

## Thorough Bankruptcy of Revisionist Fallacy

--With a view to writing off the anti-imperialist struggle of the revolutionary Indian people, the Indian revisionists, under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, have deliberately covered up the truth about the U.S. imperialist aggression against, and control over, India. They alleged that India is an "independent" country and that the Indian government which is only "collaborating" and "compromising with" imperialism is not its lackey. Accordingly, they argued, the spearhead of struggle should not be directed against the imperialists.

However, the hard facts of U.S. imperialist aggression, control and exploitation of India has laid bare the renegade features of the Indian revisionists who act as apologists for U.S. imperialism. India is a semi-colonial country controlled by several colonial powers, old and new, headed by U.S. imperialism. The relations between the reactionary Indian ruling group and U.S. imperialism are those between a master

and its lackey. In order to liberate themselves, the Indian people must resolutely make a national-democratic revolution and overthrow the monstrous rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the reactionary Indian government.

The broad masses of the Indian people have endured suffering and tribulation caused by the cruel oppression and exploitation by U.S. imperialism and its lackey. The economic and political crises are daily become more acute. An increasing number of the Indian people have realised the truth elucidated by chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's revolutionary people: "U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world." They have realised that U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter and the main bulwark of colonialism in the present era. Surging anti-U.S. flames are blazing in the vast land of India. The Indian people are resolved to take the road to liberation as pointed out by chairman Mao for the oppressed people and wipe out U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the reactionary Indian government, with revolutionary armed struggle.

# Documents on the Struggle Inside the CP of India (M)

## Document #1

### Brief notes:

Communist Party: There are in India two organizations calling themselves the Communist Party of India. One of them is controlled by the renegade Dange clique of modern revisionists. The Dangeites, under the instruction and support of their masters, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, have openly taken the path of class collaboration.

The other Party contains cadres of whom the majority constitute, along with certain sections of the middle-ranking leadership, the true revolutionary vanguard. These revolutionaries have fought Khrushchev revisionism from 1956 onwards. During the Indian attack on China in 1962, when the leadership of the then united Communist Party of India denounced (!) the great Peoples Republic, the revolutionary rank and file were in open revolt against the leadership. The rank and file demanded a purge of revisionism and a clean break with the treacherous revisionists. A new Party Congress (the 7th) was held in 1964, but unfortunately the neo-revisionists, who had not been unmasked till then, managed to dominate the

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We received this document from revolutionary comrades inside the Communist Party of India(M) who stated that: "This document is the last of a series of interconnected directives for the use of the revolutionaries within the Communist Party of India, translated from the Bengali original. All over India the struggle is developing beyond the stage described herein. Soon it will perhaps be time for the revolutionaries to sum up their new experiences in another document. (Complete text is reprinted here. Subheads have been added by W.R.)"

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forums and, in order to divert the just anger and revolutionary zeal of the cadres, they confined the whole struggle against revisionism within the sphere of a battle for leadership. In spite of many gaps, the program adopted at the Congress correctly called for a People's Democratic Revolution, based on a firm alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. But the neo-revisionist leaders only talked about such a revolution and continued their revisionist game

in their actions. The recent actions of the revolutionaries have, however, exposed the neo-revisionists and they have been reduced to peddling absurdities. In their desperate frenzy they have been saying things like, "Radio Peking may not be in the hands of the Maoists," "The Peking Daily is not always infallible," etcetera. All this of course in a vain attempt to divert the masses' attention from the firm fraternal support the revolutionaries of China are giving to the revolutionaries within the Indian Communist Party.

**Gherao:** A word of North Indian origin, now widely used all over India. Workers in factories, offices, etc. are said to "gherao" when they surround the owners and managers (at the work place or at their residences) and take turns detaining them for as long as their demands are not met. Of course, the capitalists and their henchmen do not like to be so confined (gheraoed) so that the workers usually face a combined force of armed policemen and hired thugs. But in spite of many murders committed by these combined forces, the workers continue to gherao and the advanced sections of workers are also instituting retaliatory measures.

**Kisan Sabha:** This is the amen of the All India Peasant Association. Like the All-India Trade Union Congress, this organization's top leadership is shared by the Khrushchev-Kosygin revisionists and the neo-revisionists. In West Bengal state, where the peasants' armed struggle is developing very fast, the President is a Dangeite and the General Secretary a neo-revisionist member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. These two gentlemen are now ministers of the reactionary "United Front" government that is murdering

peasants and workers everyday. This leadership is, however, not allowed to interfere in the activities of the revolutionaries in the ranks. The glorious Naxalbari struggles were initiated and continue to be led by the Darjeeling District Kisan Sabha under the leadership of the revolutionaries within the Communist Party of India.

**Benami lands, "vested lands," and land tenure:** For a brief review of the historical background of land tenure in India, see the published articles of Marx in the New York Tribune during the 1850's and 1860's, now collected in On Colonialism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965.

Until 1954, the zemindars (landlords) had the right to nearly all the land. They collected whatever rent they could extort and paid a fixed amount to the state. In 1954, due to unprecedented mass pressures, the reactionary Congress government brought into effect legislation which "abolished" the zemindari system and fixed a limitation on land holding at 25 acres. Anyone who held land above the limit had to hand over the surplus to the government. Lands thus handed over or lands which should have been thus handed over are known as lands "vested" in the government or "vested lands."

The ruling clique of landlords and their allies never intended a redistribution of land. The legislation was only a sop to mislead the people and provide a debating example of peaceful transition for the revisionists. The landlords continued to hold huge acreages by conspiring with corrupt officials and keeping ownership under fictitious names (Benam). Land so held are described as Benami Lands.

## **Carry Forward the Peasant Struggle By Thoroughly Combating Revisionism, Struggle Against Economism, Develop the Mass Movement**

Since the elections, the Party leadership has been diligently proving the correctness of our misgivings. The Political Bureau has directed that "struggles must be waged to save the non-Congress ministries from the clutches of reaction." In other words, the principal work of Marxists is not the intensification of class struggles but to hold a brief for these ministries.

For this purpose a convention of Party members was called to lay firm foundations for economism among the working class, and after that an industrial peace was negotiated

under the leadership of the Cabinet. Furthermore, the workers were told not to use gherao as a weapon. Can class collaboration be more naked than this? The capitalists are given full freedom to exploit and at the same time the workers are told not to struggle. On joining a government established by a huge people's struggle, the Communist Party has chosen the way of class collaboration.

The Chinese leaders predicted quite some time ago that those who were neutral on the international ideological differences would very

quickly take the opportunist road. Now the leaders of China have stated that these neutralists are actually revisionists and that they will soon join the counter-revolutionary camp. We are witnessing this truth in our country today. Before our eyes there is the betrayal of the working-class.

And now let us add to it the pronouncements of Communist Party leader Harekrishna Konar. At first he promised that all land vested in the government would be distributed among the landless peasantry. Then, the amount of land to be thus distributed was reduced. At last he announced that this year things will remain as before. The question of exemption from land revenue was left to the mercy of Junior Land Revenue Officers (JLRO). The peasant was shown the way of applications and petitions and he was ordered not to forcibly occupy any land.

Harekrishna Babu is not only a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but he is also the Secretary of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha (Peasant Association). It was his Kisan Sabha that in 1959 called for a movement to wrest vested lands and benami lands and it was against this movement and in the interests of the landowning classes that the government let loose a suppression campaign and ordered the peasants to vacate the lands. But in spite of that, the peasant in many instances refused to give up the land and maintained possession on the strength of the village's unity. Has the Kisan Sabha leader supported their struggle after becoming a minister? No. He has said that vested lands will be redistributed. Who will get them? The J.L.R.O.'s will take the advice of the Kisan Sabha on that. But will that advice be accepted? Harekrishna Babu does not say. But Harekrishna Babu is quite clear on the point that peasants must not forcibly occupy the lands if the J.R.L.O.'s disregard the advice of the Kisan Sabha.

What can one call this? Is it not simply being a lackey of the government and the landlords? Even the Congress did not dare to hold such a brief for the feudal classes. Thus, to abide by the directives of the party leaders amounts to unquestioning acceptance of the exploitation and rule of the feudal classes. It is therefore the responsibility of Communists to expose this leadership's anti-proletarian reactionary role before the Party members and the people and push forward on the policy of intensifying the class struggle.

Let us assume that the landless and poor peasants accept Harekrishna Babu's proposals and submit petitions. What will happen then? Vested lands contain some untilled land but most of the lands are cultivated lands. These latter already have cultivators who are either sharecroppers (bhag chashi) or licensed by the

government. The redistribution of these lands will inevitably generate conflicts among the poor and landless peasants and taking advantage of these conflicts, the rich peasant, who is a partner in feudal power and influence and who has great opportunities for bureaucratic manipulation, will install himself in the leadership of the peasant movement. So we see that Harekrishna Babu will not struggle now and has on top of that made arrangements so that the peasant struggle may not take a militant form in the future.

### The Struggle Against Economism

We have, however, adopted the program for a people's democratic revolution whose chief task is land reform in the interests of the peasantry. Land reform in the interest of the peasantry can take place only when we have smashed the power of the feudal classes in the countryside. To do this we must appropriate the lands of these classes and distribute them among the poor and landless peasants. We will never do this if our struggles are confined within the limits of economism.

In all areas where the struggle was only for the redistribution of vested lands, we have seen that the peasant who has been given the licensed possession of vested land drops out of active peasant struggles. Why? The reason is that within one year that peasant changes his class character and becomes a middle peasant. Thus the economic demands of the poor and landless peasants are no longer their demands. It is thus that economism breaks the unity of struggling peasants and plunges the poor and landless into the depths of despair.

Believers in economism judge every struggle according to the amount of paddy seized and the amount of land received by the peasant. They never judge a struggle according to whether the fighting consciousness of the peasants has increased or not. Naturally they do not try to increase the class consciousness of the peasants. Whereas we know that no struggle is possible without sacrifice, Chairman Mao has taught us that wherever there is struggle there must also be sacrifice. At the beginning of the struggle, the power of the people will always be less than the power of the reactionaries. That is why the struggle will be long. But the people being a progressive force will increase its strength every day and the reaction being a decaying force will decrease its strength every day. Thus, if the people are not inspired to make sacrifices, no revolutionary struggle can be successful. Economism drags us away from this principal revolutionary standpoint and

leaves us stranded with a bourgeois standpoint. The Party leaders have done precisely this through their various activities.

If we review various peasant struggles in the past we will see that the leaders have always imposed from above compromises on the peasants, whereas the responsibility of the Party leaders was to establish the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in the peasant movement. This task was not undertaken in the past and is not being undertaken now. Now they are asking for a dependence upon the law and the bureaucracy. Lenin has said that if a progressive law were passed but the responsibility for its implementation rested on the bureaucracy then the peasant would not get anything. It is therefore quite clear that our leaders have strayed far from Lenin and the revolutionary way.

Agrarian revolution is the immediate task. This task cannot be postponed and without it the peasant cannot be benefited. But the agrarian revolution must await the smashing of state power. To attempt an agrarian revolution without first smashing the state machinery is straightforward revisionism. The first and principal task of the peasant movement today is, therefore, the smashing of the state machine. If this task cannot be carried out throughout the nation or all over the state, will the peasant mark time until that date? No. Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung teaches us that if in any one area the peasantry can be imbued with political consciousness, then the work of smashing the state machine can be carried forward there. This is precisely the formation of a liberated zone.

A liberated zone is a peasant area from which all the class enemies have been ousted. To build such a zone we require peasant armed power. Just as arms made by the peasants are components of this armed power, so are guns. We will judge whether the peasant is politically imbued or not by whether he has proceeded towards collecting guns.

Where will the peasant get the guns from? The class enemies have guns and they live in the village. The guns must be snatched away from them. They will not part with the guns willingly, so force must be used to come into possession of guns. For this the peasant militants must be trained to set the class enemies' houses on fire and to use all other techniques. Apart from this, we will get guns by sudden attacks on the armed forces of the government. In whichever area we manage to organize this gun-snatching campaign, that area will soon be transformed into a liberated zone.

For this we require widespread propaganda among the area's peasants regarding the politics of armed struggle and also small clande-

stine groups of militants for conducting the gun-snatching campaigns. The members of these groups will propagate the politics of armed struggle and at the same time fulfill the given task of gun collection.

Collection of guns does not change the appearance of the struggle. The collected guns must be operated and only then will there be an unfolding of the peasant's creative power and a qualitative change in the struggle. This task can be carried out only by the poor and landless peasant, the firmest ally of the working class. The middle peasant is also an ally but his consciousness of the struggle is not as intense as that of the poor and landless peasants. He requires a little more time. For this reason the Communist Party must thoroughly analyze class relations. That is why China's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung completed this task right at the first and thus unerringly pointed out the path of revolutionary struggle. In our organizational work the principal task is to establish the leadership of poor and landless peasants in the peasant struggle. To organize the peasant movement in the politics of armed struggle will ensure the leadership of the poor and landless peasants because they constitute the most revolutionary force among the peasants.

A separate organization for agricultural labourers will not help our task. In fact, it will foster tendencies of economistic trade unionism and increase the conflicts among the peasantry. It will not increase the unity of the allied classes because in our agricultural system the exploitation by the feudal classes is primary.

In this context, there is the question of compromise with the small owners. What should be the Communist attitude to this problem? In all cases of compromise we must decide whose side we are. We cannot support any class against the interest of those we support. In the peasant movement, the Communists have over and over again renounced the interests of the poor and landless for the interests of the middle classes. The poor and landless peasants lose their morale by this. We must also have separate viewpoints toward the middle peasants and the rich peasants. If we consider the rich peasants the same way as middle peasants, then the poor and landless peasants despair. On the other hand, if we consider the middle peasants the same way as we consider the rich peasants, then the middle peasants' enthusiasm for struggle will be lessened. That is why Communists must learn to analyze the class relations among the peasantry of an area according to the teaching of Chairman Mao.

Over and over again the wrath of the Indian peasantry has burst forth, and every time the peasantry has sought the way from the Communist Party. We did not tell them that the politics

of armed struggle and the campaign to collect guns were the only way, the way of the working class, the way to liberation and the founding of a world without exploitation. Throughout India, in every state, the peasant is restless. The Communists must show them the way and that way is through armed-struggle politics and the campaign for the collection of guns. We must firmly assert this to be the only way. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China has declared war on every type of selfishness, groupism, revisionism, servile following of the bourgeoisie and singing the praises of bourgeois ideology. The flames of that revolution have reached India. That revolution beckons us to "prepare our minds firmly for every kind of sacrifice, to remove the obstacles on the path one by one so that victory will certainly be ours." No matter with what terrible aspect Imperialism advances or how insidious the net that modern revisionism spreads in order to help it, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered. The bright sunlight of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung will banish all darkness forever.

### Develop the Mass Movement

Naturally the problem arises whether there is any further need for mass movements based on partial demands. There is certainly such a need now and it will remain in the future. India is a vast land and the peasantry is divided into many classes. Thus in every area and among all classes the level of political consciousness cannot be the same. Thus an opportunity will always exist for peasant mass movements based on partial demands and Communists must make good use of this opportunity.

How should we conduct these movements for partial demands? Tactically, we should try for the largest peasant participation and our principal aim should be to see whether the peasants' class consciousness is enlarged and whether it moves forward towards armed struggle. Mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and increase the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of the people. Overwhelming masses of peasants will be inspired to make sacrifices and the struggle will spread to new areas. These movements for partial demands can take many forms but Communists must always propagate the necessity for a higher form of struggle. Under no circumstances will it be proper to circulate as "best" whatever form the peasants adopt. In reality, Communists will always propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants, i.e. the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for gun collection. But in spite of this propaganda the peasants may decide on mass deputa-

tions and if they do so, it will be our duty to lead them. During the period of white terror the effectiveness of these mass deputations cannot be minimized because these will draw into the struggle large numbers of peasants.

Movements for economic demands are not wrong but to conduct these movements with the technique of economism is a crime. It is also a crime to proclaim that economic struggles will of themselves assume political forms because that would simply be the worshipping of spontaneity. None of these show the people the path to be traveled or bring clarity to their viewpoint; nor do they imbue in the people a spirit of sacrifice in the struggle. At one stage of the struggle there remains only one task. Without carrying it out the struggle cannot arrive at a higher stage. In this epoch that special task is the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for the collection of guns. Without the performance of this task the struggle will not arrive at a higher stage; it will in fact disintegrate and organization will cease to grow.

In India the revolution can take only one road, the road pointed out by Lenin, the road that traverses the formation of a people's armed force and a republic. In 1905 Lenin wanted these two to be joined wherever possible, if not over the whole of Russia. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has enriched the Leninist way and taught us the tactics of the people's war through which China has liberated herself. It is this road that has been taken in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Leopoldville Congo, and various other nations of Africa and Latin America. In India, too, the Nagas, the Mizos and the people of Kashmir have taken this path of people's armed forces and the rule of the liberation front. That is why the working class must firmly declare that it must lead the democratic revolution by firmly allying itself with its principal ally, the peasantry. The responsibility for organizing the peasant movement and the duty of taking the struggle to the armed phase belongs to the working-class. The vanguard of the proletariat must go to the countryside to participate in armed struggle. This is the principal task of the proletariat.

"Collection of arms and preparing rural base areas" —this is proletarian politics, the politics of power seizure. The working-class must be inspired by this political ideology. The call to organize the workers into trade unions does not increase the workers' political consciousness. Of course this does not mean that we should not organize trade unions, but that the revolutionary party cadres will not be confined to trade unionism. Their main task will be to spread within the working-class the politics of armed struggle and the campaign to

collect guns and also to build up the party organization. Political propaganda and the explanation of the importance of peasant struggles is also the task of the Party among the middle classes. In short, on all fronts the Party is responsible for explaining the importance of peasant struggles and inviting other forces to join that struggle. We will arrive at the stage of conscious leadership of the democratic revolution to the extent that we proceed on this task.

### The Struggle Against Dogmatism

The opposition to this principal Marxist-Leninist way comes not only from the revisionists. The revisionists are quite simply taking the road of class collaboration; thus it is easy to remove their mask. The other opposition within the Party comes from the dogmatists. These grant the need for revolution and realize that revolution is only possible through armed struggle. But they imagine that armed struggle can only come about after the spreading of mass movements throughout India. Before that, small or large armed clashes may take place but the seizure of power is not possible. So far as they are concerned, they hope for another version of the October Revolution to occur in India. They apply their bookish knowledge about the success of that revolution to India's case without alterations. They forget that the February Revolution took place before the October Revolution and that, through it, the bourgeois parties and also the workers', peasants', and soldiers' Soviets came into power. Due to the existence of this dual power, working-class leadership became effective with the Soviets and when the petty bourgeois parties within the Soviets handed over power to the capitalists, the working class found it possible to carry out the October Revolution.

These dogmatists do not analyze the concrete reality of India and they do not learn from the struggles in India. The main cause for the success of the Russian revolution was the correct application of the tactics of the united front. The tactics of united front are equally important in India, but the tactics of the democratic revolution in India will take another form. In India, the Nagas, the Mizos, and the Kashmiris are struggling under the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie. In the democratic revolution the proletariat must move forward by forming a united front with them and also with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois-led struggles that will break out elsewhere. The basis for these alliances will be the anti-imperialist struggle and the right for self-determination. This right is accepted by the proletariat along with the right to secede.

Those who dream of the Indian revolution being carried out in the same manner as the October Revolution are revolutionaries but their doctrinaire standpoint prevents them from giving firm leadership to the struggle. They do not understand the significance of the peasant struggle and, as a result, they unconsciously become propagandists for economism. They cannot appreciate the teachings of Chairman Mao or the lessons of the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples. One section of these people becomes the admirer of Che Guevara and does not stress the work of organizing the peasantry, the principal revolutionary force in the Indian democratic revolution. As a result, they inevitably fall into left-wing deviations. We must pay special attention to those persons and slowly reeducate them through experience. Under no circumstances must we become intolerant of them.

Apart from these, there is another group of comrades who accept the Chinese Party and the Great Thought of Mao Tse-tung as the only correct way. But they consider How to be a Good Communist as the only ladder for self-cultivation and thus fall into grave deviations. The only road to self-cultivation is the road of class struggles as pointed out by Lenin and Chairman Mao. Class struggle is the only school for Communists. A Communist can emerge pure only by going through the flames of class struggle. We must evaluate our experiences of the class struggle in the light of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and derive our lessons. The central point about education in the Party is the application of Marxism-Leninism in the field of struggle to arrive at general principles from that experience and then to take those principles, enriched by experience, back to the masses. This is what is known as the principle of "from the people to the people." That is the main point of Party education. These revolutionary comrades do not realize this principal point of Party education and thus fall into idealist deviations. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us that learning is impossible without practice. In his words, "Doing is learning." Self-improvement is only possible through the transformation of the circumstances by revolutionary practice.

REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF PEASANTS AND WORKERS!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG!