our comrades have understood this correctly. But all the comrades have started thinking along this line. Learning from the masses is a very difficult task. Subjectivism is an offshoot of revisionism. Our struggle against revisionism has only just started. We have still a very long distance to go.

While the comrades who are working among the peasants should continue to propagate politics, they should never belittle the necessity of formulating common slogans on

economic demands. For, without this, broad sections of the peasantry cannot be drawn into the movement, nor can the backward sections of the peasants be raised to a level where they can grasp our political propaganda, nor can their hatred against their class enemy be sustained. "Seize the coming crops" is a slogan which must be propagated from this moment. Hatred must be roused against the jotedar class as it starves the peasants throughout the year. "Peasants should seize the next harvest" is a slogan which will draw broad sections of the peasants into the fold of the movement, and our conscious political propaganda will change the nature of this peasant movement.

Develop Peasants' Class Struggle through Class Analysis, Investigation and Study 1968

The revolutionary tactics for developing peasant movements in the rural areas can never be the same as the revisionist tactics. The manner in which we have tried to develop peasant movements for all these years can be called nothing but revisionist tactics. Revisionism works in peasant movements with a view to keeping the Party's activities open and relies for the movements on the Party leaders who belong to the intelligentsia. Consequently, they begin their movements with speeches by top leaders, by organizing peasant squads and through open propaganda campaigns. Naturally, such movements are wholly dependent upon the big leaders and, as a result, they end whenever those leaders belonging to the intelligentsia choose to withdraw them. Moreover, as the entire agitation and movement are carried out openly, the entire organization becomes helpless in the face of repression.

The tactics of the revolutionaries for organizing peasant struggles must be entirely different from the revisionist tactics. The foremost duty of the revolutionaries is to spread

and propagate the thought of Chairman Mao and to try to intensify the peasants' class struggle. Consequently, the Party organization must organize propaganda by means of secret meetings. It may be that the peasants, acting under the influence of their old method of working, will ask for meetings and demonstrations. In such cases, the Party organization may help organize one or two such meetings or demonstrations.

But meetings and demonstrations can at no time become our main instrument of struggle. To master this revolutionary method is indeed very difficult. But this can be done if the revolutionary intellectuals start working in the underground from the very beginning. Only then will they be compelled to become dependent on the peasant revolutionaries. It must be realized that the people are not yet ready so long as the peasant revolutionaries do not take the initiative themselves. And naturally, we are not to impose our views on the peasant masses. The second deviation occurs when the peasant cadres want to do something, but the intellectual comrade attaches greater importance to the view of the most backward comrade and would have it accepted as the general opinion. This gives rise to a Right deviation.

So, the first principle is that we must not impose anything at all against the will of the masses. If we forget this, we shall commit many deviations which may be variously termed as sectarianism, Castroism etc. To avoid this we must ceaselessly carry on political propaganda among the peasants. As a result of such propaganda, we shall be able to raise political cadres able to carry on political propaganda. The secret organization

of such cadres will become the Party of the future. In building this organization, we must follow the principles on which Party committees are run. Every such Party committee must have a definite area in which it will work, and must learn how to make a class analysis in that area and how to assess the wishes and thinking of each section of the population by means of investigation and study. This method of investigation and study can be learnt only through long practice. So, it is evident that in the beginning these committees will commit many deviations. But we need not be afraid of this, for Chairman Mao has taught us that we should learn warfare through warfare. The Party committees will learn how to take correct decisions from these deviations if they follow democratic principles.

There are both an advanced section and a backward section among the revolutionary classes also. The advanced section can quickly grasp the revolutionary principles while the backward section naturally requires more time to assimilate political propaganda.

That is why economic struggles against the feudal class are necessary, not only in the present, but in the future also. That is why the movement to seize the crops is necessary. The political consciousness and organization in a given area will determine the form that this struggle will assume. This struggle will naturally be directed against the feudal class, that is, against the non-cultivating landowners, that is, against the zamindar class and never against the middle peasants.

If we do not try to develop a broad movement of the peasants and to draw the broad masses into the movement, the politics of seizure of power will naturally take a longer time to get firmly rooted in the consciousness of the peasant masses. As a result, the struggle will be dominated less and less by politics, and the tendency to rely more and more on arms alone is likely to grow. Guerrilla warfare is a higher form of the peasants' class struggle under political leadership. Consequently, only by the successful application of the four weapons-class analysis, investigation, study and class struggle can we create areas of peasants' armed struggle.

Rich peasants in our country rely mainly on feudal exploitation. So, our relation with them will be mainly one of struggle. But as they are subjected also to the exploitation of the imperialist market, it is possible to unite with them at certain stages of the struggle. Apart from these rich peasants, all other peasants can be mobilized not merely as supporters but also as participants in the struggle. The poor and landless peasants, under the leadership of the working class, can build up the fighting unity of the broad peasant masses. The more rapid such unity is achieved, the quicker will the struggle assume a revolutionary character. We must bear in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao: "Revolutionary war is a war of the masses. It can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are intensifying their oppression and exploitation in India and the burden of their exploitation ultimately falls upon the shoulders of the broad peasant masses. Poverty and starvation have made the life of

the peasants absolutely unbearable and it is natural that spontaneous outbursts of discontent are taking place. Similarly, the oppression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has given rise to discontent among other classes also, which, in turn, influences the peasant masses. On the other hand, all the existing political parties in India have today turned into parties of the ruling classes, and each one of them is presently trying to keep the masses quiet by means of various tricks and devices. The Dangeite traitorous clique and the neo-revisionist clique are the most skilled in doing this. They are trying to confuse the masses by wearing the mask of Marxism-Leninism and indulging in all sorts of pseudo-revolutionary talks. But the Soviet revisionists' fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia has torn off their mask and with each passing day they will be clearly shown up as mere lackeys of the Soviet Union, which is today a pedlar of neo-colonialism and one of the aggressive powers of the world. The more these people are exposed, the more will the flood-tide of the resistance struggle of the masses be unleashed and the possibility of a broad mass movement of the peasants be turned into reality. So, the working class and the revolutionary intelligentsia are today faced with the task of making the peasants class-conscious and of organizing broad class struggles. The day is not far off when the creative powers of the millions of Indian peasants will build wide areas of armed struggle in the countryside and the revolutionary masses of India will take their rightful place in the ranks of all the revolutionary liberation fighters of the world. All revolutionaries must without delay plunge into the work of translating into reality Great Lenin's dream-the dream

that the unity of the fighting peoples of Great China and India will dig the grave of world imperialism.

"Boycott Elections!": International Significance of the Slogan 1968

The year was 1937. German, Italian and Japanese fascism, the three advanced detachments of world imperialism, were conspiring to redivide the world among themselves. German and Italian fascism intruded on the stage of Spain as active supporters of General Franco. The world working class came out in support of the united front government of Spain, and an International Brigade was formed with people who came from different countries. But unfortunately Franco succeeded in smashing the resistance put up by the International Brigade and in imposing his brand of fascism on Spain.

Just at that time, the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao liberated a small area, Yanan, and stood up to oppose Japanese militarism. Not only that. It smashed all the boasts of Japanese militarism and began to create one liberated zone after another by rousing the poor peasants in the Japanese-occupied areas. These liberated zones not only survived the fierce Japanese attacks but also struck back hard at Japanese imperialism. At that time the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung had not only to

fight Japanese imperialism but also had to resist the reactionary Kuomintang government led by Chiang.

Then the Second World War broke out. The colonies of the older imperialist powers crumbled like a house of cards. The colonial people saw before their eyes how the so-called powerful imperialist powers fled before Japanese aggression like a dog beaten and with its tail between its legs. German fascism brought all the imperialist powers of entire Europe (excepting the British) under its heels through its superior military technique and strength. The old imperialist powers proved unable to meet the onslaught of fascism. With the entire industrial wealth and resources of Europe at their disposal, the power-drunk German fascists launched an aggression against the Soviet Union, the only state at that time where the working class held power. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by the great Stalin soon recovered from the initial shock of this treacherous surprise attack and mobilized the entire Soviet people, imbued them with the sacred determination to defend the country and smashed all the boasts of the German fascist hordes. The defeat inflicted on German fascism in the battlefield of Stalingrad ensured the victory of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. The example of the great Communist Party of China inspired the world's people wherever they were oppressed by fascism and they rose arms in hand to oppose fascism and established rural base areas in order to fight it. That is how world fascism was destroyed. After the war when the old imperialists tried to reestablish their exploitation and rule, the wrath of the people of the colonial world, who had been roused and had realized their own strength, spread like a wild fire and the flames of

armed struggle spread through the colonies and semi-colonies. At the time when the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao was advancing towards a decisive victory, there emerged in India, Telangana, where, under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries, a peasant guerrilla force was formed, hundreds of thousands of peasants were roused with the spirit of revolutionary resistance, and hundreds of villages were liberated.

The victory of the great Chinese revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 conclusively proved the immeasurable power of People's War. The Communist Party of China based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, established the alliance of workers, peasants and other toiling people on a firm foundation and led the Chinese people to victory along the path of armed struggle. This victory stirred up the people of the colonial world and armed struggle began to develop firmly in every colony in Southeast Asia. The victorious Chinese revolution clearly pointed out before the people of the colonies and semi-colonies the path along which they should advance to achieve victory. Then started the era of the total collapse of world imperialism. As world imperialism neared its final collapse, the revisionist leadership of the Communist Parties of the world began to betray the people's struggles. After the death of Stalin the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the world's revisionist renegade cliques began to work jointly with a view to saving world imperialism from its destruction. The renegade traitors in India, who masqueraded as communists, were mortally scared at the victory of the

Chinese revolution and withdrew unconditionally the Telangana struggle and took to the path of parliamentarism. After the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, spread disruption and confusion among the people of the colonies and semi-colonies wherever they were waging armed struggle. Chairman Mao has said that world imperialism today is like a house which rests on a solitary pillar U.S. imperialism. And so, the destruction of U.S. imperialism will completely smash world imperialism. This is why the traitorous Khrushchev clique extended its hand of cooperation to U.S. imperialism. And this is also the reason why Chairman Mao warned us in 1957 and declared that in the era of raging revolutionary struggles revisionism is the main danger.

The struggle against revisionism in the international arena, which Chairman Mao launched in 1962, brought a new wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists all the world over. The Communist Party in every country in the world began to seethe with incipient revolts against the revisionist party leadership, and revolutionary Marxist-Leninists began to close their ranks. The anti-imperialist struggle entered a new higher phase. Taking their place in the forefront of anti-imperialist struggle, the heroic Vietnamese fighters dealt blows at U.S. imperialism, the lone pillar of world imperialism. It became clear as daylight that the doom of imperialism was near.

Any hesitancy, ever so little, to recognize that the thought of Chairman Mao is Marxism-Leninism of the present era,

cannot but weaken the anti-imperialist struggle. This is because it blunts the very weapon with which revisionism has to be fought. Chairman Mao has taught us that we cannot advance even one step to attack imperialism without hitting revisionism.

In the present era when imperialism is heading towards total collapse, revolutionary struggle in every country has taken the form of armed struggle; Soviet revisionism, unable to retain its mask of socialism, has been forced to adopt imperialist tactics; world revolution has entered a new higher phase; and socialism is marching irrepressibly forward to victory - in such an era, to take to the parliamentary road means stopping this onward march of world revolution. Today, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists cannot opt for the parliamentary road. This is true not only for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, but for the capitalist countries as well. In this new era of world revolution when victory has been achieved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, it has become the main task of the Marxist-Leninists the world over to establish bases in rural areas and to build up, on a firm foundation, the unity of workers, peasants and all other toiling people through armed struggle. So, the slogans 'boycott elections' and 'establish rural bases and create areas of armed struggle,' which the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have advanced, remain valid for the entire era.

By adhering to the parliamentary road the revolutionaries the world over have allowed a formidable blood-debt to accumulate over the ages. The time has now come to settle this blood-debt. Hundreds of thousands of fallen martyrs call

upon the revolutionaries: 'Strike hard at the dying imperialism and wipe it out from the face of the earth!' It is time to rebuild the world in a new way! Our victory in this fight is certain!

Undertake the Work of Building a Revolutionary Party

1968

CHAIRMAN MAO has taught us that to make revolution we must have a revolutionary party, a party that is based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and reared in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist style of work. Without such a party it is impossible to lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

In the present era, Chairman Mao's thought is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao has not only creatively applied Marxism-Leninism but has enriched Marxism-Leninism and developed it to a new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought can be called the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory.

Chairman Mao has taught us that in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, peasants constitute the majority of the population and that the peasantry is exploited and ruled by three mountains, namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This is why the peasants are extremely eager to make revolution. Therefore, the proletariat must rely

on the peasants in order to achieve victory through People's War.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the peasants are the main force of the revolution and victory in the revolution depends on arousing and arming the peasant masses. It is the duty of the revolutionary party of the proletariat to go to the peasant masses and painstakingly work among them for a long period with a view to building up areas of armed struggle in the countryside. Failure to realize the importance of this peasant question gives rise to "Left" and Right deviations within the party. And democratic revolution is primarily an agrarian revolution. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the proletariat to provide leadership in this agrarian revolution.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the Marxist-Leninist style of work is that which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing self-criticism. To master this style of work we must build our party basically among the peasant masses.

We must also build the party among the working class on the basis of a programme of action of the working class based on the politics of agrarian revolution.

In the past also, we recruited Party members from among the workers and the peasants. There were even quite a few district committees in which worker and peasant Party members were of a much greater number than the petty bourgeois. In spite of this our party could not become a revolutionary party. Why? The reason is that the working class Party members had no

revolutionary politics, no revolutionary programme of action before them. They were made to work as a force complementary to the trade union movement. This prevented their free development and they had to act under the direction of the petty bourgeois leaders of the trade union movement. No class analysis of the peasant Party members was also made and owing to the absence of revolutionary politics they were not made conscious of the great responsibility that had to be shouldered by the peasantry. The Kisan Sabha was reformist in nature and was led mainly by the rich and middle peasants. As the peasant movements were kept within the bounds of the existing laws, the majority of the Party members came from the rich and middle peasants and their main job was to carry out the dictates of the petty bourgeois Party leaders. As a result of all this, the Party basically turned into a petty bourgeois party in spite of the fact that there were worker and peasant Party members. That is why the Party was transformed into an out and out revisionist party. Like a true revisionist party, our Party carried on mass movements during the period from one General Election to another with the purpose of securing more seats at the next elections. All the main centers of the Party were located in the cities and towns and creating city-based movements became the main concern of the Party. Even the peasants were brought into the cities with a view to boosting the city-based struggles. The tragic lessons of 1959 were also the result of this city-based struggle. The object of all the mass struggles was invariably to gherao [surround] the Legislative Assembly. Nothing could be kept secret within the Party and even efforts to keep anything secret gradually ceased. Even the reports of differences in the Party's Central Committee found their way into the bourgeois

press. Vigilance on the part of the Party members was blunted. Moreover, it was the constant effort and concern of the Party leaders to make all struggles conform to the limitations imposed by the law. The Party leaders not only betrayed the cause of the armed revolt in Telangana but made it a point to intervene and withdraw any peasant struggle as soon as it showed signs of offering determined resistance to police repression. Take, for example, the Punjab peasants' struggle against 'betterment levy.' The Party's central leadership withdrew the struggle without even consulting the Party leaders of Punjab. They also refused to lead peasant struggles in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. They even slandered the Darjeeling district Party leadership as extremists during the struggle to seize benami lands [lands held by landlords under fictitious names to evade the existing laws. - Ed.] in 1959. Why did the Party leaders act like this? The reason is, the peasants had wanted to rise up in determination to oppose the police repression. The Party leadership forced every struggle to be open and confined it within the bounds of the law.

Publishing Party newspapers and periodicals became the sole occupation of the Party leaders. And what good are these Party publications in our country where the overwhelming majority of the people are unable to read or write? These serve only the petty bourgeois intellectuals. It is in no way possible to educate our workers and peasants politically through the Party papers. That is why the Seventh Congress of the Party gave birth to a revisionist party and not a revolutionary party.

Today, at a time when we are taking up the task of building a revolutionary party, the people's revolutionary struggle in every country in South-east Asia, inspired by the thought of Chairman Mao, has reached a new stage. The Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors has filled the minds of the oppressed people with a new hope. Even in our country, the peasant's struggles are trying to overcome formidable difficulties and move forward in various places, for instance, in Naxalbari, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh. In India also, the peasants have undertaken the task of creating liberated areas in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao. To build a revolutionary party in the present era it is not enough to spread and propagate the thought of Chairman Mao. A revolutionary party must also master Chairman Mao's style of work. Only then can we call such a party a truly revolutionary party.

In India, today, we must combine revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice. The Party must immediately start building up areas of peasants' armed struggle in the rural areas. So, in order to combine theory with practice we must learn how to make class analysis of the peasants and establish the Party among the land-poor and landless peasants who constitute the main force of the agrarian revolution. To forge close and intimate links with the people these Party units comprising the land-poor and landless peasants must organize class struggles of the broad peasant masses by spreading and propagating revolutionary politics in accordance with the thought of Chairman Mao. When such class struggles are organized, these Party units comprising the land-poor and landless peasants will be transformed into guerrilla units.

These guerrilla units must then broaden and strengthen the Party's mass basis by spreading and propagating revolutionary politics and through armed struggle. Only in this way and through a protracted struggle can a regular people's armed force be created and can the struggle develop into a People's War. It is a formidable task and can only be accomplished by correctly applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We have come together to serve the revolution. So, we should not be afraid of criticism. On the other hand, if we are unwilling to undertake self-criticism we shall not be able to change ourselves qualitatively and so shall prove ourselves unable to carry out the tasks confronting us as communist revolutionaries. A revolutionary party will be born when we have mastered this style of work. Such a party will certainly not be dependent on the revolutionary intellectuals.

We must ceaselessly propagate the politics of agrarian revolution and the thought of Chairman Mao among the working class. The advanced section among the working class, which grasps and assimilates the thought and the style of work of Chairman Mao as a result of this propaganda, must be sent to the rural areas to participate actively in organizing agrarian revolution. In this way, the leadership of the proletariat over the agrarian revolution will be realized in an effective form. That is why Chairman Mao has said that the revolutionary party is composed of the advanced and active section of the proletariat.

Such a revolutionary party will not be a party to fight election campaigns, nor will it be based in the cities. A revolutionary party can never be an open party, nor can its main concern be

to publish Party papers etc., nor can it depend on the revolutionary intellectuals. The revolutionary party must depend on the workers and the land-poor and landless peasants. Peasant struggles and secret organizations must be built up with the villages as their bases. Without this the Party will be defenseless in the face of attacks of the counter-revolutionaries. Only such a party can be called a revolutionary party that can build up peasants' armed struggles in the rural areas. All revolutionaries must today actively participate in building a revolutionary party of this type. Revolutionary intellectuals can, of course, help in building such a revolutionary party. They are well-read and can also tell the workers and peasants about the experience of revolutionary struggles in other countries. They can help by propagating among workers and peasants the thought of Chairman Mao to the extent they have understood it. But our own experience is that in most cases the revolutionary intellectuals prove themselves a hindrance to the free development of the workers' and peasants' Party units and do not try to enhance the initiative of those units. So, the revolutionary intellectuals must always keep in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."

Comrades, the events in Czechoslovakia have fully exposed the naked fascist nature of Soviet revisionism. These events have also clearly revealed the fact that the traitorous Dangeite clique and the neo-revisionist clique are obedient tools of the Soviet revisionists. As a result, the revisionist propaganda in

this country is sure to get blunted. India has today become a US-Soviet neo-colony. With the help of the Indian reactionaries they have turned India into a base of counter-revolution in Southeast Asia. Under these circumstances, the sooner the Soviet revisionists are exposed, the more powerful will grow the upsurge of revolutionary class struggle and resistance all over India and the more will the peasant revolts develop. The future of the revolution depends on how quickly we can build Party organizations among our classes during this period. On this will depend whether we shall be able to lead this revolutionary upsurge or not. It may be that this upsurge will take place during the coming struggle to seize the crops. Let the revolutionary intellectuals come forward and help build the revolutionary party by spreading and propagating the thought of Chairman Mao among the workers and peasants.

Notes:

On August 31, 1959, thousands of peasants came to Calcutta in order to bolster up the city-based food movement led by the Communist Party. After a mass meeting a demonstration, in which the peasants actively participated, was brutally attacked by the reactionary police force of the Congress gov't of Bidhan Chandra Roy. At least 80 people were killed and hundreds were injured as a result of this.

We Salute the Peasant Revolutionaries of Kerala!

1968

The incidents in Kerala have once more demonstrated what an excellent revolutionary situation prevails in India today. Every Indian has the inalienable right to rise in revolt against the reactionary Indian government - a government that has again turned India into a colony, this time a neo-colony of U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists. This is not a matter of right alone; what is more, every revolt against this government is just.

The heroism and courage displayed by the impoverished masses of Kerala have raised a new wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary people all over India and they are warmly applauding the heroic masses of Kerala.

In India, which is now like a volcano, the revolt of the peasant masses can be victorious only by successfully applying the thought of Chairman Mao, that is, by rousing the peasant masses with the politics of seizure of power and thus enabling them, under the leadership of workers and poor and landless peasants, to participate actively in carrying forward the agrarian revolution; by driving out the class enemies from the countryside by means of guerrilla struggle, expanding such areas and establishing liberated zones; by building up a people's army from among the armed guerrilla groups and by

encircling the cities from the countryside and finally capturing them. Only thus can India be liberated. So the rebellious masses in every area must follow this road to achieve victory.

The heroic peasant revolutionaries of Kerala are carrying forward the glorious tradition of the peasant struggles of Punnapra and Vayullur and have once again demonstrated their courage and heroism and have refused to be subdued in the face of severe repression. It is sure that they will be able to overcome all difficulties and lead the tens of millions of revolutionary people of India. The great peasant revolutionaries of Kerala - zindabad!

November 27th, 1968

Notes:

These incidents refer to the attempt at a raid on the Tellichery police station in North Malabar on 22 November 1968 and a raid on the Pulpalli police wireless station and landlord estates in the Wynaad forests two days after by armed peasants, workers and students whose leader was Kunnikal Narayanan.

To the Comrades Who are Working in Villages

1969

Chairman Mao instructs us to make class analysis. No doubt, our comrades who are going to villages are making class analysis accordingly. But their shortcoming is that they make this class analysis by themselves and do it mentally. As a result, the peasant cadres are not learning how to make class analysis. What is even worse, the revolutionary classes are not becoming conscious of their own responsibility. Therefore, the first task of our comrades at the baithaks [small meetings] of peasant cadres should be to make a class analysis of every cadre according to what Chairman Mao teaches in respect of making class analysis of the peasants. Moreover, the comrades must do it after considering the opinions of peasant cadres. Only when this is accomplished, our organizers should clearly expound the mass line and explain to the poor and landless peasants why they, more than anyone else, need revolution so urgently, and that, for this reason, the poor and landless peasants should take upon themselves more responsibility than others to make this revolution victorious. Division of jobs too has to be done only after this.

At the next meeting, the first thing to be done is to make an assessment of the work done, and to try repeatedly to make the poor and landless peasants conscious of their

responsibility so that they can undertake increasingly greater responsibility.

Class analysis must be done every two or three months on the basis of work done. This time the analysis must be done on the basis of these three principles: (1) class basis; (2) eagerness to do work; (3) eagerness to fight. Correct analysis of classes can be done only through such checkup. This is because while making class analysis for the first time, peasant cadres are likely to include many middle peasants in the poor peasant category. Such mistakes of the previous analysis can be rectified when analysis is again made on the basis of the above three principles. When peasant organizers start doing their work in this way, the rank and file peasant organizers will learn to make class analysis themselves. Moreover, revolutionary classes will grow conscious of their own responsibility.

Only when we organize our work in this way can all the revolutionary classes be awakened, made conscious and be helped to carry out their revolutionary tasks. This three-point checkup, that is, checkup on the basis of the above three principles, will serve as a preliminary rectification campaign among the peasant masses and so, the struggle against revisionism will take a concrete form. In this way we can also develop peasants as leaders. This means the peasant movement will cease to be dependent on the wishes and desires of the petty bourgeois comrades who come from the intelligentsia. Further, this will help to quicken the process of integration of the comrades who come from the intelligentsia. On the other hand, those comrades who are unable to integrate

themselves with the peasantry will not be able to hinder the struggle.

At the present time we have a great need for petty bourgeois comrades who come from the intelligentsia. But we must remember that not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. On the contrary, it is more probable that many of the cadres who come from the intelligentsia will later become non-revolutionaries and even counter-revolutionaries. We must never forget this. Therefore, if these cadres make the class analysis and carry out the work of checkup in the areas they work even for once, such areas will thereafter cease to be dependent on them. So every cadre coming from the intelligentsia should keep notes of the class analysis which he makes with the help of the peasants. They should then send such notes. These notes may then be published in Liberation, Deshabrati and our other journals as reports of investigation after careful consideration. These reports will be of great help to the comrades working in other areas.

Now, when struggles are breaking out in various areas, we must lay the greatest emphasis on developing revolutionary cadres. This is the most urgent task at present and we must throw all our might in carrying out this task.

An immense possibility has opened up before us, tremendous victories are coming within the reach of the revolutionary masses of India. Our ranks must cast away all sorts of defeatist ideas and thinking from their minds. That is, as Chairman Mao teaches: "We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking, all views that overestimate the strength of

the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."

Our slogan today is as Chairman Mao says: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

Srikakulam: Will It Be The Yenana of India?

1969

Not even full two years have passed since the Naxalbari struggle started; yet, within this period, its sparks have spread to different States of India. And in Srikakulam in Andhra, the fire they have started is fast developing into a forest-fire.

Here, in the midst of a jungle surrounded by hills, I am sitting in a room on a hill-top and before me are seated about a score of young men. They are not well-known or renowned men, nor men who enjoy an all-india fame. But they are men who are young, men who dream. They dream of liberating the tens of crores of peasants who have been exploited and oppressed through the ages, they dream of liberating them from the yoke of exploitation, from the murky depths of ignorance, from grinding poverty, from hunger. They believe in making revolution. They are firmly convinced that only an armed peasantry can make the revolution victorious. They have come from various districts of Andhra ? from Srikakulam, from Nalgonda, Warangal and Adilabad districts in Telangana, and from the districts in Rayalaseema, and they represent the majority of the districts of Andhra. They dream dreams, but they are no idle day-dreamers. All of them have left their hearth and home and live and work among the peasants and observe secrecy. It is they who have built up the Srikakulam

struggle ? the struggle that has filled the hearts of the revolutionaries of India with joy and confidence. The events of Srikakulam have made the conviction firmer than ever that India will create her own Yenan in no distant future. It is they who have built up the peasant struggle in the Koraput district in Orissa. The brutal repression carried on by the frightened reactionary government failed to suppress the struggle. Nor could they touch the leaders of the struggle. And it is they who constitute the Andhra State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.

A report prepared by the Srikakulam District Committee was placed at the meeting. It is not for me to judge whether there are errors and shortcomings in the report. The comrades of Srikakulam have published that report and placed their experiences before the Communist revolutionaries of the whole country. They are men who have no interest other than that of the revolution. That is why they do not fear criticism; on the contrary, they have invited criticism. In this report they have recorded their valuable experiences of the Srikakulam struggle and have tried to draw conclusions from them. In the report they have forcefully asserted that there can be no compromise with opportunism. Such compromises with opportunism do not add to the strength of the revolutionaries but weaken them. A firm class-unity can be built only through struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunism.

They have analyzed the nature of opportunism in Andhra, marked out those who represent this opportunism and have taken upon themselves the responsibility of carrying on struggle against them.

At this meeting they have resolved to build up a revolutionary Party in the whole of Andhra ? a Party that bases itself on the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They have declared that everything that is happening in Srikakulam today is based solely and entirely on the thought of Chairman Mao. That explains why Srikakulam has become the sole criterion for the people of Andhra to judge who is a revolutionary and who is not. And Srikakulam serves today as this yardstick not merely for the people of Andhra but for the people of the whole of India.

As I said before, these comrades are no idle day-dreamers. So, they are not thinking of winning victory the easy way. They realize that attacks are sure to come and that they may even have to suffer serious set-backs. They are quite aware of that danger and are preparing to face such eventualities.

They are convinced that to carry on revolutionary struggle, they must have a revolutionary Party. That is why they have put the task of building such a Party before everything else. At the same time they also realize that a task of such a revolutionary Party will be to imbue the Party members and the people with the spirit of sacrifice. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence." So, in order to win victory in the revolution, the revolutionary cadres must be able to make sacrifices. They must sacrifice their property and belongings, sacrifice comforts, sacrifice old habits and aspirations after fame, rid themselves of the fear of death and give up ideas of seeking the easy path. Only in this way shall we be able to

train and prepare the revolutionaries to conduct a hard, difficult and protracted struggle. Only in this way can we inspire the people to make great sacrifices, who then, with tremendous blows, will smash all the power and might of imperialism, revisionism and the Indian reactionaries and thus win victory for the revolution.

It is after a long time that I have attended a meeting like this of Communist revolutionaries where they have taken the vow to sell out their properties and donate the entire sum thus obtained to the Party fund. In this meeting alone promises were made to raise about a lakh of rupees in this way. The slogan: "Let us build Srikakulams in the different areas to support the Srikakulam struggle!" instantly changed the atmosphere of the meeting and the very air in the room seemed to have been electrified. All the comrades present resolutely declared that they would build Srikakulams in Telangana, in the districts of the Rayalaseema region, in the whole of Andhra. At that moment, throbbing as it was with the vigorous, bright spirit of revolutionary ardour, one thought repeatedly haunted me ? the thought of the heroic revolutionaries of Telangana who had laid down their lives fighting. I was thinking that the sacrifice of those glorious fighters has not been in vain; for India's Yenana will be created here. The meeting ended in the midst of great enthusiasm.

As the time came for me to leave, I suddenly felt sad. Who knows whether I shall again meet these comrades. They are revolutionary comrades who are dedicated and not afraid to make even the supreme sacrifice. They are going back from this meeting to plunge into the struggle again, and nobody

knows who would survive. But one thing I know ? the people of India will never forget them.

Suddenly the India that is enveloped in darkness vanished, and I saw before me my motherland India ? a vigorous, throbbing India, sparkling in the bright sunshine ? People's Democratic India, Socialist India!

Srikakulam is fighting valiantly, tomorrow the whole of Andhra will join the fight. Confirmation of this I received on the morning I was coming back. Newspapers on that day reported that one class enemy was killed in an attack by the peasant guerrillas.

Srikakulam forges ahead irresistibly.

March 6, 1969

Notes:

Comrade Charu Mazumdar visited Andhra Pradesh (Srikakulam especially) after the February 1969 meeting of the AICCCR. On his return to Calcutta, he wrote this article, which, translated from the Bengali original, appeared in Liberation, Vol. II, No. 5 (March 1969).

To the Youth and the Students

1969

AFTER the death of the great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the leadership of the state, party and the army and established a bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This revisionist renegade clique has become the leader and focal point of the revisionists of the world. Naturally, after the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship, they have become the No. 1 accomplice of the imperialists; particularly, they have advanced far along the road of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. This is because U.S. imperialism is today the leader of the imperialist camp, and is pursuing even more fiercely and widely the aggressive policies of the German, Italian and Japanese imperialists. The traitorous leaders of the Soviet Union are supporting these aggressive activities and even use Lenin's name to belittle them and are themselves carrying on colonial exploitation with various imperialist powers and, in particular, with U.S. imperialism. By acting in this way, the leaders of the Soviet state and party have turned into enemies of all liberation struggles of the world, enemies of the great Socialist China, enemies of communism and even of the Soviet people. In India also they are acting as No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and are directing the state power and exploiting the people of India. As in various other parts of the world, they are allies of the reactionaries in India

and support them. That is why India's liberation struggle can win victory only by fighting against the guns of the Soviet revisionists and by hitting out at the Soviet revisionists' state power. This explains why the Dange clique and the neo-revisionist leadership have, by their actions, joined the Indian reactionary clique and have turned into enemies of all democratic movements. They consciously and zealously support the bourgeois and imperialist propaganda.

It is because of these world developments that the thought of Chairman Mao has emerged as the only Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism which he has greatly developed and enriched through the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is why the world has entered today into the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Therefore, the thought of Chairman Mao can be called Marxism of the era of the total collapse of imperialism.

So, the political task of the student and youth workers is to study this new and developed Marxism, the thought of Chairman Mao, and put it into practice. He who shuns this task can never acquire the knowledge about the principles of Marxism. They must, therefore, study the Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As Chairman Mao has said, there can only be one criterion by which we should judge whether a youth or a student is a revolutionary. This criterion is whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants, does so in practice and carries on mass work.

The Quotations of People's War published by the Central Committee of the great Communist Party of China is now available with us, a Bengali translation of which has also been published. This book is meant for revolutionary workers and peasants. We should make this our propaganda and agitation material. Whether a worker is revolutionary or not will be judged on the basis of the number of workers and peasants to whom he has read out and explained this book.

We have seen how good agitators in the student movement, how even students who fought in the barricade over some student demand or political issue, subsequently sat for the I.A.S. examination and became administrators, that is, went over to the enemy camp. As Chairman Mao teaches us, only those students and youth who can integrate themselves with the masses of peasants and workers are revolutionaries; those who cannot are at first non-revolutionaries and may in some cases join the counter-revolutionary camp afterwards.

This is a lesson which we get not only from China but from every country in the world. From my own experience I can say that unless the revolutionaries in the towns and cities undertake this task, they will eventually become demoralized and degenerate.

The political organization of the youth and the students must necessarily be a Red Guard organization, and they should undertake the task of spreading the Quotations of Chairman Mao as widely as possible in different areas.

Why Must We Form The Party Now?

1969

CHAIRMAN Mao has taught us: "If there is to be revolution there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

The Naxalbari peasant struggle has developed only because the party organization of the Terai region followed this teaching of the Chairman and tried to spread it among the peasant masses. The peasant struggles in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra have broken out only by depending on the teaching of the Chairman. Revolutionary authority cannot grow if we depend only on the local initiatives for developing all these struggles along the same path and to a higher stage. As a result, the struggles will fail to develop to a higher stage. For taking these struggles forward it is necessary to build an all-India Party and a center recognized by all revolutionaries. Self-imposed discipline is essential for building up this center. This discipline cannot of course be imposed from the above; it must be voluntary. The All-India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was set up with this purpose in

view and this was set down in the very first Declaration. It is by following the leadership of the Coordination Committee that revolutionaries in different states of India have tried to build up peasant struggles on the Naxalbari line and succeeded in doing so in many parts of the country. This has led to the formation of a center accepted by the revolutionaries. That is why the international leadership has been reminding us time and again of the importance of building up a Party. We too realize today that it is no longer possible for the Coordination Committee to lead these struggles on the correct line. Therefore, we must have a revolutionary Communist Party which will be an all-India organization. It is by following its lead that the revolutionary communists of the different states can advance along the path of class struggle. The All-India Co-ordination Committee is not, of course, the perfect weapon of class struggle, for the Co-ordination Committee can function only on democratic principles, does not recognize any kind of centralism and so fails to rouse the sense of discipline among the revolutionaries. All the forces of class struggle cannot be centralized without awakening the sense of revolutionary discipline. As a consequence, the struggle loses its edge. The Chairman has taught us: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficult to win victory." Unless we build up a revolutionary party, discipline will remain slack and, as a result, we shall not be resolute enough to make supreme sacrifices, shall be unable to surmount the obstacles to attain victory. That is why, at a time when revolutionary communists all over the country have given priority to the task of building revolutionary bases in the rural areas and have taken up the work of uniting the entire peasantry, at a time when the slogan

of revolutionary class struggle is rending the sky, it has become our urgent duty to build a revolutionary party. We shall be hindering the advance of revolution if we confine ourselves within the Co-ordination Committee and shall fail to fulfill the heavy responsibility that has now fallen on the shoulders of India's communist revolutionaries. It should be borne in mind that the world has now entered a new era of world revolution and that our responsibility in this era is very great. All the imperialist powers of the world, whether the U.S. imperialists or the Soviet social-fascists, are trying to win a fresh lease of life by exploiting the five hundred million people of India. They are not content with merely exploiting, but are trying to use the 500 million people of India as cannon-fodder in a war to destroy the great Chinese Republic, the base of the world revolution. That is why our revolutionary duty has assumed such great proportions. By making the revolution we shall be able not only to end this brutal exploitation of the vast masses of our country but also to deal a staggering blow to world imperialism and revisionism, By uniting with the great Chinese Republic we shall unite with the liberation struggles of every country of the world. This will forge the unity of the vast forces that will be able to smash world imperialism and revisionism. By completing the democratic revolution, we shall be able to march towards victory in the socialist revolution, and the prediction of the Chairman will come true:

"It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off." The dream the two young

men dreamed in 1848 will be fulfilled at the end of the twentieth century. For mankind this twentieth century will bring a new promise ? the promise of communism. The vast forces that will be unleashed will change the face of the whole world. That we are building this radiant future will awaken our sense of responsibility. Our class brothers are waging the struggle in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia ? in the various countries of the world. Uniting with them all, we too shall forge the bond of great internationalism ? that internationalism which has found a glorious expression in the great proletarian revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

Refusal to recognize the inevitability of struggle within the Party will give rise to idealist deviations. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." As we committed revisionist deviations in the past, we shall have to wage struggles against revisionism both within the Party and outside.

In this age revisionism is counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the inner-party struggle ? the struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology ? will continue. "Unity, struggle, unity" ? this means that counter-revolutionary revisionism must be fought and defeated. Only then unity is possible but that unity is not

lasting. New contradictions will arise, revisionism will try to appear in new forms. That is why struggle has to be waged at a new level.

The All India Coordination Committee played an important role in uniting communist revolutionaries and in building up revolutionary struggles. But if there is any vacillation to form the Party after that stage is over, the source of it must be traced to idealist thinking. Under the influence of idealism we want ?consciously or unconsciously ? to wage a struggle against opportunism and to form a Party that has already rid itself of revisionism. This outlook is wholly idealistic and has nothing to do with dialectical materialism. The Party will develop through constant struggles ? both against the enemy outside and against alien trends within. Through these struggles the Party will grow in strength, act as the vanguard of the revolution in order to serve the people, transform itself and transform the whole society.

On Some Current Political and Organizational Problems

1969

In the article which Parimal Dasgupta[1] has written on the Czechoslovak event and in his letter[2] to the editorial board of the *Deshabrati*, he has placed the recent happenings in Czechoslovakia on the same footing as the Hungarian event of 1956. In Hungary, at that time, counter-revolutionaries from outside infiltrated into the country and joining forces with the reactionaries inside, attempted to occupy the country. They carried out a large-scale massacre to finish off the revolutionary comrades with a view to imposing by force the capitalist system. At that time, Hungary was still a socialist country. Referring to the Hungarian events of 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out: "It was a case of reactionaries inside a socialist country, in league with the imperialists, attempting to achieve their conspiratorial aims by taking advantage of contradictions among the people to foment dissension and stir up disorder." That is why the intervention of the Soviet government there was justified and it fulfilled the task of helping to defend socialism in that country. But now in 1968, when the Soviet Union has committed aggression against Czechoslovakia, neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia is a socialist country both having degenerated into capitalist countries. That is why the sending of troops into Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other East European

countries is nothing but an out and out imperialist aggression. So, to place these two events on the same footing means denying the fact that the Soviet Union has degenerated into a social-imperialist country, and endorsing the Soviet imperialist aggression against Czechoslovakia as a correct action, an action to defend socialism.

Parimal Dasgupta, in his article, has sought to make out that reaction hatched a plot to destroy socialism in Czechoslovakia. The truth is, capitalism had already been restored in Czechoslovakia, and it was the Czechoslovak ruling clique which, with the active collaboration of the Soviet revisionists, did so after destroying socialism there. So, to try to look for the existence of a reactionary plot there means supporting the Soviet imperialist aggression.

Parimal Dasgupta has found the points raised in the Deshabrati editorial (of August 29, 1968)[3] strange, but has not cared to indicate what particular issues he has in mind. There is, however, one issue that he has not raised in the article he has written, the issue of US-Soviet collaboration. In the article he points only to US-Soviet conflict but has failed to show that it is within the framework of US-Soviet collaboration. No wonder he finds the points raised in the Deshabrati editorial strange. There is enough ground, therefore, to believe that what he finds baffling and strange is that anyone should find US-Soviet collaboration behind the Czechoslovak event. The fact that the Soviet aggression took place with the knowledge of Johnson has little importance for him. This is because he either rejects or fails to understand the fact that Soviet social-imperialism, in collaboration with US

imperialism, is striving to dominate the world. This leads to one thing ? to deny in effect the fact that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist country. This is why he did not hesitate to use even the propaganda materials supplied by the Soviet Union to bolster up his own argument. No wonder Deshabrati's editorial seemed laughable to him.

Those who consider the Soviet Union as a socialist state cannot but find Deshabrati's editorial laughable. But then, why should it seem so laughable to Parimal Dasgupta? Does he stand by the May Declaration (1968) of the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries? Did not that Declaration point out that the Soviet Union had already degenerated into a social-imperialist state? Why, therefore, the editorial should appear so laughable to him? Since it does appear so to him, the question naturally arises: Does he at all support the stand taken by the Communist Party of China? Does he, so to say, support the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung? Does it not follow from what he wrote in his article and from what he chose not to write, and also from his remarks, that he does not support the stand taken by the Chinese Party and Chairman Mao's analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union? In his article he has criticized Soviet revisionism and described the process by which the Khrushchev clique usurped power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin and restored capitalism there, but has failed to draw the conclusion which he should have drawn ? the conclusion that the attack on Czechoslovakia is an imperialist aggression. Were he able to see this as an imperialist aggression he would also have known that even the resistance of the bourgeoisie of a country against aggression has a

revolutionary role and that the proletariat of that country is called upon to work for unity with that bourgeoisie. When faced with Japanese aggression, the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao correctly adopted the programme of united front and united with Chiang Kai-shek (Sian incident). Chairman Mao pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek was closely linked with the British and the US imperialists who did not want Japan to occupy China. But, on the other hand, Wang Ching-wei, closely linked as he was with Japanese imperialism, followed the policy of abject surrender to and cooperation with the Japanese, and thus turned into an enemy of the Chinese people. Because he failed to see that the Soviet attack was an imperialist aggression, Parimal Dasgupta was unable to welcome the resistance that developed in Czechoslovakia against it; he slighted the resistance and considered it to be an expression of a struggle of the reactionary ruling clique for a share of power. It is true that no mass resistance led by a correct party has developed as yet; but it does not follow from this that we can slight or look down upon whatever resistance has developed. We must never forget that such resistance is an expression of the principal contradiction of the Czechoslovak people.

His inability to see the fact of Soviet social-imperialism lands him in a position where he equates the standpoint of the Deshabrati editorial with that of the reactionary parties like PSP, SSP etc. But how can one overlook the fact that this inability to see the fact of Soviet imperialist aggression has brought Parimal Dasgupta's standpoint very close to that of the CPI (M)? Instead of condemning Soviet armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, Parimal Dasgupta, in his article,

sought to be neutral and sat in judgment to portion out the guilt between the two ? the aggressor and the victim of aggression. This amounts to shirking the revolutionary duty towards the Czechoslovak people and to refusing to attach importance to the heavy burden of new exploitation and indignity that were heaped on the Czechoslovak people by the Soviet aggression. What revolutionary, worth the name, can ever think of adopting such an attitude? On the contrary, such an attitude perfectly fits one who is going to turn a traitor to the people's cause sooner or later. Don't we find that only those who have turned traitors to the people's cause are the ones who have come out in support of the Soviet aggression? It is, therefore, most unfortunate that Parimal Dasgupta should have chosen to act in the manner he has.

It appears from the frequent hints that he dropped that Parimal Dasgupta had quite a few things to say about the working of the State Coordination Committee (West Bengal). But unfortunately, busy as he was with the strike in the State Electricity Board and unable as he was to attend meetings of the Committee for quite a long period of time at a stretch, his criticism could not be thoroughly discussed at the State Coordination Committee. There can be no doubt whatsoever that, if he could attend the Committee meetings his criticisms would have been heard and thoroughly discussed, making our differences clear. Such discussions help develop our political education. We feel unhappy that such discussions could not be held, and it is he who is to blame for this.

Parimal Dasgupta and others have formed a rival Co-ordination Committee on the State level and have also

published a document. In the document they have stated that certain allegedly erroneous trends, conceptions and deviations have appeared among the communist revolutionaries, and have also described what these errors are. They have discussed their viewpoint only briefly and this makes it very difficult for us to understand them.

They have stated that work in the cities is being neglected and that there is a trend which refuses to participate in trade union activities and have stressed the necessity of building mass organizations.

The question is: if everyone concerns himself with building mass organizations, who is to build up the underground party organization? Do we expect the mass organizations to organize the agrarian revolution? Certainly, no one is thinking like this, and it is correct not to think like this. It is precisely for this reason that the All India Coordination Committee (AICCCR) has laid the utmost stress on building underground party organizations. Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers chose not to criticize this stand of the AICCCR openly and preferred to lay stress on the work of mass organizations instead, that is, on open work. They also speak of class organization and class struggle in the peasant movement. There are different classes within the peasantry, namely, the poor and landless peasant, the middle peasant and the rich peasant. It is not clear which class or classes they have in mind. Again, if they take the entire peasantry as a single class and try to build organizations accordingly, these will inescapably turn into organizations like the Kisan Sabha led and dominated by the rich and the middle peasants. Moreover,

such an attempt on our part will strengthen the tendency to carry on open movements through those open mass organizations inevitably turning us into another set of leaders of revisionist mass organizations. The leadership of the poor and the landless peasants over the peasant movement can be established only if we build underground Party organizations among the peasant masses.

Further, they have sought to discover Che Guevara-ism in our peasant movement. This leads to repudiating the necessity and inevitability of guerrilla war in the peasant movement. Obviously, the peasantry as a whole does not participate in this guerrilla warfare. What happens is that the advanced class-conscious section of the peasant masses starts the guerrilla war. For this reason, guerrilla war, at its initial stages, may appear as a struggle of only a handful of people.

However, this kind of guerrilla war has nothing in common with what is advocated by Che Guevara ? the guerrilla war which is waged by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia without the peasant masses. The guerrilla war that we speak of, on the other hand, is initiated by the class-conscious elements of the poor and landless peasants and can be led and carried on only with the active cooperation of the poor and landless peasant masses.

This kind of guerrilla war has nothing in common with the kind advocated by Che Guevara for the further reason that this kind of guerrilla war is launched not by relying on arms and weapons ? so characteristic of a Che-type war, but is launched without arms and by relying confidently on the cooperation of

the masses. Precisely for this reason, this war can be started only through an intensive propagation of the politics of seizure of political power among the peasant masses. And this work can be performed only by the Party units among the peasantry ? units that are composed of the poor and landless peasants. And these Party units can carry out this task only by organizing guerilla war of the poor and landless peasants. We must remember that the poor and landless peasants can establish their leadership over the peasant masses only by conducting a guerrilla war. Guerrilla warfare is the only tactic for carrying on peasants' revolutionary struggle. And no mass organization can ever accomplish this through open work.

It follows from the above that the tactic adopted by Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers with respect to the peasant movement is completely opposed to the line laid down by Comrade Lin Piao. They seek to give a new explanation of the politics of the Naxalbari peasant struggle. A new explanation ? but why? Is it not because they have ceased to consider the conclusions and politics of Comrade Kanu Sanyal's Report on the Naxalbari struggle as correct? They do consider them as not correct, and so it is no wonder that they should feel the need for seeking a new explanation. According to them, Comrade Kanu Sanyal's evaluation of the Naxalbari struggle is based not on Mao Tsetung Thought but on the theory of Che Guevara. That they should at all think like this is because they do not think of guerrilla warfare and are unable to comprehend its significance and importance.

Another point they have raised is that the four main enemies of the Indian people are being considered and their

importance judged in isolation from one another. This naturally leads to the question whether by pointing out the principal contradiction between the Indian masses and their enemies we are isolating it from other fundamental contradictions and laying undue emphasis on it. Of course, not. No doubt there are four main enemies and that they must be defeated and eliminated. But in order to defeat and eliminate them we must first find out the principal contradiction and then apply our main force to resolve that contradiction. Only thus can we eliminate all our enemies. Not to find out the principal contradiction is to negate the main aspect of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to open the gates wide for Right and 'Left' deviations. In India, as we know, all sorts of deviations raised their head because the problem of finding out the principal contradiction was consistently ignored. Now, it seems Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers have opted to act in exactly the same old way.

Lastly, the question of building mass organizations about which Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers seem to be greatly concerned. Now, what do we mean by mass organization? As Lenin has said, even the trade union organization represents a united front of different ideologies among the workers. And as such it is the ability of the Communist Party to act independently that determines the way this united front will work. The extent to which organized revolutionary cadres are present in a mass organization and whether these revolutionary cadres are propagating revolutionary politics independently or not? these two things determine whether a mass organization is a revolutionary one or not. We all know how, during the period when we were

suffering most under the spell of revisionism, we built numerous mass organizations and also Party units inside them. But we functioned the Party units merely to supplement the trade union work. As a result, we were unable to win the workers over to our political views, even to our revisionist politics. All those who have done trade union work have the bitter experience of how the workers rallied round the communist leaders in order to win their economic demands and yet how they voted for the Congress Party during the parliamentary elections.

We must understand that the members of a trade union do not necessarily turn into communists simply because its leader happens to be a communist. The Party units have to shoulder a great responsibility. They must independently propagate the revolutionary politics, that is, the politics of agrarian revolution, among the working class in order to inspire them with it. They must do so, because the proletariat will never be able to grasp the necessity of carrying out agrarian revolution by waging its struggle for economic demands. The politics of agrarian revolution must be brought to the proletariat from without, from outside the trade union struggle. For this, we require revolutionary worker cadres, equipped politically, that is, equipped with the Thought of Chairman Mao. And such cadres can be brought up only through underground Party organizations.

Trade unions serve as training schools for the proletariat only when there is no revolutionary situation in a country and when the bourgeoisie appears to be quite strong and the proletariat considers itself very weak.

In such a situation trade union struggle creates self-confidence among the workers and increases their confidence in struggle and they learn the tactics of fighting in the course of their struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this way trade union struggle becomes a training school for the proletariat.

But in another situation, that is, when a revolutionary situation prevails and when any struggle rapidly develops into an open clash with the state power ? in such a revolutionary situation, the Party organization becomes the only class organization of the proletariat. Particularly in a country like India, where the main center of revolution lies in the rural areas, the Party is called upon to shoulder much heavier responsibility and the task of building Party organizations among the proletariat becomes most urgent. This is so because the proletariat cannot play its leading role without the Party organization. So, when we say that a revolutionary situation now prevails in India, it necessarily follows that in India, our task today is to build underground revolutionary Party organizations and not mass organizations. It is this underground Party organization that will lead the class struggle. We must remember what Chairman Mao has taught us: "Never forget class struggle" Only through such class struggles can the broad masses of workers feel the necessity and inevitability of smashing the existing state apparatus and realize that an agrarian revolution is necessary in order to seize state power. Only thus can the proletarian leadership be established over the agrarian revolution.

Instead of emphasizing the need for building underground Party organizations, Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers have put the emphasis on the need for building mass organizations. By acting like this, they are actually trying to avoid the task of building revolutionary Party organizations.

The politics that Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers are preaching through their writings and their 'Coordination' is most harmful to the revolutionaries. This is so because with their revolutionary phrase-mongering they are rendering every single target of attack of the revolutionaries vague and indistinct. They are inventing arguments cloaked in revolutionary guise in order to induce us to drift along with the old revisionist current, to let ourselves be carried away by the old revisionist way of doing things to which we have been so long accustomed.

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At a time when we have begun building the revolutionary Party, we must defeat this harmful, politics. Unless we defeat it, the Party will not be able to advance along the correct

revolutionary path and will not be able to master the revolutionary style of work as taught by Chairman Mao. That is why all revolutionaries must actively fight against the political views of Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travelers.

Notes:

1. This refers to an article "After Hungary, Czechoslovakia" by Parimal Dasgupta in which he made known his assessment, different from and opposed to the stand taken by the West Bengal State Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries and the revolutionary journal Deshabrati in regard to the Soviet social-imperialist aggression against Czechoslovakia.
2. This refers to the letter (dated 31.8.68) which Parimal Dasgupta addressed to the editorial board of Deshabrati. In it he stated that he was feeling "worried and uncomfortable" over the editorial of Deshabrati (of August 29, 1968) on the Czechoslovak event. According to him, this editorial endorsed the standpoint of reactionary parties like SSP, PSP etc. Such stand, according to him, "has caused grave harm to our politics". He sent his article ("After Hungary, Czechoslovakia") with this letter with a request to publish it in Deshabrati. His request was, however, turned down. But his article was published in the above issue of Ghatana-Prabaha.
3. This refers to the editorial entitled "Rise Up in Protest Against the Barbarous Soviet Aggression Against

Czechoslovakia", which appeared in Deshabrati on August 29,1968. In it the social-imperialist nature of Soviet aggression was exposed and sharply condemned.

A Few Words to the Revolutionary Students and Youth 1970

LEARN TO PROPAGATE COMMON IDEAS IN IDENTICAL LANGUAGE

Train yourselves in learning by heart and in propagating in toto and in identical language whatever the central leadership of the Party says directly or through the Party organs. This is the method of propaganda introduced into the great Communist Party of China by our Chairman on the basis of the experience gained in forty years of struggle. Otherwise the tendency to have 'many centers' may gradually grow within the party.

LEAVE YOUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND PLUNGE INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The boys and girls in our country are brought up through the educational institutions in a way that they look down upon the poor masses of workers and peasants, respect everything concerning the

imperialist powers, and become lackeys or agents of these powers. Moreover, in a man's life, the age between 18 and 24 is the period when he can work hardest and can be most vigorous, most courageous and most loyal to his ideas. But the students and youth of this age group in our country are forced to pursue anti-people courses of study and try to pass examinations. This is why Chairman Mao has said that the more you read the more foolish you become. It will give me the greatest pleasure if you plunge yourselves into the revolutionary struggle here and now instead of wasting your energy in passing examinations. When the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in China the Chinese youths and students also gave their schools and colleges and universities. The educational institutions there began to function again after about two years in 1968, that is, when the cultural revolution was victorious.

**REVISIONISM IS THE GREATEST
DANGER IN THIS ERA: ONCE DEFEATED
IT REAPPEARS IN NEW FORM**

In joining the revolutionary struggle the very first thing you should understand is that revisionism is the main danger in the world today. Even when suffering defeats one after another revisionism does not relent but continues to launch new attacks in different ways. This is particularly true after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. You should therefore

study Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's Political Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China over and over again. When you do this you will understand that revisionist renegades like Asit Sen, Nagi Reddy and company play their dirty role in every country and use the same tactics according to the stage of development of the communist movement.

In our country also revisionism launched its first attack by using economist slogans after the Co-ordination Committee was formed. The forming of our Party in 1969 signified the victory of the revolutionary struggle against this revisionist attack. However, after the forming of the Party revisionism has again launched its attack both from the right and from the left.

DOUBTISM IS ANOTHER NAME OF REVISIONISM TODAY

Today, revisionism is even using ultra-Left facade to spread its poison. It is doing this in a manner so as to foster in the minds of Party comrades doubt, distrust and lack of confidence in one another, in the central revolutionary authority and in the revolutionary character of the broad masses of the people "Doubt everyone but yourself" is an anarchist slogan and runs counter to the theory of People's War, that is, Mao Zedong Thought. This slogan has its roots in the

bourgeois philosophy of self above everything, and has nothing in common with, the philosophy of unconditional revolutionary sacrifice. This slogan befits a fascist organization and not a revolutionary Party like ours which bases itself on the mass line. Doubtism also breeds poly-centrism.

You should destroy here and now the germ of this doubtist thinking and propaganda.' Never belittle the harm caused by such thinking and propaganda, because if their germs are left to themselves they will, in time's Of storms and darkness gain strength and spread highly, dangerous contagions and thus harm the revolution.

SECRETISM IS STILL ANOTHER NAME OF REVISIONISM TODAY

Revisionism is today carrying but its attack from, the Right also. It is trying to give currency to the philosophy of inaction and cowardice in the name of maintaining secrecy. You - the students and youth - should never forget that a Communist always hates to hide his views. Maintaining secrecy means to keep secret only your connections with the Party. But you should always dare to express your views and actively resist injustice and indignity. You should be courageous and prepared to make sacrifices, because you are revolutionaries. Don't be worried about

incurring unnecessary losses; leave that issue to be decided by the Party leadership.

Remember Chairman Mao's words: "IT IS INFINITE JOY TO PIT ONESELF AGAINST HEAVEN AND EARTH."

Wherever you find the Party's prestige being tarnished or the red flag - the flag crimson with the blood of martyrs - being subjected to indignities, (no matter if it be the revisionists that fly it) you should oppose it tooth and nail even if you have to lay down, your life for it. Never forget the glorious example of the thirteen heroic martyrs of Srikakulam.

**EVERYONE IN OUR PARTY IS A
REVOLUTIONARY; ONLY
REVOLUTIONARIES AND NONE ELSE
CAN REMAIN IN OUR PARTY**

What do I mean when I say we should be vigilant against the enemy agents in the Party?' Wrong political thinking and wrong methods of work are the enemies and you should be vigilant and see that such things do not get any indulgence whatsoever. No hidden counter-revolutionary can today stay for long in Chairman Mao's Party or will be able to worm his way to the Party leadership, nor can any non-revolutionary come in this Party; For this is the Party which does not offer any comfort's or hope of

self-aggrandizement. Ours is a country where the broad masses of the people are revolutionary. How can, therefore, our Party, enjoying as it does the support of millions of people, be a Party of non-revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries?

Further you should not forget that our Party was born out of armed class struggle and has been tempered and steeled in the flames of the revolutionary war. So, you should boldly and proudly assert, not once but repeatedly, that it is the central leadership of the Party - and only they - who have grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and are applying the same correctly in this country, and that none else understands or can possibly understand even the ABC's of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

**CRITICIZE ERRONEOUS WORK WITH
THE SOLE PURPOSE OF
STRENGTHENING THIS
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

It is quite possible for the revolutionary workers to make mistakes. You should criticise their wrong actions in order to help the comrades, and to build the Party, but you should never criticise so as to destroy the Party - a thing which we had to do in the old Party. The old Party was a revisionist Party, a counter-revolutionary Party, and so our criticism there was directed to destroy it, but the new party is a

revolutionary Party, and so we make our criticism here with the sole purpose of building our Party. But if you find that mistakes are being made repeatedly, the first thing you should do is to investigate. In making this investigation you should also - go to the masses outside the Party. Unless you do this you have no right to take decisions about anyone.

**DO NOT THINK OF OUR PARTY
FORMING ANY UNITED FRONT WITH
ANY GROUP**

Various groups mouthing different revolutionary slogans are seeking to form a united front with Our Party. You, the revolutionary students and youth should not allow yourselves to be misled by this. Never forget that the real united front can only be one for carrying on revolutionary armed struggle. To form united front on any other basis means opening wide the doors of our Party, the fighting Party of armed struggle, and allowing counter-revolution to flood it.

**TO INTEGRATE WITH THE PEASANTS
AND WORKERS IS THE SOLE
HALLMARK OF REVOLUTIONARY
STUDENTS AND YOUTHS**

The students and youths can become revolutionaries only when they integrate themselves with the poor and landless peasants and the workers, and not before

that. And to be able to integrate it is necessary to take part in productive work and do manual labor.

CHERISH FIRM FAITH AND ADVANCE TO INTEGRATE!

I would ask the students and youths never to allow their firm faith in certain things to weaken.

Have faith in the revolutionary traditions of India. The history of our country is a history of heroic struggles.

Have faith in the masses. The broad masses of our people have always struggled against exploitation and oppression.

Have faith in yourselves. Remember you are part of the revolutionary people. Have faith in Mao Tsetung Thought. It is Mao Tsetung Thought that is today smashing the old world and building a new world.

Have faith in the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). This is the only Party that is applying Mao Tsetung Thought in our country and following the path crimson with the blood of thousands upon thousands of martyrs. This is why this Party can never take the wrong road.

So, you should have faith in the future.

**FIRST STEP TOWARDS INTEGRATION :
GO TO THE VILLAGES IN LARGE
NUMBERS**

Form small squads of students of the schools and colleges in your locality. Each squad should have 4 or 5 students. Then make your programmes for going to the villages even when you have short holidays of only 4 or 5 days. No squad should be formed with girls alone. This is because girls would need some kind of shelter for spending the night. Each of you should take with him a copy of the QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO ZEDONG. Take as little money with you as possible and other articles in a kit-bag. Once you go to the village you are not to seek comforts and good food or shelter. Rather you should compete with one another in enduring hardships. You should not stop and stay at any one place other than for spending the night. You should always be on the move and go from one village to another walking 15 miles a day on average. During the journey make acquaintance only with the poor and landless peasants, learn from them, read out quotations from Chairman Mao to them and acquaint them with Mao Tsetung Thought as much as you can. Tell them of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary peasant war that is now raging in India.

You should remember that this work you are doing as students and youths is one of open propaganda, so,

never try to contact any Part) organization or comrade of any area during this journey through the villages.

Make this campaign a festive occasion all over the country.

DO NOT FAIL IN THE MOST IMPORTANT TEST DURING THIS CAMPAIGN

The poor and landless peasants of the villages will not at first take you seriously at an; moreover, their attitude towards you may even be rather unfriendly. It is natural that they should look upon you with distrust. But it will not do for you to become impatient or downhearted at this, because this is the most important test you are required to go through. When you face it you should remember that the poor and landless peasant whom you come across today is the Babulal Biswakarmakar of tomorrow. In the days to come these poor and landless peasants will shine like bright stars giving inspiration and lighting up the way forward for the revolutionaries. So, you should be genuinely proud and consider yourselves fortunate in getting acquainted with them and be sincerely respectful to them. Only when you have done this can you think of having passed your admission test as revolutionaries.

**START BUILDING RED GUARD
ORGANIZATION AND INTEGRATING
YOURSELVES WITH THE WORKERS AS
SOON AS YOU RETURN FROM THE
VILLAGE**

Our Party holds that the organization of students and youths can only be a Red Guard organization. The students and youths should now organize Red Guard squads in muhallas (localities), and in schools and colleges. Make one of the squad members the commander and take a specific area for the squad's work. Assemble all the students and youths in the Red Guard squads.

The Red Guards of today will become later fighters of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of India, The PLA not only destroys the enemy on the battlefield, but also propagates politics and ideology, helps the masses to establish revolutionary political power, arms them and takes part in their productive work. The Red Guards, however, will only carry on the struggle in the field of political propaganda, and mobilize the students and youths in support not only of the poor and landless peasants but also of the workers.

Whenever the workers in the cities launch any struggle or strike the Red Guards should rally behind them only to support their struggle. But the Red

Guards are required not to express any opinion whatsoever about the workers unions or the union leaders, nor will they make any speech. This support, this expression of solidarity of the students and youths will itself create considerable enthusiasm among the workers. The students and youths should go first to the workers. Later, the workers themselves will come to the schools and colleges and in the mohallas to tell stories of their struggles.

After this, the Red Guards should start doing intimate political propaganda among the workers and building revolutionary cadres. Select one or two workers for this purpose. As soon as they accept the revolutionary politics bring them in contact with the Party.

In future, whenever there is any clash between the workers and the police, the Red Guards and the students and youths must rally in support of the workers and take part in the clash alongside them even if the Red Guards be only a few in number.

**START A REVOLUTIONARY
PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN ON THE
WIDEST SCALE DURING THIS SUMMER
VACATION AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST
ANTI-CHINA WAR PLOTS**

The students and youths and the Red Guards have to shoulder today, a most important responsibility in carrying on revolutionary propaganda with a view to frustrating imperialist war plots. Go in your thousands among the peasant masses in the villages and among the working class in the cities during the ensuing summer vacation. Ours is the only Party in the world to declare boldly: "China's Chairman is Our Chairman" and to give the call; "Chairman's China may be attacked so, let us hasten the work of revolution!" These are calls for struggle against bourgeois nationalism and its accomplice: revisionism. It is you who have to uphold and carry forward these two slogans through to the end by implementing them, till the imperialist war plots against China are burned to ashes in the flames of revolution.

You should repeatedly explain to the people that the imperialist powers are, today, exhausted, while the strength of the people is incomparably greater. This is why if the imperialists and social imperialists launch their aggressive war against the great China and the revolutionary people of the world, the revolutionary

war in our country will be less drawn out than we had expected. It should also be explained to the people that that the so-called extraordinary power of the nuclear weapons is a sheer lie propagated by the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie knows well that it is not possible to prevent the revolutionary war from spreading with the help of their armed forces alone and that the only way to prevent it is to spread the poison of revisionist thinking. That is why you should spread the struggle against revisionism in an accelerated tempo. You should do it so that the masses realize that this is the time to deal blows to the enemy. This great campaign should not be a temporary one then given up, because once the war starts bourgeois nationalism would again try to raise its head.

The students and youths of Bengal have a glorious tradition. So, if you carry out this task of yours conscientiously, I can assure you that the PLA will march in the sprawling plains of Bengal by the beginning of 1971, if not in 1970.

RED GUARDS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET FASCIST ATTACKS IN THE CITIES

The Red Guards should always be prepared to counter attack whenever other parties dare to attack our Party in the cities. This is very necessary.

RED GUARDS SHOULD ADOPT GUERRILLA METHODS IN LAUNCHING COUNTER ATTACKS

Whenever the fascist hoodlums dare to attack us, Red Guard groups - 5 or 6 Red Guards in a group - should launch counter attacks from very close range, swiftly and without making any noise, and thus crush the morale of the fascist hoodlums.

Hate, Stamp and Smash Centrism

1970

In the present world situation there are two important phenomena.

On the one hand, there is U.S. imperialism's naked aggression against Cambodia. The U.S. imperialists have thrown away all pretenses and invaded Cambodia. Their logic is Hitler's logic — the logic of all aggressors. They cannot wait anymore, they can no longer talk of peace. Now they will attack one country after another. So this is the beginning of the Third World War.

On the other hand the revolutionary united front of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, under the leadership of China, has been built up to fight the U.S. aggressors. The unity of the three Indo-Chinese peoples have been achieved. This is a great thing in the world history, which did not exist when Hitler's hordes marched across Sudetenland. The Second World War was preceded by Munich - by great betrayal. But now the united front of revolutionary peoples under the leadership of China is taking shape. So this is the great beginning of the defeat of

imperialism and the great beginning of the victory of the worlds people.

The same kind of phenomena exists in India also. India's reactionary ruling classes are making frenzied preparations to suit the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. They are hatching criminal war plans against China. But the emergence of the C.P.I. (M-L) has changed the internal situation in India. The armed revolutionary peasant struggle led by the C.P.I. (M-L) has become the motive force of history. We must take into account not only the offensive of the ruling classes but also the counter-offensive of the revolutionary people.

Our cardinal tasks, therefore, are: to build up the Party and to get it entrenched among the landless and poor peasants. The building up of the Party means the development of the armed class struggle. And without armed class struggle the Party cannot be developed and cannot entrench itself among the masses.

The struggle between the two lines is there within the Party and will continue to be there. We must oppose and defeat the incorrect line. But we must be on our guard against centrism. Centrism is a brand of revisionism - its worst form. In the past, revisionism was defeated again and again by revolutionary elements but centrism always seized the victories of the struggle and led the Party along the revisionist path. We must hate centrism. On the question of

boycotting elections, Naggi Reddy said : "Yes we accept it but it should be restricted to a certain area at a certain period. We will participate in elections where there is no struggle." This is Naggy Reddy's line. This is centrism. We have fought against it and have thrown the Naggy Reddy's out of our organization. Regarding Soviet social - imperialism some say : " The Soviet leaders are revisionists. But how can they be imperialists ? Where is that development of monopoly capital ?" These are centrists. We have fought them and thrown them out of our Party. So the centrists raised the questions of trade unions and "working class based party" when armed clash is to be developed by relying on the peasantry. We fought Asist Sen and company on these lines and threw them out of the Party.

We must not only distinguish between the correct and incorrect line but also find out the centrist position and smash it.

Now the centrist attack is coming from inside the Party. On the question of using fire arms, the dependence on the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and the battle of annihilation, the Party is facing centrist attacks.

It must be understood that the battle of annihilation is both a higher form of class struggle and starting point of guerilla war. There are two deviations on this question :

1. Some Comrades agree that annihilation is the starting point of guerilla war but they do not agree that it is a higher form of class struggle. It should be borne in Êmind that only through the development of class struggle can all the problem be solved.

2. There are other Comrades who carried on class struggle — the struggle for the seizure of landlords land and property - but did not wage the battle of annihilation. So the cadres became degenerate, they were lost. The Comrades lost the point that annihilation is the starting point of guerilla war.

Class struggle will solve all other problems — the problem of building liberated bases and the problem of building the revolutionary army.

We have tried to develop the army in some areas without class struggle and have failed. Without class struggle — the battle of annihilation — the initiative of the poor peasant masses cannot be released, the political consciousness of the fighters cannot be raised, the new man cannot emerge, the peoples army cannot be created. Only by waging class struggle — the battle of annihilation — the new man will be created, the new man who will defy death and will be free from all thoughts of self interest. And with this death defying spirit he will go close to the enemy,

snatch his rifle, avenge the martyrs and the people's army will emerge. To go close to the enemy it is necessary to conquer all thought of self. And this can be achieved only by the blood of martyrs. That inspires and creates new men out of the fighters, fill them with class hatred and makes them go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle with bare hands.

We have poured much of our blood in Srikakulam and we have spilled much blood of the enemy. Yet the class enemy exists there. Unless we throw the class enemy out of the land, a new consciousness, a new confidence cannot arise. We cannot then go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle. It is the class struggle that can solve this problem of building the peoples army.

The annihilation of the class enemy — this weapon in our hands — is the greatest danger of the reactionaries and revisionists all the world over. So the leaders of world revisionism are trying to contact the various groups which pay lip service to Chairman Mao and the C.P.C. and are trying to unite them to oppose the battle of annihilation of the class enemy. We refuse to unite with this groups because they are opposed to annihilation of the class enemy, to class struggle and so, are enemies of the people.

Why am I against taking up fire arms now? Is it not our dream that landless and poor peasants will take up rifles in their shoulders and march forward? Yet the

use of fire arms at this stage, instead of releasing the initiative of the peasant masses to annihilate the class enemy, stifles it. If guerilla fighters start the battle of annihilation with their conventional weapons, the common landless and poor peasants will come forward with bare hands and join the battle of annihilation. A common landless peasant, ground down by age old oppression, will see the light and avenge himself on the class enemy. His initiative will be released. In this way the peasant masses will join the guerilla fighters, their revolutionary enthusiasm will know no bounds and a mighty wave of peoples upsurge will sweep the country. After the initiative of the peasant masses, to annihilate the class enemy with bare hands or home made weapons, has been released and the peasants revolutionary power has been established, they should take up the gun and face the world. The peasant with the rifle will be the guarantee of the continuation of the peasants revolutionary power.

Comrades the peasants suffering has reached a stage when they can no longer endure it. If we can show them the way, there is not a single point in India where the peasants will not be roused to action. There is the possibility of a tremendous upsurge in India if we consciously work for it. Guerilla war can be waged through the battle of annihilation in every village in India. So, start as many points of armed struggle as possible. Don't try to concentrate. Expand anywhere and everywhere. This is one principle to be

followed. The other principle is: Carry on the battle of annihilation of the class enemy.

All the revisionists, all the groups taking the name of Chairman Mao, are attacking us on this issue of the battle of annihilation. So Comrades anyone who opposes this battle of annihilation cannot remain with us. We will not allow them to remain in our Party. One can see how the revolutionary armed peasant struggle is rousing the other classes. Look at Calcutta. The revolutionary struggle of the youths of Calcutta surges forward under the impact of the armed peasant struggle. The working class in Calcutta is also rising. And I hope there will be revolutionary upsurge of the working class not only in Calcutta, but in all other cities of India. This is bound to happen. The situation in the cities will then change completely.

Comrades, let a vigorous armed peasant struggle rage all over India after the victorious conclusion of our Congress. Then a spontaneous mass upsurge in the wake of the armed guerilla struggle will come as an avalanche, as a thunderbolt. It is sure the Red Army can be created not only in Srikakulam but also in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. With these continents of the Liberation Army, the Indian Peasants will march forward and complete the revolution. Three factors guarantee the victory of the revolution. First, the revolution that has been delayed by more than twenty years brooks no further delay. Second, the revolution is taking place in the era of

total collapse of imperialism and the world wide victory of Socialism, the era of Mao Tsetung Thought. Third, we have been able to hold this Congress despite severe repression.

Comrades, let us march forward. The seventies will surely be the decade of liberation.

Long Live the Heroic Peasants in Naxalbari!

1971

The social system that exists in India is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. So the democratic revolution in this country means agrarian revolution. All the problems of India are related to this one task. On this question of agrarian revolution there has been difference of opinion in Marxist circles from the beginning of this century and among Marxists the struggle between the two policies—the one revolutionary and the other counter-revolutionary—continues. The Mensheviks side-tracked the question of State power and searched for a solution in municipalization. Lenin declared a crusade against it and said that it was not possible to solve the problem by side-tracking the question of State power. He showed that however progressive the legislation framed by one might be, the present State structure could not implement it. The condition of the peasant will remain the same. That was why he said that only the democratic State of workers and peasants, led by the working class, could solve this problem. Only the other day even the Soviet Party writer, Yudin, while criticizing Nehru's Basic Approach, said that Nehru had not till then been able

to solve the peasant problem. He challenged Nehru to show, in practice, how this problem could be solved in a peaceful way and added that Nehru would fail to do so. History has proved that, far from solving this problem, Nehru was not able even to bring about an iota of change.

After the twentieth congress of the Soviet party, the door to revisionism was opened wide and, as a result, the Soviet State has been transformed from a Socialist State into a capitalist State. By making the theory of peaceful transition to socialism-adopted at that twentieth congress-their basic guiding principle, the revisionists of our country are shouting loudly that the peasants' struggle for land is a struggle for realization of economic demands and that it is adventurism to talk of the State machinery. What strange similarity between the words of Dange and Basavapunnia!

What strange cooperation between Biswanath Mukherji and Harekrishna Konar! This is not accidental since its source is one and that is the Menshevik counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the cunning rulers of the Soviet State have repeatedly declared that it is only by using fertilizers, improved seeds and agricultural implements that India's food problem can be solved. It is in this manner that they are coming forward to save India's reactionary ruling clique; they are concealing from the masses the basic and effective way of solving India's food, unemployment, poverty and other

problems. This is because the Soviet State is today collaborating with British-American imperialists and has been turned into a State which exploits the masses of India. With the help of the native bourgeoisie the Soviet Union is also trying to invest capital in our country. In the sphere of trade and commerce with our country it has come to enjoy special facilities. That is why the arguments of the reactionary ruling clique are pouring out from the mouths of its spokesmen in a continuous flow and at an uninterrupted speed. That is why, as a collaborator of Britain and the U. S. A., the Soviet State also is our enemy and it is by taking shelter under their wings that the reactionary Government of India weighs like a corpse upon the shoulders of the masses. But even then Naxalbari has been created and hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering. This is because on the soil of India the revolutionary peasantry is heir to the heroic revolutionary peasants of great Telangana. The then Party leadership betrayed the heroic peasant struggle of Telangana and it did so by using the name of great Stalin. Many of those who are occupying the positions of Party leaders today were a party to the act of betrayal on that day! On bent knees, we will have to take lessons from those heroes of Telangana, not only to have strength to carry the red banner of revolt but also to have faith in the international revolutionary authority. What boundless respect they had for the international leadership-the name of Stalin made them place their lives fearlessly at the disposal of the reactionary government of India. In all ages and

in all climes this revolutionary loyalty is necessary for organizing revolutions. We must learn from the experience of the heroes of Telangana: we must take the mask off the face of those who oppose Marxism-Leninism by using the name of Stalin. We will have to snatch from their hands the Red Flag dyed with the blood of hundreds of workers and peasants. The traitors have, by touching that Flag with their hands, stained it.

Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. When Naxalbari receives congratulations from the heroes in the rubber plantations of Malaya who have been engaged in struggle for 20 years, when congratulations are sent by Japanese comrades who have been fighting against the revisionist leadership of their own Party, when such congratulations come from the Australian revolutionaries, when the comrades of the armed forces of great China send their greetings, we feel the significance of that immortal call, "Workers of the World, Unite", we have a feeling of oneness and our conviction becomes more strong and firm that we have our dear relations in all lands. Naxalbari has not died and it will never die.

