



# PEOPLE'S WAR

Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee  
Special Issue of the 50th Anniversary of Our Party

June 2019



Central Committee  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

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## Homage to martyrs

Sixty-six comrades have laid down their lives in the countrywide movement in the past six months on the way to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India and to ultimately achieve Socialism and Communism facing the intensifying strategic 'SAMADHAN' offensive of the enemy. Let us pay homage to each and every one of them.

In the past six months from 2019 January ten comrades laid their valuable life in the East Bihar-North East Jharkhand, 40 comrades in Dandakaranya, 5 in Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh, 7 in Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) area and four in Odisha bringing the total number to 66. Twenty-two out of them were woman comrades. DvC members Comrade Ramko (Kamala Nuroti), Comrade Sagen (Jamuna), Comrade Seema, Comrade Swarupa, PPC members Comrade Jagadish, Comrade Sahadevarai, Comrade Madavi Vargesh, Comrade Punem Kamlu, Comrade. Roshan, Comrade. Kovasi Gangi and another ACM of DK, Comrade Dasu and Comrade Kranti of AOB.

Member of the South Gadchiroli Divisional Committee Comrade Ramko and activist of Chetana Natya Manch Comrade Silpa were caught by the police, tortured and cruelly murdered. In the MMC the in-charge DvC member of Malajkhand area of Balaghat Comrade Sagen was attacked by the enemy and became a martyr. In Odisha Comrade Seema was murdered in an encounter. In EB-NEJ Commander Comrade Sahadevarai was martyred in encounter. Comrade Kalmu Jagdish and another three comrades of the main force died in a battle with the government armed forces in the process of protecting a leadership comrade near Gomgudem-Bheemaram in South Bastar of DK. Ten youth most of them minors and school going students were killed in a very brutal manner in Thadaballa of Maad division. In Darbha division the police killed ordinary people and party activists in fake encounters in a period of two months as revenge to the assassination of MLA and five policemen by the PLGA. The President of a RPC died of jaundice and a

student of a school run by another RPC died of Cerebral Malaria. The martyr comrades include PLGA members, members of LOS, Platoon, CNM activists and Medical team members and militia members.

The Brahmanic Hindu fascist rulers that came to power the second time are making aggressive attacks on ordinary people and democratic, progressive forces. They are unleashing cruel and inhuman repression to wipe out the Maoist movement. Let us pay revolutionary homage to all the comrades who were martyred in the ongoing repression for the sake of the people. Let us pledge to achieve their ideals.

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- \* Red Salutes to martyrs!
- \* Let us celebrate  
the 50th Anniversary of the Party!
- \* Let us celebrate  
the 70th Anniversary of  
Chinese Revolution!
- \* Long Live  
Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
- \* Long live CPI (Maoist)!

## Editorial

### **Revolutionary Greetings to the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Our Great Party!**

The two proletarian revolutionary parties that emerged from the turbulent Sixties and especially from the flame of the great Naxalbari struggle – the CPI (ML) formed on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1969 and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) formed on 20<sup>th</sup> October 1969 have stood as the inheritors of all the revolutionary aspects of the long history of the Indian Communist movement. Both the parties went ahead overcoming many obstacles as two separate revolutionary streams for 35 years with the single objective of making the Indian revolution successful. There are certain similarities and certain differences in the histories of the two parties. Both the streams merged into one great stream in the later period and that is the emergence of Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004. In 2013 ending CPI (ML) Naxalbari united with the party. The two parties followed the correct fundamental line and fought against opportunism and wrong theoretical trends and thus mobilized and unified the genuine revolutionary forces/individuals of almost the entire ML groups into these two revolutionary streams. Now it is 50 years for the birth of the two streams and 15 years for the birth of CPI (Maoist). The CC appeals to celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the two erstwhile parties and the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the new party together.

The line of our Party developed and was enriched with the synthesis of the experiences of the various class struggles; armed struggle; the two line struggles of our party with various kinds of revisionists, right and left alien trends; the ebbs and flows, setbacks, leaps, twists and turns of the movement in the prolonged process of the development of Protracted People's War in various areas of the country in the past 50 years as a part of the World Socialist Revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is entwined with the molding of the three magnificent weapons of revolution, the proletarian party, people's army and revolutionary united front.

Indian revolution has been advancing in a jig jag path constantly overcoming many kinds of obstacles. The Revolution developed continuously with the hard labor of our party. All through the period there was fierce struggle between the revolutionary forces and counter revolutionary forces. It is not at all easy for the new aspects to win and take the place of the old. The new aspect will have face strong and severe resistance from the old. The new aspect will develop through fierce struggles against the old and ultimately become prevalent. The party severely strived to mold itself by continuously shedding the old aspects that are in the way and useless for the revolution and to develop several new aspects in the process of class struggle. It has been proved in our practice too that in any aspect development is not straight from bottom to top but is spiral.

During this period our party firmly fought against the Soviet revisionism, the modern revisionism of Deng, the modern revisionism of Prachanda-Bhattarai in Nepal and Avakianism (RCP) that came forth in the International Communist Movement. It made Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the line of Protracted People's War more popular. Our party is leading Protracted People's War towards accomplishing New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Armed Agrarian Revolution in the strategy of encircling the towns from the rural areas. the PPW is developing by severely resisting and fighting back the encirclement-wiping out offensive and several repressive campaigns unleashed unceasingly by the reactionary ruling classes with the support of the imperialists. Party gained rich experiences in tactics. The Party developed a practical and conceptual understanding towards Mass Organisations – people's movements, guerilla war, people's army, people's political power, guerilla zones and guerilla bases – liberated areas.

The party has been fighting back many arguments within the party and from others that India has turned capitalist and that the strategy of PPW is no more relevant quoting the international and domestic economic, political and social developments in the past 50 years. It clearly stated that the India is semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that even though there are considerable changes in the country's economy they are only quantitative but are not qualitative, that accomplishing New

Democratic Revolution is yet the immediate political objective and that there shall not be any change in the fundamental political military strategy to make it a success. It analysed the quantitative changes that came and are taking place and amended proper tactics time to time and has been saying that they need to be amended. It realizes the shortcomings in this regard. Our party strongly states that the fundamental path is correct basing on this prolonged revolutionary practice. We have to see the summaries of the great revolutionary history of these 50 years in this background.

The new revolutionary line of our party was evolved firstly in the background of the turbulent decade of 1960s when a large number of Maoist forces including the first rank great leaders Comrades Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee took up a two line struggle, proposed an alternate revolutionary line against the revisionist and neo-revisionist lines of the CPI and CPI (M) and totally broke from the old revisionist line. This led to the great Naxalbari rebellion in the leadership of Comrade CM in 1967. This became a Spring Thunder in the economic scenario of India. A new spate came forth against revisionism. There was an enthusiastic political situation all over the country. Thus Naxalbari struggle is a leap and a great turn in the Indian Revolution. This struggle soon spread to Srikakulam, Mushahari, Debra-GopiVallabhapur, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Birbhum, Sonarpur, Budbud, Kanksa and other such areas. Thousands of comrades laid down their lives in these struggles.

In 1970 May the Eighth Congress of the CPI (ML) was held. This institutionalized a new revolutionary line in the country. Anyhow by 1972 the Indian revolutionary movement faced a blow and temporarily setback. The movement was temporarily affected due to tactical mistakes, political and organizational weaknesses, lack of experience, severe losses from the severe enemy repression and due to splinters in the party due to disruptive deeds of the right opportunists internally. The Central Committee elected by the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress disintegrated. After the setback there was no continuation of party leadership for a long time. We had a peculiar situation that never came up in the history of the revolutions in Russia and China.



Our party faced the following main struggles between two lines in the past fifty years:

After Comrade Charu Mazumdar became a martyr in 1972 July there was serious political struggle between two lines in the CPI (ML) camp. Genuine revolutionary forces theoretically fought against the right opportunist disruptive arguments of SNS, Kanu Sanyal, Ashim Chatterjee, Nagabhushan Patnaik and others who targeted their attack on the fundamental line adopted by the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress and on comrade Charu Mazumdar. The genuine revolutionary forces also theoretically fought against Mahadev Mukherjee and other Lin Piao groups that took up left sectarian line. Vinod Misra (Liberation) group first was left sectarian and by the early years of the 80s it took up parliamentary line and reached a totally opposite situation to the earlier. Revolutionary forces exposed their right opportunist revisionist line. The CPI (ML) AP State Committee prepared a Self-Critical Report, 'Let us review the past, let us go forward successfully in the path of armed struggle', worked with new tactics for the construction of revolutionary movement and on the other hand took up a serious theoretical struggle against the right opportunist line of the TN-DV and CP groups. In this way party enriched the line by fighting against the right and left trends, especially the right opportunist trends, exposing them to the revolutionary camp and people, rectifying mistakes, learning from practice, adopting correct tactics and striving to develop People's War. Many of these opportunist groups of the CPI (ML) stream fell deep in right opportunism and reformism and degenerated into parliamentary parties.

The erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) faced two main internal crises. One is the crisis of 1985-86 and the second is the 1991-92 crisis. On both the occasions all the party ranks including the leadership fought against the left and right opportunism and disruptive cliques in the then topmost leadership amidst severe enemy repression. In 1985 the Satyamurty-Veerarwamy clique brought forth an alternate line in the veil of left jargon that was in essence right. In 1991 the KS-Bandayya clique indulged in anarchic, disruptive liquidate methods to impose their subjective assessment and right opportunist tactics on certain issues of the movement and politics. It tried its best to split the party.

The leadership and the activists stuck to the fundamental line of the party and the people stood united and defeated not only these wrong lines but also the enemy offensive. The party and the movement gained more strength than the earlier.

There were two main internal struggles in the history of the erstwhile CPI (ML) Party Unity in 1987 and 1997. The alternate line that came forth in 1987 challenged the fundamental line of CPI (ML). Those who brought forth this line argued that there were fundamental changes in semi-feudal relations due to the development of capitalist relations in the agricultural sector and that agrarian revolution is outdated. The logical conclusion of this argument would have been general insurrection. This argument was defeated in the 1987 Central Conference of PU. This integrated the party in a much higher basis. In the process of unity with CPI (ML) (People's War) a full-fledged internal struggle came forth at the time of review of 18 years in the Central Conference in 1997. The Conference added certain valuable and correct proposals from the critique document in its Political and Organisational Review. This internal struggle helped to enrich the party line. The Conference formed a strong basis for the unity of CPI (ML) (People's War) and Party Unity.

The two line struggle stood as the fundamental aspect of the development of the erstwhile MCCI. There were six important struggles. 1. The severe struggle between two lines against the revisionism of CPI (M) before divorcing from them; 2. The discussion about what is correct and what is wrong in various issues between the Communist Revolutionaries after breaking with the CPI (M); 3. Discussion and argument regarding the process and method of Party formation; 4. The discussion against the wrong line that came forth in the process of facing white terror in 1970-72 that said 'now it is not correct to make armed struggle in the cities, surrounding rural area and interior rural area'; the two line struggle against few leadership comrades who said that the party was following a left line and left the struggle in 24 Paraganas, Kanksa and Hugli of West Bengal; 5. The discussion between two lines on the issue that we can advance only by making constant armed attacks on the class enemies and government forces brought forth by a leadership comrade in Asom-Tripura in 1971-

72; 6. The discussion that the then CCM Badal raised about the party line in various forms in 1977-78. This continued since the martyrdom of Comrade KC until mid-1994-95; the two line struggle was in a severe form in 1999-2001. This struggle shook MCCI and helped to take a qualitative leap in every aspect.

The Second Central Conference of MCC in 1996 rejected the attitude of Badal that said it is politically wrong to consider Mao Thought and Maoism as one. It highlighted Mao Thought as Maoism. Badal and Bharat brought forth the following aspects also as discussion between two lines. 1. We must not assess Comrade Stalin according to the great debate but must assess newly; 2. There must not be any relation with RIM; 3. Unilateral ceasefire with PW is wrong. Two line struggle was taken up in the party on all these aspects. Final decision had to be taken in the central plenum or the Central Conference but it was not possible due to the wrong organizational methods of Badal and Bharat.

This two line struggle helped the MCC to shed its weakness and bad. It led it to understand the severe mistakes regarding the black chapter of mutual conflicts between MCC and People's War and to make self-criticism. It helped to shed dogmatic and sectarian trends. It helped to speed up the task of formation of army and base areas. It also helped for unity with genuine Maoist revolutionaries and for the formation of All India united party.

The two streams stick to a single objective to make the Indian Revolution successful and took up theoretical discussion to solve several theoretical and political differences working separately. They continued fraternal relations and worked for a long time for unity. But due to the strong non-proletarian wrong tendencies in both the parties the differences took the form of physical conflicts and led to the black chapter in the Indian revolutionary movement. It severely worried the Indian revolutionary camp and revolutionary well-wishers. Both the parties rethought and made a deep self-criticism regarding their severe mistake. International and domestic revolutionary forces contributed for this. Both the parties realized that the wrong attitude they followed to solve the differences between them shall not at all help to accomplish the great task of making the Indian revolution a success and placed their self-criticism before the revolutionary ranks and ended the black

chapter. This helped for the unity of two main revolutionary streams of Indian revolution and for the emergence of All India party, the CPI (Maoist) as a single centre of genuine revolutionaries. It also led to a great leap in the revolutionary movement.

After the formation of CPI (Maoist) the vacillating individuals and few forces hidden in the party afraid of the fierce class struggle developing speedily all over the country brought forth right opportunist discussions in Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Odisha and AOB and indulged in anarchic disruptive organizational methods. Majority comrades in the respective states along with the CC theoretically opposed them and they either left the party or surrendered to the enemy. In Punjab a right opportunist clique caused enormous loss to the movement. Three members of the CC totally failed in the test of fierce class struggle and are making attacks on the party line and the party leadership together with the enemy. The 50 year old history of the party clearly shows us that wrong line exists along with the correct line and causes loss to the revolution. The internal theoretical struggle in the party exists as long as the party exists. The entire party must always be alert towards the wrong line. When theoretical differences arise in any form in the party as far as possible all must be convinced according to the correct path, strengthen the unity of the Party and must remove the diehard opportunists from the party. We must relentlessly enhance the theoretical level of the party. After genuine parties/groups/individuals unite the CC, SAC/SZC/SC must make planned efforts to work abiding by democratic centralism, with unity of thought and unity of action as a genuine Maoist party. In view of this the party made efforts to achieve unity in practice also. Even though efforts were made to solve the problems that arose in the united party, due to shortcomings in this regard the party faced certain problems in working according to democratic centralism in certain areas.

Even though our party faced difficult conditions on various occasions in the process of revolution it stick to the basic line of the Party and strived to advance the movement. It studied the special characteristics of the Indian revolutionary war and the similarities and differences between it and the conditions of China before revolution. It studied the caste question, the Dalit question as a part of it, the

nationality question, the tribal question, the women's question, the religious minorities question and other such things. It learnt from the practice that continued basing on the fundamental line of the party in the light of MLM and took up study in several phases. This made the development of political and military strategy and tactics of the party. This contributed to the political mobilization of the oppressed classes and oppressed sections in the New Democratic Revolution, to take up concrete tactics and to form alliance with the oppressed nationalities and struggle organisations.

The party achieved many remarkable leaps in the past 50 years due to the concrete tactics according to the concrete situation. Whenever it took up correct tactics the movement advanced in a spate. Whenever it failed to take up proper tactics in time according to the objective and subjective situation it had to face several setbacks. In both the occasions the party firmly stuck to its line.

Our party adopted a plan to concentrate on strategic areas as a part of implementing the PPW and work among the peasantry, to develop People's War and People's Army and establish liberated areas and take up the entire revolutionary effort to achieve this task it spread its work among the working class, students, youth, women, Dalits, tribal people, poets, artists and intellectuals during this period to achieve this objective. It organized lakhs of them in several revolutionary Mass Organisations and lead various revolutionary struggles abiding the class line – mass line and created waves of people's movement. The party strived to protect its secret organisation and worked to lead the open and secret forms of struggle and organisation among the people. It brought a new turn in developing the anti-feudal peasant armed struggle and anti-imperialist against movement through propaganda, agitation and struggles. Thus it developed the mass base in a remarkable manner. In this process it worked to relatively develop the People's Army as the main form of organisation and armed struggle as the main form of struggle as a part of fulfilling the central task of revolution with the objective to establish liberated areas. It means it developed people's guerilla forces and guerilla war in certain strategic areas and in a process established PLGA and people's revolutionary political power in the embryonic form from the village level to the

area and division level and also conducted several guerilla actions with the characteristics of mobile war. With the objective of establishing liberated areas it developed many red resistance areas, guerilla zones and guerilla bases in DK and BJ. It spread the movement to new areas.

In addition to taking up people's movements the party also organized the revolutionary forces that came forth in these movements in the Mass Organisations, people's militia and Revolutionary People's Committees. They recruited the advanced forces among them and spread the party and the PLGA. It developed a strong full time and part time system of the party organisation than the earlier. It formed various bureaus and departments in the central and the state committees. It formed the necessary departments in some strong areas from the regional to the area committee level the party leadership from top to bottom relatively strengthened. It formed Commissions and Commands in the PLGA and developed the three forces in various levels. It held the Committee meetings, special meetings, various levels of Conferences and plenums and also the historic Unity Congress-Ninth Congress successfully that helped to summarize the experiences of the movement and enrich the party line and tactics. This helped a lot to the advancement of the movement. The efforts to fulfill the central task given by the Unity Congress of the party to develop PLGA into PLA and the guerilla war into mobile war to transform Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into liberated areas further advanced the movement.

The CC assessed that the revolutionary movement of the country is facing a difficult situation since 2013. It adopted theoretical, political, military and organizational tactics to overcome this situation and advance the movement. It made efforts basing on our fundamental line as a part of fulfilling the central task adopted by the Unity congress. It synthesized that due to the lack of strong People's Army for the Communist party in our country and a strong, centralized Indian state, it shall take much time to establish liberated areas and that the guerilla zones and people's movements will continue for a long time facing ebbs and flows. The party and the movement faced severe losses due to the severe countrywide enemy offensive and our theoretical, political weaknesses. The party is working to create favorable conditions in the areas where the movement was affected and for

reorganization. The party is making efforts to improve the theoretical, political, organizational and military standard of the party through several education campaigns. It took up rectification programs in the respective states and all over the country to rectify the non-proletarian wrong trends that arose in the party and to preserve the proletarian character of the party. The bolshevization program between 2013 and 2018 contributed to the development of the movement.

Thus the party in its long revolutionary practice proved that our line is correct through overcoming several ebbs and flows, setbacks, twists and turns and by advancing the revolutionary movement in waves. It led the Indian revolution in the past 50 years and gained utmost valuable experiences. It is very much necessary for our committees and various units of the party from top to bottom to study them deeply. These experiences shall contribute a lot to successfully take up the consolidation campaign that the party is taking up on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary and to overcome the difficult situation that the countrywide revolutionary movement has been facing for the past seven years.

A synthesis of the party experience of the past 50 years shows clearly that it is necessary to – correctly implement democratic centralism, collective leadership-individual responsibility to strengthen the party theoretically and organizationally; stick firmly to the fundamental line; enhance theoretical study; improve the methods of the party committee; implement the Maoist work style in its true spirit; improve the style of struggle; rectify mistakes and shortcomings in time; fight against the right and left opportunist trends in time; deeply grasp the relation between the main and central task and other fundamental tasks of the revolution in view of the unequal development of Indian revolution and that between the tasks adopted in various times; improve the work with coordination of armed-unarmed, legal-illegal, open-secret forms of struggle and organisation; change tactics timely according to the changes in objective condition and in the movement; deeply realize the dialectical relation between consolidation and expansion; achieve improvement in building the movement by firmly fighting in not only favorable conditions but also in unfavorable conditions; stick to the policy in every work; keep politics

in the forefront in every work; take up each work by realizing class struggle deeply; and stand in the forefront in shedding selfishness and fighting against selfishness. It shows clearly that the three magnificent weapons must be molded and strengthened according to successfully advancing the People's War. It also shows clearly that we have to work with Bolshevik spirit to mold our party strong and efficient by realizing and implementing the favorable aspects in our long time practice. Let us strengthen the three magnificent weapons, implement our fundamental line in a creative and dynamic manner with firm will in the light of MLM according to the speedily changing objective conditions favorable to revolution and the complex and difficult conditions of class struggle, lead the revolutionary movement successfully and make true the dreams of thousands of martyrs!

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*“To belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology”.*

- Mao

“We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing”.

- Mao

“Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent”.

- Mao



## **Message**

### **Revolutionary greetings to the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Party!**

**Strengthen the Party theoretically, politically  
and organizationally so as to spread and intensify  
countrywide Protracted People's War!**

**Celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of our Party  
and the 15<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of our new Party –  
CPI (Maoist) from September 21<sup>st</sup> to November  
8<sup>th</sup> all over the country with revolutionary  
enthusiasm and revolutionary firm will!**

**A call to the Indian revolutionary ranks and people!**

**Dear Comrades and people!**

The Communist Party was formed in our country in 1925. The party betrayed the great Telangana Armed Peasant struggle, stepped into the Parliamentary mire and became a revisionist party. The revolutionary ranks lacked an alternate revolutionary leadership to oppose this revisionist leadership and the revisionist line and so continued in this. In 1964 the CPI split into the CPI and the CPI (M). There is only a slight theoretical, political difference between the two. The neo-revisionist policies of the CPI (M) came out into the open with the two line struggle in its 7<sup>th</sup> Congress in 1964 November. So by the time of Naxalbari the revolutionary ranks realized that the CPI, the CPI (M) and their lines were outright revisionist.

A large number of Maoist forces including the first rank great leaders such as Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee came forth opposing revisionism and neo-revisionism

and proposing an alternate revolutionary line in the turbulent Sixties when - the Communist Party of China in the leadership of Mao held 'Great Debate' against the modern revisionism of Khrushchev that came forth in the World Socialist camp; the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution started in China; people's movements broke in several countries. This led to the outbreak of the great Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle followed by countrywide Armed Peasant struggles. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed on the birth centenary of the great Marxist teacher Comrade Lenin on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1969 and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) on the 20<sup>th</sup> October 1969. Subsequently on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1980 the CPI (M-L) (People's War) was formed together with the genuine revolutionary forces of the CPI (M-L) stream and new CPI (M-L) [People's War] was formed in 1998 with the unity of the People's War Party and CPI (M-L) Party Unity. The MCC unified genuine Marxist-Leninist groups - RCCI (M), RCCM, CPI (ML) (Second CC) and RCCI (MLM) (Organising Committee) and developed into the MCCI in 2003. The MCCI and the CPI (M-L) [People's War] merged and the new CPI (Maoist) emerged on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004. Two main revolutionary streams of our country merged and the genuine proletarian revolutionary party the CPI (Maoist) came to existence as the genuine continuation of all the revolutionary aspects of the long history of the Indian Communist Movement going on since 1925. Thus a single revolutionary party, a single proletarian People's Army (PLGA) and revolutionary Mass Organisations and new organisations of political power with a single political nature came into existence. Later it continued the process of unifying genuine Communists and unified CPI (M-L) Naxalbari in 2013 December.

As a continuation to the six Congresses of the CPI and the Seventh Congress of the CPI (M), the Eighth Congress of the CPI (M-L) was held in 1970 May and in 2007 January the historic Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the CPI (Maoist) was held. This Congress approved the basic documents and enriched the theoretical, political, military and organizational lines. The Party realized its mistakes and weaknesses in the light of MLM and conducted rectification campaign.

In the past fifty years CPI (Maoist) was formed and developed amidst many ebb and flows, ups and downs, severe losses and setbacks. It is advancing in waves, continuing New Democratic Revolution through Protracted People's War and is relentlessly striving to lead the worker, peasant, middle class and other oppressed people and oppressed sections of India. At times it took great leaps and even achieved higher and considerable victories. Our Party is going ahead fighting back the unceasing, full-fledged counter revolutionary offensive of the Indian reactionary comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal ruling classes that serve the interests of the imperialists and also theirs, with the help of the people through People's War.

We must celebrate the 15<sup>th</sup> foundation anniversary of CPI (Maoist) and together with it in the heritage of the CPI (M-L) and MCC, the 50<sup>th</sup> foundation days of the two parties. In view of the importance of these anniversaries we have to celebrate these days from 21<sup>st</sup> September to 8<sup>th</sup> November. This must be combined with the celebration of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the revolution of People's China on October 1<sup>st</sup>.

The Central Committee of our Party calls upon all the Party Committees from the top to the bottom and units to participate in the study of the history of the bright Party in the light of MLM on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Party and to be trained with our rich subjective experiences gained through shedding a lot of blood. It calls upon to successfully celebrate these anniversaries with the aim of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution and later establish Socialism-Communism and with the tireless, heroic spirit of struggle of our Party and its experience. It appeals to take up this occasion through pamphlets, posters, banners, brochures and booklets, through cultural programs all over the country and hold rallies, meetings, seminars, photo and art exhibitions in a big way and spread that Communism is invincible.

Hundreds of leadership cadres, thousands of Party Members and many thousands of revolutionary people have become martyrs working for the cause of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in our country and ultimately Socialism-Communism all over

the world. 115 comrades have been martyred in the past one year out of which 40 are woman comrades. On the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our Party, let us pay countless revolutionary homage to all the revolutionary warriors and martyrs who served the Party and the Revolution dedicating themselves wholly for the people until their last breath including Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee, the great leaders of Indian Revolution and the founders and teachers of our Party. The CC pays revolutionary homage to the heroic fighters who laid their lives in the movements in various countries in the leadership of Maoist parties and organisations with the objective of accomplishing the World Socialist Revolution and to the fighters who laid their lives in the various nationality liberation struggles and the democratic, progressive and patriotic movements. The successes of the Indian people's revolution were possible only because of the dedication and sacrifices of the martyrs. Let us imbibe the spirit of their ideals. Let us follow their spirit of selfless sacrifice!

The reactionaries and counter revolutionaries are making constant vain attempts to nullify the people and the revolutionary forces saying that the Maoist party making NDR through PPW could not achieve complete success even after 50 years. They try to hide the fact that the ruling semi-colonial, semi-feudal system is becoming rotten continuously. In fact the outdated system is on the deathbed and we have to overthrow it out through NDR and establish a new system.

On this occasion our Party must make efforts with much more will to sustain its strength and the victories it achieved, to utilize the favorable objective international and domestic conditions and to mold its work in the coming years to develop its strength and to achieve big successes.

The Party leadership can prove itself to be genuine and efficient in the Indian Revolution only by enlightening, mobilizing, consolidating and militantly taking forward the vast oppressed people according to the path of New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Armed Agrarian Revolution. The efficiency of this leadership will be expressed mostly through bringing the people widely into the

political arena, in the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns taken up by the PLGA (like ambush and raid) and through the unlawful and lawful democratic struggles. These struggles will further strengthen our subjective forces and further weaken the enemy. Therefore we have to assess the successes of the revolutionary movement with the formation, expansion, consolidation of the Party, People's Army (PLGA), the various revolutionary Mass Organisations and the organs of political power, with developing people's movements and guerilla war and with the expansion of the areas of the movement. People's Army and People's War are the main instruments that fulfill the political objective of the people. Unlawful and lawful forms of struggle and organisation are inevitable to advance armed revolution. They have a distinct feature and play a distinct role. These are definitely necessary to mobilise the people in a large number in the revolutionary movement and to fight against the enemy and gain success.

The Party Committees of all levels from top to bottom must take up consolidation campaign on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary. They must deeply discuss about the Party organisation in their purview and take the necessary decisions to strengthen them. In the background of alien class tendencies and mistakes in the party the CC appeals to take up this campaign successfully to enhance the theoretical, political, military and organizational level of the Party and Communist values with the objective to rectify alien class trends and minimize the losses.

In order to implement the strategic line of PPW against the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of India and accomplish New Democratic Revolution, our Party must efficiently utilize the three magic weapons to enlighten, mobilise and organize the people and to defeat the enemy.

The first weapon is the CPI (Maoist). This is the vanguard of the proletariat. The Party leads People's Army-People's War, United Front-wide people's movement and all the sectors. It must coordinate the various organisations and struggles. The second weapon is the People's Army-People's War (Armed Revolutionary movement). These are the high forms of organisation and struggle. They

are meant to destroy the reactionary state and to establish people's democratic government. The third weapon is the United Front. This very efficiently brings forth various forms of United Front to mobilise lakhs and crores of people in the revolution and to isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy in the revolutionary war or the patriotic war against the aggression of the imperialists.

We have to spread and consolidate our Party to achieve great successes in the revolutionary movement. We have to adopt a practical scheme regarding recruitment with the objective of expanding the Party in various levels. We have to adopt a proper training scheme with the objective of consolidating the party. We have to concentrate on recruiting advanced forces from the proletariat, agricultural labor, poor peasantry, semi-labor, and the main oppressed classes and sections such as women, Dalits, adivasis and religious minorities that are into the Party. We have to develop Party leadership from them. Expanding the Party means recruiting qualified persons from the various revolutionary Mass Organisations (workers, peasants, students, youth, women, intellectual and other organisations) in the towns, plains and forest-rural areas and from PLGA (People's Army) as Candidate Members. Consolidation of the Party means promoting the Candidate Members as fulltime Party Members in proper time. So the Party Primary Course (Party Primary Units, Village/Factory, town, college Party Committees) must be completed during the period of Candidate Membership thus making them more active in the Party Primary Units and allotting them responsibilities. Advanced people's activists must be recruited in time into the Party as Professional Revolutionaries. They must be guided closely and be imparted theoretical education properly and in proper time. Then the Party leadership and members will develop better knowledge, become more decisive and experienced. They can wholeheartedly, militantly and efficiently fulfill their political and organizational efforts. If not so all kinds of work will be affected. Theoretical education is being neglected in the stream of daily works. We have to impart theoretical and political training and promote them as per our cadre policy into AC/PPC/Town Committees and strengthen them. The Party Com-

mittees at all levels must be consolidated and new leadership be developed in each and every level. In view of the state offensive we have to arrange protection and take up study classes in the specified time period as per the syllabus formulated by the CC to better theoretical and political training from the bottom to the top as per our cadre policy. Through this campaign we have to develop our Party, the Party leadership, People's Army and United Front quantitatively and qualitatively.

Our Central Committee must be decisive in the Armed Revolution as the General Staff of the whole Party in order to expand the mass base, strengthen, to recover the affected areas of movement and extend to new areas. The Party Committees from the bottom to the top and the PLGA units must definitely closely study the schemes, tactics, deployment and operations of the enemy in the rural areas of armed struggle and adopt proper self-defense-offense plans. The tasks and policies related to the Party and the main force, secondary and base forces of the PLGA must definitely be implemented. Attention must be paid to see that there is a proper balance between mass work and tactical counter offensive.

The Party Committees must see the changes, favorable and unfavorable conditions in the enemy situation and in revolutionary movement. In any conditions the committees must protect themselves according to the principle of standing on one's own legs and advance the armed revolutionary movement.

Starting from the central level to the district level the leadership committees must see that there is continuous flow of young Party leadership and Party Members from the towns to the rural areas and into PLGA (People's Army), so that the party organisation develops in the towns, plain areas, forest-rural areas and to develop certain political, professional and technical efficiencies.

We must constantly take up theoretical consolidation in a planned manner. We have to regularly summarise our experiences in our work in various levels and various areas/sectors. The Party leadership committees must regularly review the military efforts such as military formation, training, war operations, on the implementa-

tion of revolutionary land reforms, mass work regarding the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist people's struggles, the formation of people's organisations and consolidation, on the construction of red resistance areas, guerilla zones, guerilla bases-base areas and other such things and must take lessons from the positive and negative experiences.

The development of our countrywide movement is in various levels in various areas and is unequal. Therefore in view of the concrete conditions of the respective areas the Party must enter into close relations with the majority of the people and build all kinds of economic, political and social movements. We have to develop political consciousness of the people mobilizing into these struggles and consolidate the party organizationally and regularly. We have to build secret and open Mass Organisations and recruit advanced forces from them into the Party.

Organizational work among the masses is very important. Working without proper organisations among the people will be spontaneous. It will not provide expected results. It is also not possible to expand party organisation. If there are proper organisations planned work will be possible. They will consolidate the influence of our Party among the people.

We must consolidate four classes - Workers, peasantry, petty bourgeois class and National bourgeois class in the Mass Organisations. We must mainly depend upon the basic classes. We must form secret revolutionary mass organisations. We must also make efforts to build and develop open political movements and open mass organisations.

The organized strength of the Party will develop by - forming new Party cells, Party branches, village/factory/college/town Party Committees, Militia, PLGA units and various levels of RPCs; reorganising and strengthening the organisations affected due to enemy offensive; improving secret methods of work; rectifying mistakes; strengthening democratic centralism, discipline and the unity of the Party; and strengthening the secret coordinating mechanism, protection of the Party and other such things in a proper manner.



The leadership cadres at all levels in the party must fulfill their duties with proletarian revolutionary firmness and unity. They must fulfill the tasks with selfless sacrifice and communist spirit even in difficult conditions.

Since the beginning our Party has been studying MLM and has been creatively applying it to the concrete conditions of the country. However we must take up periodical social investigation and class analysis in order to understand the trends and developments in the mode of production and the composition and relations of the class forces of the country. We have to rectify our mistake in this regard. We have to constantly improve our tactics according to the changed conditions.

The struggle between proletarian ideology and unmolded petty bourgeois ideology always exists in the party. Social reality reflects in one or the other way in the party. There is unequal consciousness among the party membership. There are advanced, medium and backward sections. So a few petty bourgeois forces that are not molded stick to their narrow-minded, selfish and individualist ideas. They try to develop non-proletarian ideas in the proletarian party in the respective levels. So we have to relentlessly take up struggle against such non-proletarian ideology and trends in proper methods.

The various formations of PLGA take up guerilla offensive operations in the leadership of the Party. Our Party Committees and PLGA Commands must properly analyse the reasons that are coming in the way of PLGA in fulfilling its main responsibility in implementing the actions, in the process of fight against the enemy in various conditions and in successfully carrying out the various battles. They must exactly identify the mistakes and weaknesses, draw lessons and make the necessary theoretical, political, military and organizational effort and once again take up operations successfully.

We are making guerilla war in the stage of strategic self-defense. Therefore we have to firmly stick on to guerilla war tactics and rules. We have to gain hold on the terrain, take up centralization-decentralisation, the tactics of change of place, always grasp

the weaknesses of the enemy and make a surprise attack on those weaknesses with the aim of achieving victory. We have to wipe out small enemy units with the support of the people and seize arms and other war equipment.

We must not largely decentralize small units without proper protection in view of the information based attacks and encirclement-all-out offensive of the enemy. The PLGA must definitely follow active self-defense policies. Our guerilla units and party cadres must not unnecessarily be exposed. They must keep the vital information secret. The people and the militia must be imparted political and military training so as to fulfill various tasks in the guerilla war, collect intelligence information during ambush and raid and lending active support to the guerilla units in conducting operations in the rear of the enemy and mobilise them.

When the PLGA forces are encircled by the strong enemy forces they must immediately come out of the encirclement. They must not fight in the inner circle of the enemy but in the outer circle.

We must strengthen command, communication, coordination and control between the various guerilla units. We must have the political and military initiative. We must closely observe the movements of the enemy. Everyone must realize the role of every area and unit in guerilla war and in cooperation. We must develop the military knowledge of the comrades in various levels and the efficiency of the commanders and political and military training. We must provide clarity towards the methods of assessment and methods of political and military synthesis. We have to coordinate the daily struggles of the people in support of the People's War.

We must pay utmost attention towards the consolidation of Party committees leading strategic and tactical United Front. Since the Party directly leads strategic UF it must be built in a secret manner. We must give the clarity that we hold the initiative in tactical UF.

In areas where there is mass base and intense enemy offensive we have to build various levels of PLGA commands and units in the leadership of the party and these must intensify guerilla war and people's struggles mainly basing on secret methods. We must

build people's agitations on the fundamental problems of the people such as jal-jungle-zameen, against state repression and on various economic, political and social problems. We must make the people conscious of the politics of seizure of state power right from the beginning so that they do not fall in economism and reformism. We must arm the people and widely consolidate them in militia. In areas where we had given a blow to the state power of the enemy we must build organisations of revolutionary state power - RPCs as soon as possible and concentrate on their consolidation.

### **Dear Comrades, People!**

The world capitalist economic crisis is making severe impact all over the world. The imperialists are following globalization policies and direct and indirect interventionist policies in political and military spheres and aggression wars to overcome the crisis. The imperialist exploitive policies are leading to economic inequalities all over the world. The wealth of 62 rich of the world is equal to that of half of the world population. All the governments are adopting liquidate deficit budget policies, imposed severe cut in people's welfare schemes and services that made the lives of the toiling people more miserable. The real wages of workers and middle class people are falling down unemployment reached a severe level. As a result the worker and middle class movements in the capitalist, imperialist countries, especially in Europe are intensifying day by day.

The imperialist interventionist wars are turning crores of people of West Asia, Africa and Latin American countries into refugees. They are in a terrible situation and are even dying. There is a spate of protest movements and resistance struggles against the imperialist policies that are causing this situation. The Kurd people are making armed revolution for the right to self-determination of nationalities. The national liberation struggle of Palestine is going on in a militant manner. The armed struggle of the Taliban in Afghanistan has been going on for two decades and is showing impact on the US imperialists. The Maoist parties of Philippines, India, Turkey, Peru and other countries are leading armed revolutionary

movements according to the line of New Democratic Revolution. Many such movements are inspiring the people of several countries of the world so as to start People's War in the broad rural areas of their country.

The dog-fight between the imperialists for the re-division of the world market and to loot the natural resources is intensifying in the trade and military sectors. The Brexit developments reflect the intensity of the contradictions between the imperialists. The protectionist policies that the US brought forth in the economic sphere in the place of globalization policies are being severely opposed by the other imperialist countries. Trade war between the US and China is going on in an utmost severe manner. West Asia and Indo-Pacific areas are the centre of contradictions between the imperialists. With the vain attempts of the US to sustain world hegemony by facing Iran in West Asia, North Korea in East Asia and the Russian and Chinese imperialists that support these countries are increasing tensions. It especially targeted Iran that is following independent policies without surrendering to the US and imposed several economic sanctions on it. The outbreak of the people against the 'extradition bill' in Hong Kong brought by the Chinese government violating the aspirations of the people in a way reflects the contradictions between the imperialists. On the whole the three fundamental contradictions of the world are intensifying.

The struggles brewing all over the world out of the world capitalist economic crisis are favorable for the emergence and growth of revolutionary forces. As a part of imperialist neo-colonial exploitation a few Multi-National Companies of the world set up their production units in several countries and are gaining super profits out of severe exploitation of the proletariat. This is increasing competition between the proletariat of the developed and the developing countries. These developments show the necessity of the unity and united struggles of the world proletariat. In the coming days the proletariat shall increasingly play a leadership role for the revival of new democratic, socialist revolutions. It is necessary for the proletarian revolutionary forces of all the countries to utilize this favorable situation to strengthen theoretically, politically and organiza-

tionally and lead the anti-imperialist struggle. These forces must industriously study the universal theory of MLM. They must analyse and identify the distinct characteristics of the revolutionary movement of their country and creatively apply MLM to the concrete conditions.

The world capitalist crisis severely affected our country. The Brahmanic Hindu fascist Modi government that came to power for the second time is aggressively implementing imperialist sponsored, pro-ruling class agenda. It is working towards absolutely liberalizing the economy of the country to get foreign loans and to attract foreign capital. Due to its policies our country is becoming more and more dependent on the imperialists. The future of the people of the country is falling in danger day by day. Trade deficit is increasing and is highly dependent on loans. Unproductive expenditure is growing. The imperialist Multi-National companies are looting the natural resources of the country at dead cheap rates. Corruption is on the rise. All these are leading to a degradation of the social and economic conditions of the people of the country. Economic inequalities reached severe level. The wealth of 9 rich persons of the country is equal to that of half of the people in the lower strata. The economic policies of Modi government are throwing the people into the evil circle of making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The people are suffering in extreme poverty due to lack of land for agricultural labor and poor peasantry in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society India, rise in unemployment, falling of real wages, increase in living expenditure, large scale rise in poverty, hunger and diseases and an overall decline in social and economic conditions. Globalization is destroying the rural-agrarian economy of the country. The existence of the farmer fell in danger. There is no end to the suicides of the farmers. The Multi-National companies and their compradors having monopoly on the agricultural market are expanding 'corporate agriculture' and 'contract agriculture'. Lakhs of tribal and non-tribal peasantry are displaced in the interests of corporate sector. This is the essence of the new agrarian policy of the Modi government. Our Party calls upon the peasantry, the revo-

lutionary, democratic peasant organisations and well-wishers of the peasants to expose these policies of 'corporate development model' that are pushing agriculture into irrecoverable crisis and intensify anti-feudal, anti-imperialist-corporate struggles and as a part of it prominently raise the demand of free distribution of land to the tiller.

There are two types of financial attack of the imperialists on our country. The first is the direct attack of foreign capital through international financial institutions. The second is the indirect attack of the comprador bureaucratic capitalists with their collaboration with the imperialist Multi-National companies. In both the cases the Prime Ministers, Ministers, Chief Ministers, higher officials, political, intellectual and other sector agents are facilitating the way as an inseparable part of the Indian comprador ruling classes and agents.

In this era of globalization all the fascist governments did not leave a law untouched or liberalized in order to much more intensify their exploitation and oppression on the people. This process is going on indefinitely. The members of the Parliament or the Assembly make noise on meaningless, trivial issues. This is to cover up their traitorous deeds. But in fact they are speedily ratifying the bills in the interests and on the dictates of the imperialists and comprador exploitative ruling classes without any discussion or knowledge of anyone. The judiciary too is working as an instrument of the foreign and comprador financial capital and is giving reactionary judgments regarding workers, peasants, small industrialists, women, dalits, and adivasis and even regarding human rights and people's welfare. It means the legislative bodies, administration and judiciary all the three are aggressively working in the interests of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes.

In its first budget after coming to power the second time the Modi government boasted that it would make the country as an economy of 5 lakh crore dollars by 2025 and the third biggest economy of the world. It said it would achieve 8 per cent GDP growth rate and this is only to deceive the people. The budget increased the burden of taxes on the people and shall make the

country's economy as an absolute hub of the investments and exploitation of the Multi-National companies and big capitalists of the country in the name of 'Make in India'. It shall not bring out the people out of poverty, hunger, unemployment, suicides and life and death diseases. For example there is no plan in the budget to solve malnutrition that causes the death of hundreds of children. The Modi-1 rule proved that doubling the income of farmers and concentration on basic infrastructure in agriculture for this purpose in the name of farmer's budget is sheer talk. The Kisan Samman Yojana turned the donors of food as beggars. The budget did not provide any relief to the problems of the oppressed sections like women, Dalits, tribal and Muslim people. Modi government imposed a tax of 2 paisa per rupee for those having 500 crore rupees of property and 3 paisa per rupee for those having 1000 crore rupees. This is the way of Modi's budget.

On the other hand the central government highly increased the military budgets to wipe out the revolutionary movement, the nationality liberation movements and democratic movements and for expansionist purposes. It reduced funds for education, health and other such people's welfare schemes and services and made it nominal. There is an extreme rise in corruption in the bureaucratic ruling machinery from the central level to the village level. In fact most of those considered semi-employed are unemployed. Unemployment reached its zenith.

The value of real income of the workers, peasants and middle class people is falling down. At the same time there is deficiency of goods and services due to inflation in production. The living standards of the people are declining due to widespread poverty, frequent infectious diseases, lack of health services, decline of government schools, destruction of environment, shortage of water, constant cuts in electricity and effect on urban basic infrastructure. The imperialists and their big comprador-feudal agents are unceasingly destroying environment in many ways. The rate of destruction of forests is on the rise. There are frequent floods, famines, land erosion, decline of underground waters, degradation of biodiversity, drying of rivers and extreme decrease in fishing causing heavy destruction in the lives of the people.

The main agenda of the Brahmanic Hindu fascist Modi that came to power for the second time is to serve the interests of the imperialist MNCs, the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and the landlords of the country and for his purpose, to establish 'Brahmanic Hindu state' i.e. fascist state in the country. The 'Hindu state' it planned to form in the name of Ek Bharat (one India), Sresht Bharat (best India) and new India is absolutely against the oppressed classes, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities of the country. Cruel attacks of the government armed forces in the areas of our movement and Brahmanic Hindu fascist attacks on Muslims, Dalits, women, tribal people all over the country and the oppressed nationalities of Kashmir and the North East intensified within two months of its rule. 'Jai Sriram' slogan reverberates in Parliament also. Muslims are insulted on sight. They are beaten to make them utter 'Jai Sriram' and 'Bharat maata ki jai' or mob lynched. Murders of Muslims, Dalits and tribal people in the name of 'Goraksha' (protection of Cow), abuse and insult of the Dalits and the tribal people in the name of caste, burning them alive or forcing them to commit suicide, attacks on the government officers who do not execute their orders or cooperate with them have become common in the rule of 'naya Manu'. The government armed forces are making war on the people of Kashmir and North East nationalities. The Modi government made a bill amending the citizenship law and threw lakhs of people of Asom in an uncertain and insecure situation. Thousands were put in prison like repression camps and 50 persons were forced to commit suicide. The Hindu fascist forces are increasingly attacking the people of the North East with the support of the government armed forces. Fascist laws like UAPA, AFSPA are turned to be crueler than the TADA. In the name of wiping out terrorism the Modi government brought the 'NIA amendment bill-2019' and the 'UAPA amendment bill-2019' with the objective of cruelly suppressing the countrywide people's movements against state violence and the international support to revolutionary, democratic and nationality liberation movements. It brought forth the 'Human rights protection amendment bill-2019' with the ill intention of filling the central and the state human rights



commissions with Brahmanic Hindu religious chauvinist forces and of violating the nominal human rights of the oppressed classes, sections and nationalities. The 'Right to Information amendment bill-2019' has been passed that liquidates the 'Right to Information law-2005' that democrats and people achieved through struggle. Through such bureaucratic bills it is openly fascising the state and is preparing ground for a big fascist offensive all over the country. The Hindu fascist clique is conspiring to wipe out opposition in the country. It is buying MLAs of various states and the MPs of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha violating the law on changing of party. It is threatening them. People's resistance is growing day by day all over the country against the atrocities of this fascist clique. This needs to be developed in a more united, militant and constructive manner.

The central and the state governments (whichever party might be in power in the states) together widened the carpet security system in the areas of our movement and deployed 6 lakh police, Paramilitary and commando forces. These forces make indiscriminate firing on the people, kill them, bomb through artillery, indulge in massacres, make large scale arrests, torture, murder in fake encounters, sexually assault and insult and even murder the women. They destroy the guerilla bases, take up search and destroy operations in the areas of stronghold of PLGA and forcibly displace the people. They are taking up suppression-wiping out campaigns (operations) with a comprehensive multipronged offensive war policy with the aim of wiping out and disrupting the revolutionary forces, party, PLGA and UF all over the country. As a part of it they are formulating and implementing full-fledged psychological war tactics. They make large scale ill propaganda that Naxalites are for violence, they are anti-development, traitors, anti-people and that they kill the tribal and Dalit people. They implement the surrender policy, turn the surrendered activists as traitors of revolution, implement rehabilitation reforms, recruit the traitors in the police, Paramilitary and commando special forces and make them act criminal towards the people. The people are facing countless difficulties from the intense military campaigns. This not only shows the ag-

gressive offensive tactics of the enemy but also the growing despair. Our Party, PLGA, various revolutionary Mass Organisations, the organs of revolutionary people's power and the revolutionary people must be much more alert towards these enemy tactics and must prepare to fight back these tactics with much more organized consciousness and integrity in the theoretical, political, military, organizational and cultural spheres.

### **Dear Comrades and people!**

The history of the Party in the past 50 years proved that our line is correct. In this long period our Party faced many ups and downs, twists and turns, gained valuable experience and enriched the Party line. In this process our Party is tempered. All the severe losses and setbacks to the movement and the Party due to the enemy offensive, lack of experience in the Party, the mistakes and right and left trends are only temporary. If we stick to our Party line and confide in the Party and the people we can overcome the present difficult situation of the revolutionary movement and advance the movement. This enormous experience will contribute a lot to do so. Let us work with firm will to strengthen the three magic weapons basing on this vast revolutionary experience! Let us take the initiative to totally utilize the favorable international and domestic conditions for revolution! Let us successfully fulfill our role in speeding up the mobilization and united struggles of proletarian revolutionary forces, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people in order to wipe out the imperialists and reactionaries all over the world! Let us lead the people of oppressed classes, oppressed sections and nationalities in the path of liberation to establish New Democratic Revolution and ultimately Socialism-Communism! Let us mobilise lakhs and crores of oppressed people into the Protracted People's War going on in the leadership of our Party and expand the People's War all over the country! Let us theoretically, politically, militarily and organizationally strengthen the Party to achieve this objective! On the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our Party let us increase our strength in the coming years and step forward to achieve big victories! Let us prove that all the fascists and reactionaries all over the world including the Brahmanic Hindu fascists

in our country are paper tigers, that their ultimate death is certain and that the people will achieve the final victory!

- Long live the unity of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals!
- Long live the Party, PLGA and United Front!
- Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
- Long live Communist Party of India (Maoist)!
- Long live New Democratic Revolution!
- Long live World Socialist Revolution!

**Revolutionary Greetings  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

24<sup>th</sup> July 2019

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“The new Party—CPI (Maoist) —as the consolidated vanguard of the Indian proletariat, will lead the New Democratic Revolution in India to victory and persevere until the establishment of Socialism and Communism on a world scale”

- Party Programme, CPI (Maoist)

## **Grandly celebrate the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of China's New Democratic Revolution!**

**Go ahead with firm will for the success of India's New Democratic Revolution by creatively applying the path of Protracted People's War in the light of MLM!**

**Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)**

**5<sup>th</sup> August 2019**

The 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations of China's great New Democratic Revolution are nearing. Our entire party must grandly celebrate these celebrations with revolutionary enthusiasm. On the occasion of these anniversary celebrations we are publishing the important incidents of the history of Chinese revolution that took place in the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as a part of the World Socialist Revolution. On the occasion of these anniversary celebrations all our comrades must make a deep study into the New Democratic Revolution that was successful in the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the guidance of Mao, the method of creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Chinese Revolution in the international conditions including China, the Protracted People's War, the three magnificent weapons, internal theoretical struggles and New Democratic state. There must also be a comparative and deep study into the Socialist transformation in the New Democratic state after the success of this revolution, the socialist construction, the Great Debate, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism through all these into its new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the universal theory of international proletarian revolution. The objective of this study should be to contribute to have more clarity in creatively applying MLM and especially the principles of NDR-PPW of China and its experiences to the concrete conditions of the revolution of our country and the world and thus to successfully advance the World Socialist Revolution.

## **Historic background**

Like India china too was once a feudal country. There were separate states in the hegemony of war lords. China is a broad, highly populated country with rich culture. More than 90 percent of the people belong to the Han nationality. The minority nationalities include Mongol, Hui, Tibetan, Yighur, Miao, Yi Chuvang, Chung Chia and Korea. There are many languages in China out of which majority speak Chinese. Buddhism is the most practiced religion among the various religions. In addition to feudalism there are small kind of agriculture, cottage and handicrafts in China that constitute the self-sufficient natural economy as the main mode of production. The imperialist forces made many aggression wars on China in 1840 Britain made opium war on China. In 1857 Britain-French allied forces forcefully intruded into the country. With the foreign capitalism penetrating into China economic changes began towards semi-colonial-semi-feudal path. The 1894 Sino-Japan war and later the war of 8 allied countries in 1900 brought a total change in feudal China. It became semi-feudal. The economy of China lost its independence and became a part of the world imperialist economy. It preserved its nominal sovereignty and a little independence and degenerated to semi-colonial level. National capitalism developed to a little extent and played a considerable role in the political and cultural life of China but it was not the important one in the socio-economic system of China. It is combined with foreign imperialist and domestic feudalism at various levels. In this process working class took birth with those working in the industries set up with the capital of the imperialists, mainly the Japan imperialists and of domestic bourgeois capital, petty bourgeois class with the education and job opportunities due to the imperialist penetration and a national capitalist class that took chance of these economic opportunities. The fundamental contradictions in semi-colonial, semi-feudal China were that between imperialism and China nation and that between feudalism and the broad masses.

There are two prominent revolutions in the past history of China. There were countless peasant struggles against feudalism and imperialism. Taiping revolution is one of the important one. This revolution continued from 1851 to 1864 and spread to 17 states. The

feudal land system was dissolved and military government agrarian law was implemented. But the revolution was defeated. This government could not sustain the joint attack of the counter revolutionary Ching state army, the US, Britain, France aggressors. Another prominent one was the 1911 bourgeois revolution. Thousands of workers participated in this revolution. Some persons educated due to Japan imperialism also participated in this revolution with patriotic feelings. This revolution ended the feudal dictatorship that ruled China for thousands of years. It formed China republic and a temporary revolutionary government in Nanking. However this bourgeois revolution did not mobilise and organize the utmost big and strong democratic force of China, the peasantry. No strong social basis was formed in 1911 revolution. The land problem that is a fundamental one in bourgeois revolution was not solved by this revolution.

‘The strikes that took place in many places for hike in wages between 1916 and 1919 increased the strength of the working class day by day. The influence of the international proletarian movement speedily increased the political consciousness of the Chinese proletariat. The 1919 May 4<sup>th</sup> patriotic movement initiated the outbreak of a new revolutionary storm and to the advancement of China revolution to a new phase. ‘Among the Chinese proletariat, the modern industrial workers number from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000, the workers in small-scale industry and in handicrafts and the shop assistants in the cities total about 12,000,000, and in addition there are great numbers of rural proletarians (the farm labourers) and other property less people in the cities and the countryside.

In addition to the basic qualities it shares with the proletariat everywhere—its association with the most advanced form of economy, its strong sense of organization and discipline and its lack of private means of production—the Chinese proletariat has many other outstanding qualities..... The Chinese proletariat should understand that although it is the class with the highest political consciousness and sense of organization, it cannot win victory by its own strength alone. In order to win, it must unite, according to varying circumstances, with all classes and strata that can take part in the revolution, and must organize a revolutionary united front.....’ (‘Chinese Revolution-Chinese

Communist Party, 4.5. Proletariat, MSW, Vol-II). The worker's strength demonstrated in the anti-imperialist May 4<sup>th</sup> movement, the impact of the political strikes brought forth the necessity of a political party that can lead and coordinate the successes of struggle. Class basis was established for the foundation of Communist Party of China (CPC).

### **Foundation of Communist Party of China – United Front with Kuomintang**

The 1917 Russian October Socialist Revolution brought a fundamental change in the history of China and the world. Marxism-Leninism spread by defeating the reactionary bourgeois class philosophy of pragmatism and bourgeois reformism. The Chinese communists formed study circles in Shanghai in 1918 and in Peking in 1919. On this basis Communist and Socialist youth teams were formed all over the country. All these enlightened the Chinese proletariat and prepared the theoretical and organizational ground for the formation of the CPC and trained the cadre.

The Third International was formed in the leadership of Lenin in 1919 March. It brought the thesis (of Lenin) on national and colonial question. Lenin formulated the fundamental tasks of Communist International. We must understand the birth of the CPC in this background.

**No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement**

**Mao**

The first National Congress of the CPC was held in Shanghai on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1921 with the help of the Communist International. At that time the number of Party Members was 57. There were 12 delegates in the Congress out of which Mao Tse-tung was one. This Congress ratified the Party Constitution and elected a leadership committee. In 1922 January the First Congress of the communist parties and national revolutionary committees of various countries was held in Moscow in the guidance of Lenin. The Congress stated that the task for the people of China and other eastern countries was to continue 'anti-imperialist', 'anti-feudal, national democratic revolution'. The CPC gained clarity about the path of revolution and immediate task.

There was the first very big wave in the workers' strike from 1922 January to 1923 February. Three lakh workers participated in this. Most of the strikes were totally successful. The working class movement and Trade Unions spread speedily. One hundred Trade Unions from 12 cities held National Labor Congress. The workers lent strong support for the soldiers during the process of Northern expedition in 1926. The workers participated in the armed struggle during the 1927 rebellion. The peasantry was making small and big struggles against the feudal exploitation. Anti-imperialist and patriotic feelings were brewing in the petty bourgeois class. The National bourgeois class was eager for independence with the pressure from imperialism. These classes began to consolidate in the leadership of the CPC.

Comrade Mao said thus on the character of the Chinese revolution.

'What, indeed, is the character of the Chinese revolution at the present stage? Is it a bourgeois-democratic or a proletarian-socialist revolution? Obviously, it is not the latter but the former.

Since Chinese society is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, since the principal enemies of the Chinese revolution are imperialism and feudalism, since the tasks of the revolution are to overthrow these two enemies by means of a national and democratic revolution in which the bourgeoisie sometimes takes part, and since the edge of the revolution is directed against imperialism and feudalism and not against capitalism and capitalist private property in general even if the big bourgeoisie betrays the revolution and becomes its enemy — since all



this is true, the character of the Chinese revolution at the present stage is not proletarian-socialist but bourgeois-democratic.

However, in present-day China the bourgeois-democratic revolution is no longer of the old general type, which is now obsolete, but one of a new special type. We call this type the new-democratic revolution and it is developing in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China. The new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and opposes the transformation of Chinese society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship. Economically, it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and the distribution among the peasants of the land held by the landlords, while preserving private capitalist enterprise in general and not eliminating the rich-peasant economy. Thus, the new type of democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society, i.e., it is a process of new-democratic revolution. This process, begun only after the First World War and the Russian October Revolution, started in China with the May 4th Movement of 1919. (Above said article, 5. The character of Chinese Revolution’).

Doctor Sun Yat-sen formed revolutionary government in Kwangtung in 1923 March with the support of the CPC. He declared three policies such as good relations with Soviet Russia, cooperation to CPC and help to workers and peasants. The Sino-Soviet friendship agreement was made on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1924. As a result the revolutionary army was formed. Soviet Union cooperated to San Yat-sen to form the ‘Wampoa Military Academy’ in Kanton during this period. The National revolutionary Army that was the main force of struggle later brought the entire Kwangtung into the hold of the revolutionary government. It took up the northern expedition. Dr. San Yat-sen died on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1925. He was a great patriot, national revolutionary and a friend of Soviet Russia. In the

later period the comprador of imperialists and representative of the big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes Chiang Ki-shek clique seized the Kuomintang Party leadership.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1925 a Congress of 166 Trade Unions was held with 281 delegates representing 5 lakh 40 thousand workers. On 31<sup>st</sup> May the Shanghai Trade Union federation was formed with 2 lakh organized workers as members. A great strike movement began on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June. Two lakh workers stopped going to work. Fifty thousand students stopped going to school. Traders closed their shops. The police too got down to strike. The demands with the political slogan of dissolving special privileges for imperialists in China, withdrawal of all the foreign armies, abolishing the powers regarding foreign commerce, revival of people's rights in the international settlement were brought forth. The Shanghai workers stood as the vanguard for this movement and played the leadership role. The workers strike in Kanton-Hong Kong for 16 months starting from 1925 June to 1926 October was a great incident in the history of Chinese Revolution. It is also important in the history of worker's strike all over the world.

The peasant movement too stepped up speedily from 1925 May to 1926 July all over the country. The May 30<sup>th</sup> movement gave a strong momentum to the countrywide peasant movement. 9 lakh 85 thousand peasants were organized in farmer organisations. The workers and farmers in lakhs of numbers agitated for their political demands and local issues. As the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants developed stably the movement increasingly came under the proletarian leadership. Then the big bourgeois class and the war lords realised the danger to their existence and started making preparations to seize the revolutionary leadership and to give it a blow collaborating with the imperialists. Chiang Ki-shek conspired together with his associates on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1926, 'propagated that the Communists were conspiring for rebellion' and declared Marshall Law. They cut the communication, encircled the communist offices, arrested communist leadership, removed the communists from the army and gained total command. Thus the unity between the Communist party and the Kuomintang was disrupted. The war taken up jointly against the war lords, the first civil war in China ended. The 6<sup>th</sup> Army, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army of

the northern expedition army and other rebellion armies together liberated Nanking on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1927. The counter revolutionary armies in the leadership of Chiang Ki-shek disarmed the workers in a planned manner. All strikes were banned. The Shanghai workers took up counter offensive in protest to this. Amidst the white terror 2 lakh workers participated in this. 5 lakh people participated in the Nan Shi public meeting. The reactionary armies fired upon the workers going to attend the people's demonstration and murdered 100 people.

Chiang Ki-shek could conspire due to the right opportunism of Chen Tu-shiu who was dominating the leadership organisations of the CPC. Comrade Mao proposed counter offensive on the traitor activities of Chiang Ki-shek and argued. But Chen Tu-shiu considered Chiang Ki-shek as a 'revolutionary' even when he backstabbed. He accused all those who opposed Chiang Ki-shek as 'counter revolutionaries'. With the betrayal of Chiang Ki-shek the revolution faced partial defeat.

Comrade Mao analysed classes in China thus –

'Since Chinese society is colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, since the targets of the revolution are mainly foreign imperialist rule and domestic feudalism, and since its tasks are to overthrow these two oppressors, which of the various classes and strata in Chinese society constitute the forces capable of fighting them? This is the question of the motive forces of the Chinese revolution at the present stage. A clear understanding of this question is indispensable to a correct solution of the problem of the basic tactics of the Chinese revolution.

What classes are there in present-day Chinese society? There are the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie constituting the ruling classes in Chinese society. And there are the proletariat, the peasantry, and the different sections of the petty bourgeoisie other than the peasantry, all of which are still the subject classes in vast areas of China.

The attitude and the stand of these classes towards the Chinese revolution are entirely determined by their economic status in society. Thus the motive forces as well as the targets and tasks of the revolution are determined by the nature of China's socio-economic system.....' (ibid, 4)

## **The Second Civil War – Protracted People’s War**

After the defeat of 1927 revolution Mao took the initiative and went to Chingkang Mountains with worker-peasant army and intensified preparations for armed struggle. In the later period people’s army forces went to Chingkang Mountains in the leadership of Chou En Lai, Chute and others. The expedition of the worker peasant armies to Chingkang Mountains paved the correct path for the advancement of revolution. The Sixth Congress of the CPC was held in 1928 July. It thoroughly criticized and rejected the right opportunist line of Chen. But Chen distorted the party policy regarding United Front saying that the CPC and the International were responsible for the failure of the revolution. He formed an anti-Party clique with Trotskyites. Then the Party boycotted Chen from the party in 1929 November. The party decided to establish red government first in places where the worker-peasant people were tempered in revolutionary wars and anti-feudal struggles and worker-peasant organisations were formed. The existence of the red government depends on the revolutionary situation and the development of fundamental contradictions. Regular red Army with enough numbers is a necessary precondition for its development, spread and advancement and to guarantee the success of revolution. Mao clearly stated that this and the existence of Communist Party for its development is a decisive condition.

‘In the face of such enemies (imperialism and feudalism), there arises the question of revolutionary base areas. Since China’s key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting; it is imperative for them to do so if they do not wish to compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but are determined to fight on, and if they intend to build up and temper their forces, and avoid decisive battles with a powerful enemy while their own strength

is inadequate. Such being the case, victory in the Chinese revolution can be won first in the rural areas and this is possible because China's economic development is uneven (her economy not being a unified capitalist economy), because her territory is extensive (which gives the revolutionary forces room to manoeuvre), because the counter-revolutionary camp is disunited and full of contradictions, and because the struggle of the peasants who are the main force in the revolution is led by the Communist Party, the party of the proletariat; but on the other hand, these very circumstances make the revolution uneven and render the task of winning complete victory protracted and arduous. Clearly then the protracted revolutionary struggle in the revolutionary base areas consists mainly in peasant guerrilla warfare led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using rural districts as revolutionary base areas, to neglect painstaking work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla warfare.....'(ibid, Chap-2.1).

LiLiSan ordered the red Army to start armed rebellions in all the big cities all over the country in 1930 July and to attack and seize the cities. This line ended within a short time. Thus the CPC faced another wrong line of LiLiSan in the process of advancement of the movement. LiLiSan and his associates denied realizing that there is unequal development in China Revolution. They argued that the rebellions in big cities create a countrywide revolutionary wave. They looked down the peasant revolutionary struggle. They denied the unequal development in world revolution. They did not take into view the protracted character of the bourgeois democratic revolution of China. They discarded the line of demarcation between the democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Comrade Mao rectified these left mistakes and saw that the Red Army in the Kiangsi revolutionary base did not face any loss.

Mao further clarified about the line of Protracted People's War basing on the fundamental principles regarding the strategy and tactics of the Red Army and characteristics of the Chinese revolution. Basing on this line of PPW the CPC in the leadership of Mao defeated the encirclement offensive of Chiang Ki-shek. Since it did not follow this line it failed in defeating the fifth encirclement offensive.

The counteroffensive of the Chiang Ki-shek armies began on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1930. The Red Army concentrated its entire forces and made surprise counter offensive in which two divisions of Chang army that was the main force of the encircling armies were totally wiped out. Later the Red Army chased the Tan army. The counter offensive ended on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1931 the first encirclement ended.

In 1931 April Chiang Ki-shek sent another 2 lakh forces to the red central area. During the 15 day campaign the people's army walked a distance of 350 kms, made 5 wars, smashed 30 thousand enemy forces. It heroically fought in the 400 kms long war front and totally wiped out the enemy. Thus the second encirclement offensive too was defeated.

Chiang Ki-shek conspired for the third time to encircle the Red Army and eliminate it. He himself was in the command of three lakh forces and made an attack in 1931 July. The Red Army took up harassment actions on the enemy, wiped out 80 thousand forces in 3 wars and achieved victory. Thus the third encirclement offensive too ended.

In the end of 1929 there was an unprecedented destructive level of world economic crisis. It continued for three years and the industrial crisis was entwined with agrarian crisis and the production crisis with commercial and financial crises and declined the economic conditions of the capitalist countries. Japan imperialists indulged in large scale aggression on China from 18<sup>th</sup> September 1931.

The First worker-peasant-soldiers' National Congress was held on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1931 in Jooychiyan in Kiangsi. It declared the foundation of the central worker-peasant democratic government comrade Mao was elected as the Chairman of the government, Comrade Chute the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army. This Congress ratified the workers, democratic republic primary act, the agriculture act and acts regarding economic policies. This victory was possible only because the Red Army was molded into a strong people's army in the first civil war. Speaking about how the Red Army must work Mao said –

'...The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important

tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence... (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (December 1929), Selected Works, Vol. I)

### **Anti-Japan national liberation war – United Front**

This people's government issued a war declaration against Japan on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1932. The entire country turned favorable for revolution and unfavorable to counter revolution. With the defeat of the third encirclement campaign by the Communist Party and the occupation of the North East area by Japan the movements for national independence reached a new phase. But left line dominated the party in the 4<sup>th</sup> plenary session of the 6<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CPC in 1931 January and so due to sectarianism it did not initiate the National United Front against Japan.

In the summer of 1931 Chiang Ki-shek mobilized 5 lakh forces and began the fourth encirclement campaign. This campaign continued for 8 months from 1932 June to 1933 February. An entire division of the enemy forces was wiped out and the fourth encirclement campaign was heroically retaliated and defeated.

In 1933 October Chiang Ki-shek mobilized 10 lakh forces for the fifth encirclement campaign. Half of the forces were deployed for direct attack in the central red area. To counter it the Communist party started a movement to expand the Red Army in the red area. It was successful in sending one lakh workers and peasants to the war front. The Chinese people formulated a fundamental program for anti-Japan war. In these favorable conditions the Red Army was in a condition to defeat the fifth encirclement campaign but the left opportunist leaders followed wrong tactics and failed to utilize these favorable conditions. They implemented positional warfare unrelated to the balance of forces or conditions. So the Red Army faced severe losses. After sustaining the

fight for 9 months ultimately the Red Army left all the base areas and retreated.

In 1934 October the Red Army took up the famous Long March that shook the world. It occupied few counties on its way, defeated the Kuomintang armies, crossed the River Huki Yang and occupied Oon Yi in 1935 January. The Sun-Yi Conference was held in 1935 January. This Conference rejected the left military line and approved the correct line proposed by Mao. New leadership was established in the leadership of Comrade Mao. During the period of 12 months from 1934 October to 1935 October the central Red Army in the leadership of Mao took up the Long March covering a distance of 12,500 kms passing through 11 states and reached the base area in Northern Shensi. The Red Army planted revolutionary seedlings all through its way.

After fascist dictatorship was established in Nanking the Kuomintang counter revolutionaries and bureaucratic capitalists seized economic monopoly and started to get organized. The four big families of Chiang Ki-shek, Tee Vee Sung, Hech Kung and Chen represented it. Their monopoly activities were centralized around four big banks. These four big families were the big landlords in the agricultural sector. The four families were infamous for their loot and exploitation of the people and the wealth of the country and their blood thirst with their monopoly on finance, commerce, industries and agriculture. The Chiang Ki-shek ruling clique sold away the sovereignty of China in exchange to the foreign help and sustained its reactionary hegemony. The imperialists completed changing China into a colonial market during the reactionary rule of this clique.

In 1935 the Japan aggressors started a new offensive on North China and turned the country into their colony.

With the sharpening of national crisis the anti-Japan movement reached new heights in China. At a moment when China fell in the danger of being absolutely destructed the Central Committee of the CPC gave a call on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1935 to unite against the common enemy in spite of political differences and interests and differences in the past or in the present and released the 'appeal to fellow countrymen to resist Japan and preserve the country'. The statement appealed the



worker-peasant democratic government, the Red Army, other anti-Japan forces and all the people that wish to resist Japan and protect China jointly establish a united national self-defense government and anti-Japan friendly army.

Guerilla war developed independently and freely in the rear of the enemy ranks so as the anti-Japan forces develop and anti-Japan base areas are created. The anti-Japan democratic governments in the leadership of the Communists implemented political, economic and cultural reforms in the interests of the people in the anti-Japan base areas.

As a result of implementation of this line the Party opened a broad warfront against the Japan aggressors in the liberated areas from 1937 to 1940 overcoming the stage of strategic self-defense (from 1937 July to 1938 winter) and the stage of strategic stalemate (from 1938 winter). Thus it overcame the utmost difficult situation of 1941 and 1942 with the multipronged offensive from the Japan armies, puppet forces and Kuomintang forces and stood stably. As a part of the strategic counter offensive that started from 1943 January it gradually diminished the enemy occupied areas, transformed the liberated areas into strategic base areas for final offensive and took up partial counter offensive.

On the occasion of the final stage of the anti-Japan war in 1945 Comrade Mao said – ‘The Chinese people heartily welcome the Soviet government’s declaration of war on Japan on August 8. The Soviet Union’s action will very much shorten the war against Japan. The war is already in its last stage and the time has come to inflict final defeat on the Japanese aggressors and all their running dogs. In these circumstances, all the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people should launch a nationwide counter-offensive in close and effective co-ordination with the operations of the Soviet Union and the other allied countries. The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other armed forces of the people should seize every opportunity to launch extensive attacks on all the invaders and their running dogs who refuse to surrender, annihilate their forces, capture their arms and matériel, vigorously expand the Liberated Areas and reduce the areas under enemy occupation. We must boldly form armed working

teams which, by hundreds and by thousands, should penetrate deep into the rear of the enemy-occupied areas, organize the people to wreck the enemy's communication lines and fight in co-ordination with the regular armies. We must boldly arouse the people in the occupied areas in their tens of millions and immediately organize underground forces to prepare armed uprisings and to annihilate the enemy in co-ordination with the troops attacking from without. Meanwhile, the consolidation of the Liberated Areas must not be neglected. Among the 100 million people there, and among the people in all other areas as they are liberated, we should universally carry out the reduction of rent and interest this winter and next spring, increase production, build up the people's political power and armed forces, intensify militia work, strengthen army discipline, persistently develop the united front of all sections of the people and guard against waste of manpower and material resources. All this is designed to put more punch into our army's offensive against the enemy. The people of the whole country must be on their guard to avert the danger of civil war and make efforts to bring about the formation of a democratic coalition government. A new stage in China's war of national liberation has arrived, and the people of the whole country must strengthen their unity and struggle for final victory (The last round with the Japanese invaders, MSW, Vol-III).

New revolutionary wave took over the entire country. Russia declared war on Japan on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1945. This increased the enthusiasm for resistance among the people of China. Chute ordered the forces to advance on 10<sup>th</sup> August. On 14<sup>th</sup> Japan surrendered unconditionally. It signed on the surrender agreement on 2<sup>nd</sup> September with the unconditional surrender of Japan on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1945 the anti-Japan resistance war ended. At the same time the World War II also ended. The great help from Russia and international revolutionary forces contributed a lot in the success of the anti-Japan fascist people's war of resistance against the Japanese fascists. In the period of two months from August 11<sup>th</sup> to October 10<sup>th</sup> the Chinese People's Liberation Army liberated 2 crore people living in an area of 3 lakh square kilometers there were 190 cities also in this area. It either wiped out or injured 2 lakh 30 thousand forces. Liberated areas expanded. The Central

Committee gave a call to the people and the squads in the liberated areas to take up wide production campaign. It mobilized the people in all ways for this purpose.

When fierce struggle was going on against the Japanese aggressors the CC in the leadership of Mao took up the famous rectification campaign in 1942 as Marxist-Leninist education campaign with the objective to eliminate non-proletarian ideas that were obstructing the implementation of the party line and policies. This was mainly targeted at the subjective trend towards the method of study, the sectarian trends in work style, the routine method in literary work. It wiped out the theoretical dogmatic influences in the Party since 1931. It helped the new members to shed their petty bourgeois class perspective. It greatly enhanced the theoretical standard of the party. The entire party achieved unique unity. It assured the implementation of the political line of the party. It helped to overcome the utmost difficulties and losses of the party in the anti-Japan war. It laid the theoretical basis to hold the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the party.

The proletariat practiced the correct policy of developing the advanced forces in the country; win over the intermediary forces and isolating the diehards abiding by the Marxist-Leninist principle of having the independence and initiative in its hands in the United Front in order to take the anti-Japan war towards victory, i.e. the people's victory. Due to this correct policy the entire party, army and the people of the liberated areas followed correct political and military lines formulated by the CC of the CPC. Due to this policy the anti-Japan forces of the people of China developed during the period of the war of resistance in spite of several difficulties and defeats. They went through three phases of 'increase, fall and again increase'. Final victory was won on the aggressors with the unity of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeois class, national bourgeoisie and a section of the landlords and comprador capitalists under the leadership of the CPC.

The great victory achieved by the Soviet Union in World War II, the defeat of the three fascist countries of Germany, Italy and Japan, the decline of Britain and France, the isolation of the US imperialism, the

emergence of people's democracies in East Europe and the expansion of national liberation movements in colonial countries, all these are the important aspects in the international situation that contributed to the victory of Chinese revolution. The post war international condition was against the US aggressors and Chinese reactionaries and favorable for the struggle of the people of china against them.

### **The Third Civil War**

Kuomintang rejected the call of the CPC for the formation of peace and coalition government. As a part of its preparations for civil war the Kuomintang established protection camps with the objective to encircle the liberated areas with 13 lakhs of its forces in the end of May 1946. They made attacks in thousands, occupied towns and villages and on 17<sup>th</sup> June Chiang Ki-shek demanded that the CPC agree to his conditions. The mediation of the US was merely planned to gain time for war preparations. Moreover the US stated that it shall not withdraw its forces from China. It also instigated it. It worked as the advanced guard or the Kuomintang army. The CPC exposed their conspiracies through propaganda and agitation. The CPC has an army of 12 lakhs. There was 13 crores of population in the liberated areas. Chiang Ki-shek unleashed 16 lakhs of regular army to take up fierce attack to wipe out the Red Army at one blow.

The Chinese reactionaries and the US imperialists over assessed their strength and under assessed that of the people and the PLA. PLA adopted self-defense strategy and defeated the full-fledged centralized attacks of the Kuomintang army. It took up counteroffensive from 1946 July to 1947 February for 8 months and created severe loss to the enemy. With this the enemy was pushed into a situation to take up centralized counter offensive from March 1947. This led to see-saw kind of war. PLA wiped out the main forces of the enemy in three very big campaigns in 1947 April. After fierce struggle it ultimately defeated the centralized offensive of the enemy. The Kuomintang forces fell down from 43 lakhs to 37 lakhs by 1947. The PLA increased from 12 lakhs to 20 lakhs. The Kuomintang reactionaries were pushed into a situation of strategic self-defense. The patriotic democratic movement in Kuomintang occupied areas further strengthened and became a

wave. This movement and the armed struggles in the liberated areas developed into revolutionary warfronts. The people demanded the US Army to go back and that the US stops all kinds of help to the Kuomintang. The people's revolutionary forces were in a stage of self-defense for more than 20 years and transformed to the stage of strategic counter offensive. There was a strategic fundamental change in war conditions and the PLA penetrated into the Kuomintang controlled area in the exterior. Liberated areas expanded. Ten crore farmers gained land in the liberated areas within one year of formulated the agrarian law. Enthused with obtaining land the peasants participated enthusiastically in the peasant war. The active support of the peasant masses in the war of liberation laid political foundation to achieve countrywide victory. In 1949 September the China people's political consultation convention met for the first time and changed as the form of organisation of the people's democratic United Front. The revolutionary United Front was further expanded and consolidated and the people of China achieved great victories in the political sphere.

In addition to the party and people's army the united front assured the great victory of the war of resistance in order to liberate the whole country the PLA crossed River Yangzi on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1949 and advanced towards the North West direction. The war ended with the liberation of Nanking and the end of reactionary rule. By the end of 1949 except for Tibet the main part of China's land was liberated. This is what Mao said about this victory –

‘.....A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people, an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. (‘On people's democratic dictatorship’, MSW, Vol – IV)

### **Formation of New Democratic state**

The new government was formed on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1949. The people's political consultation convention elected Comrade Mao as the Chairman, Chute, Li Shao Chi and Soong Ching Ling as Vice-Chairmen. Chairman Mao emotionally declared the foundation of people's

democratic republic of China and that of the central people's government. Immediately after the formation of the republic Mao visited Soviet Russia. During the two months he spent there he held deliberations with Stalin and various documents of historic importance were signed. The International Communist Movement too realized the importance of the path of Chinese revolution regarding colonial and semi-colonial countries during the period.

Thus the theory of New Democratic Revolution, the line of Protracted People's War that Mao developed was recognized as the Marxist-Leninist universal theory. It started to be a guide to genuine revolutionaries of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

As soon as the NDR was made successfully the CPC took up the great historic task of molding the Chinese society into the Socialist path under the new democratic dictatorship.

### **Socialist transformation – Construction of Socialist society**

In 1949, when New Democratic Revolution was accomplished in China, Communist Party of China took up the policy of 'three years of preparation and ten years of planned economic construction' in the guidance of Mao. Consequently, by 1956 individual ownership was basically abolished in agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industries, trade and instruments of production. Collective method came into practice in agriculture all over the country. Socialist transformation was completed primarily and Socialist society was formed in China by 1956. Socialist transformation was completed and Socialist society was established. New Democratic state of China turned into a Socialist state.

Basing on the policy of 'self-reliance', the movements of 'Great Leap Forward' and 'Grasp Revolution, Promote Production' were taken up in Socialist China in the guidance of Mao. Depending on agriculture and industry with the industry as the leading factor (walking on two legs), it brought forward the policy of advancing with independent technology, indigenous sources and the people of the country by coordinating class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. There were revolutionary socialist changes in agricultural, industrial and service sectors. People's Communes were established.

The living standards of the workers and peasants improved to a considerable scale. Unemployment was abolished. Everyone was assured of work. There was a revolutionary change in family relations, especially in the lives of women and children. By following correct Marxist-Leninist policies for solving the nationality question the nationalities developed comprehensively and also played an active role in the construction of Socialism. Socialist China followed the correct proletarian foreign policy and also played the correct role as an international proletarian revolutionary base.

During this period i.e. in 1956 the CPSU brought forth the poisonous revisionist theory of 'Peaceful transformation to Socialism', 'peaceful competition' and 'peaceful coexistence' in its 20<sup>th</sup> Congress against which the CPC in the leadership of Mao took up prolonged, principled, comprehensive internal struggle for seven years in the bilateral party forums, especially in the meeting of 60 fraternal parties in 1957 and of 80 fraternal parties in 1960. This struggle came into the open and continued all through 1964. This open struggle came to be the famous Great Debate. As a part of it the CPC described Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist and genuine revolutionary in its comment of 'historic experience of this proletarian dictatorship'. The 'June 14<sup>th</sup> letter' answered many questions like the fundamental contradictions in the world, friends and foes, the objectives of the movement, the paths of achieving victory of the World Socialist Revolution and many such things. Thus it released nine comments regarding neo-colonialism, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, the Yugoslavian question, Khrushchev revisionism and its lessons and other such and developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to a higher stage. Through the Great Debate the CPC handed over the general revolutionary path for the International Communist Movement and fulfilled its international task as the mobilizing centre of worldwide revolutionaries.

When revisionism came forth in Russia the 'theory of forces of production' in the leadership of Li Shao Chi gradually strengthened in the CPC in China. The revisionist understanding of the General Secretary Li Shao chi dominated the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPC. It praised the revisionist resolution of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU in its report to the Congress. Thus there was constant struggle between the

revolutionary policy of Mao and the bourgeois opportunist policy of Li Shao Chi.

In 1956 the movements against the line of Peng Te-huai that accused the 'great leap forward for advancement' that the CPC initiated in the leadership of Mao and gave the slogans of 'Oppose going forward aggressively', 'great leap forward is petty bourgeois frenzy', 'eagerness to enter into Communism in one step' criticizing it and encouraged capitalism in the economic sphere and the movement against the lines of Kao Kang and Jiao Shu-shi consolidated Socialism.

Mao challenged the 'theory of forces of production' of Li Shao Chi and Deng in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum of the 8<sup>th</sup> CC. He stated that the main contradictor in the Socialist society shall be that between the bourgeois class and the proletariat. The meaning of the 'theory of forces of production' is to give importance to modernization, profit and to enhance the productive capacity through objective incentives against class struggle. This theory was brought forth by the modern revisionists against proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction. There were internal theoretical struggles from time to time against such right opportunist trends in the party and people's government. However support to these wrong trends in the magazines, criticizing Mao, attack through articles, dramas and cultural performances, halting or diverting the implementation of vital decisions taken by the CC (for example the liquidation of the decision to take up cultural revolution in the 10<sup>th</sup> plenum of the CC in 1962) went on continuously. Then Mao realized the danger of capitalist restoration in China and wrote several articles and strengthened the foundations for theoretical struggle against modern revisionism. The severe internal struggle that took place in CPC took a people's form since the end of 1964. There was an open people's struggle between the broad oppressed masses in the leadership of proletarian revolutionaries led by Mao and the bourgeois camp that occupied vital positions in the party in the leadership of Li Shao Chi. This is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

### **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR)**

The CC of the CPC brought out a circular on September 16<sup>th</sup> in 1966



in the guidance of Mao explaining the objective, theory, line, principles, program and method of the GPCR. The circular directed that the revolution must be aimed at capitalist roaders. It elected a committee to take up the revolution. The CPC described it as 'revolution in the superstructure'. The aims of the GPCR were to – continue Socialist revolution in the leadership of the proletariat and revolutionise the people's perspective-successfully continue the construction of Socialism; create the necessary conditions to achieve Communism in China; efficiently fulfill its task as the international proletarian base area so as to make the World Socialist Revolution as soon as possible; totally eliminate the chances for the seizure of power by the overthrown classes; to destroy their dreams and attempts for restoration of capitalism; and continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its immediate task was to destroy the capitalist centre that gained place in the party leadership and re-capture the leadership that the capitalist roaders took hold of threw people's strength.

The Cultural Revolution could accomplish its immediate task in three years. The 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPC was successfully held in 1969 hailing the successful revolution in the leadership of Mao, with the objective of consolidating the results of revolution and advancing towards the construction of Communist society. The world revolutionary proletariat achieved the below mentioned great experience from the GPCR that took place in the leadership of Mao –

'.....Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognise the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigi-lance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people, and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place.'

Several new forms of struggle and organisation came forth during

the Cultural Revolution. There was revolutionary socialist transformation in the class relations. There were revolutionary changes in the super structural aspects. Vital changes came forth regarding issues like that between the villages and towns, between physical labor and mental labor, between women and men, in executing work in industries etc. 'New Socialist' aspects came forth in education, democratization, industries, agriculture, fighting against patriarchal domination, removing inequalities between women and men, health care, culture and military spheres. The Cultural Revolution destroyed the bourgeois headquarters that was in the leadership of Li Shao Chi.

At the same time several 'left opportunists' came forth in the high level in the party and army and so the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress decided to take up Cultural Revolution against the left trends, commandism and bureaucracy. With the exposure of Chen Pota along with the conspiracy of the 'leftists' to appoint Lin Piao as the President of the People's Republic of China in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plenum of the 9<sup>th</sup> CC in 1970 September he was expelled from the party. The impact of Lin Piao came under control with the expulsion of few leftists from vital posts in the Army. Later there was struggle against the leftist jargon, over hero worship of Mao and against Lin Piao who played the main role in encouraging the hero worship and brought forth the 'genius' theory. With no way to fulfill his aspirations to seize leadership of China Lin Piao ultimately planned to murder Mao and seize power through military coup. This was exposed. He died on his way of escape to Social-imperialist Soviet Union in a plane accident in Mongolia. Thus the 2<sup>nd</sup> bourgeois headquarters was destroyed.

Thus GPCR avoided restoration of capitalism for ten years and also handed over great experiences regarding construction of Socialism for the humankind to go towards Communism.

Thus In the leadership of the great Marxist teacher Mao, the Communist Party of China built a society in this world with no considerable disparities within three decades. The workers, peasants, military, women, students, intellectuals and other oppressed masses worked hard to transform their motherland into a modern industrial country and an very advanced political, economic, social system where

each and everyone gets free medical care and free education. They developed the country into the sixth biggest industrial productive force.

### **The situation after capitalist restoration in China**

As long as there exists capitalist-imperialist system and its comprador reactionary ruling classes on this earth there shall exist chances for the rise of such persons in the Socialist society. These classes constantly try to bring forth capitalism and bourgeois class in Socialism. The exploitative culture, traditions and habits of the old society that disrupt the Socialist economic base shall continue to exist in the superstructure. Thus the capitalist economic base and capitalist superstructure develop jointly. Until imperialism is buried in the earth and until Socialism achieves worldwide success there exists the basis for these conditions. Few capitalist roaders who seized top positions in the CPC exactly used these conditions and indulged in the restoration of capitalism in a planned manner. Through the Cultural Revolution in 1966-76 the revolutionary faction of the CPC in the leadership of Mao fought back this plan for ten years. However Mao, a little later Chou En Lai and another three associates of Mao and famous senior leaders in the party died in a period of one year in 1976 and this favored the capitalist roaders. The revolutionary forces could not continue the revolution according to the teaching of Mao until the end, i.e. the establishment of Communism. The modern revisionist Hua-Deng traitor clique utilized this opportunity and seized highest level power in the party, army and government through counter revolutionary conspiracy. This traitor clique waived the red flag of Mao Tse-tung Thought and strengthened its position in the party in the utmost devious way. This modern revisionist traitor clique firstly put up the veil of revolutionary ideology utilizing the name of Mao to disarm the people theoretically and ideologically. They molded the people ideologically for restoring capitalism in a vicious manner. The Deng clique utilized the imperialists, Soviet Union Social imperialists, domestic and foreign reactionaries. It mercilessly suppressed all the associates of Mao and the people's resistance to see that their capitalist way is not stopped. Within three years they turned the Communist party into a revisionist party and the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship and the socialist country into capitalist country. The proletariat of the world once again

faced a historic defeat.

Immediately after seizing power the modern revisionists implemented capitalist reforms in phases in the country. In the leadership of revisionist Deng the entire economy of China was state capitalism. In the 'reforms' taken up later, the state monopoly capitalism in china was partially transformed into private monopoly capitalism. Gradually the government and private monopoly capitalist organisations gained hegemony on the country's economy and became the most powerful in the world. Today they became 'global players'. The owners of these companies are the CC members of the CPC and their family members. They are referred as 'red capitalists' in the world. Thus China now became the second biggest economy of the world.

The monopoly industrial capital and monopoly bank capital together led to a large scale accumulation of financial capital. Few financial capitalists emerged with hegemony on this. Four of the ten biggest banks of the world are Chinese. With the world imperialist falling into the mire of economic crisis since 2008 the Chinese imperialist came forth as a major exporter of capital. It not only is giving loans to several capitalist and imperialist countries but attained the third place among the very big capitalists lending the US. It is making large scale export of capital to Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. Apart from the capitalist countries it is also exporting war equipment and capital to the backward countries, making unequal trade and looting the natural resources of the backward countries and thus became the enemy of the oppressed people and nationalities of the world.

Internationally the China imperialists have a rising hold on several economic and military blocks like the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) and BRICS. Apart from this China also rose to be a politically and militarily powerful country in the world. Today China has the second big military budget in the world. It is also the 5<sup>th</sup> biggest country having nuclear energy. The Chinese monopoly organisations occupy the 5<sup>th</sup> place in the world arms market. China is the 3<sup>rd</sup> biggest exporter of arms. It has a modern drone program.

China is contending with US imperialism. It is militarily intervening in many forms in several countries. It is lending active support to the

comprador local governments in suppressing the civil wars, people's rebellions, national liberation struggles and revolutionary struggles. In Chad it brought down the government that was not in favor of the Chinese imperialists and formed a favorable government. It decided to increase the 20 thousand naval forces to one lakh for Gwadar port in Pakistan (of Baluchistan) area) and in Djibouti military logistics base in the Indian Ocean. China has military alliances in at least six African countries including Sudan, Algeria, Nigeria and Egypt. The role of China Social-imperialism is increasing day by day in the world imperialist economy, in the re-division of world among the imperialists and in neo-colonial forms of exploitation leading to new developments. Our party stated in 2017 that these developments are in according to the general and fundamental characters of imperialism as defined by Comrade Lenin and that China turned to be a Social-imperialist country since 2014.

Comrade Mao inherited Marxism-Leninism through the Russian October Revolution and brought a third great leap in its development by making considerable additions to the three components of the proletarian science-Marxism. He achieved this leap with the application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and the world proletarian revolutions and formulating the correct line and by making the scientific formulations necessary to advance the World Socialist Revolution in the process of continuing struggle with firm will in several internal struggles in the CPC, especially against the right and the 'left' opportunism in three main struggles and against the Soviet modern revisionism. He thus preserved and enriched Marxism-Leninism. He brought a qualitative development in the dialectical understanding about theory of knowledge, contradictions, forces of production-relations of production, theory-practice, economic base-superstructure, matter-consciousness and other such things.

Marxism-Leninism says that the fundamental issue of revolution is to seize political power. The central task of revolution is to seize political power through the highest form armed strength. Mao combined this Marxist universal truth with the concrete practice of China revolution. He formulated the correct line by fighting against

several wrong right and 'left' opportunist lines. He developed the weak and small force into a strong Communist Party. He led the people in revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars in extremely long, severe, difficult, complex paths with twists and turns. He advanced towards victory from several defeats. He proved through the success of revolution in China that the political strategy of revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the present conditions is New Democratic Revolution and the military strategy or the line to be Protracted People's War. He developed the revolutionary military science.

Mao stated the importance of the three magnificent weapons, the Party, People's Army and Revolutionary United Front and the importance of the principle of democratic centralism and developed the organizational line, class line and mass line. He developed proletarian perspective on nationality question and woman's question in the era of imperialism. He took the Marxist perspective regarding art and culture to new heights. He personally led the construction of Socialism in China and greatly developed the Socialist political economy. Even though Socialism achieved success in China he said that the defeated class still exists, that it shall certainly challenge Socialism, that we cannot say this to be the final victory until many decades and so we should not discard alertness. He developed the theory to continue revolution through Cultural Revolution in order to avoid the restoration of capitalism and to strengthen the Socialist system and proletarian dictatorship with the objective to advance towards worldwide Communism. He gave the slogan of 'philosophy is not utopian' and molded philosophy into a weapon in the hands of the people. Through all these he once again proved that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to practice.

The success of Chinese revolution clearly shows that ebbs and flows are natural in revolution but the final victory is for the people. As revolutionary communists today we have to highlight the past China and condemn the present China. We must expose the class nature of revisionist China Social-imperialism, pointing out the historic truth that it shall inevitably collapse like the capitalist imperialism and advancing the World Socialist revolution with the objective to eliminate

imperialism, all kinds of revisionism and counter revolutionaries from this earth is the immediate task of the world proletariat today. The international conditions are very much favorable to this.

With the inspiration from the China revolution we have to develop appropriate tactics according to the changing conditions in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and in the revolutionary movement. But a few persons sitting in a room away from the revolutionary movement cannot formulate correct and strong tactics for the Communist party. They come forth only in severe class struggles, in the process of participating in people's war and people's struggles and in taking up deep theoretical and political struggles against several wrong reformist, economist, right opportunist revisionist and postmodernist trends. It means correct, strong tactics of struggle shall be formulated only through practical experience and proper assessment of the class forces. For this purpose we have to understand the conditions of the society in all times. We have to take up direct study into the situation. This is the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist style of combining theory with practice and that of bringing out truth from facts. Only this guarantees the success of revolution. On the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Chinese revolution, as the inheritors of China revolution and the vanguard of the proletariat build strong anti-feudal, anti-imperialist people's struggles all over the country with the objective to advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Mobilise the women, Dalits, tribal people, religious minorities and other such oppressed sections and the nationalities of Kashmir and North East with the aim to defeat the rising Brahmanic Hindu fascism in the country and build broad and militant people's movements and resistance struggles! Intensify and expand guerilla war in the strategic areas in the path of Protracted People's War and seize area wise state power in waves! Overthrow the three great mountains – imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlord classes that are stamping the people of India and establish the New Democratic system as the United Front of the oppressed classes, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities! Pledge to ultimately establish Socialism-Communism all over the world!

- Greetings to the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary celebrations of the New Democratic Revolution of China!
- Down with the various kinds of revisionism!
- Down with China Social-imperialism!
- Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China!
- Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
- Long live World Socialist Revolution!

Class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realise a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this, and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralised, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy - then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.

- Mao



## Correctly Handle the Relationship between Collective Leadership and Individual Responsibility

*(Democratic centralism is a principle of organisation in our Party. There is a serious problem in dealing with the relations between the individual and the collective at various levels of Party Committees in implementing democratic centralism. This is also an important guarantee in implementing collective leadership in the party. We request to comprehensively study this article from 'A Basic understanding of the Communist Party of China' to develop theoretical understanding in this regard. This book was first published in Chinese in 1974 by the People's Publishing House, Shanghai. The English translation from the French one of 1976 was published by Norman Bethune Institute of Toronto, Canada in 1978. The article is in Pages 87-91 - Editorial Board).*

One of the important questions posed in the Party by democratic centralism concerns the implementation of a system which combines collective leadership with individual responsibility — this constitutes a practical application of the Party's mass line in methods of leadership.

What does it mean to combine collective leadership with individual responsibility? Chairman Mao has stated: "All important problems (of course, not the unimportant, trivial problems, or problems whose solutions have already been decided after discussion at meetings and need only be carried out) must be submitted to the committee for discussion, and the committee members present should express their views fully and reach definite decisions which should then be carried out by the members concerned." Chairman Mao also shed light on the principles for applying this system: "Important powers are concentrated, and less important ones spread out. The decisions of the Party committee are implemented in all spheres. If those who implement are also those who decide, we will not depart from principle. The Party committee is responsible for control of the work." This directive very well explains the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, and shows us how to handle correctly the relationship between the two.

The strengthening of collective leadership is an important precondition for the implementation of democratic centralism in the Party; an important guarantee for the establishment of the Party's centralized leadership. The Party committees at all levels are bodies which exercise centralized leadership. However, Party leadership is a collective leadership and does not come from the arbitrary decisions of particular individuals. It is only by conscientiously implementing the system of collective leadership that we can correctly practice democratic centralism in the Party, and that the committees of the Party can fully play their role as nuclei of leadership in correctly carrying out all tasks. In general, there is a limit to how well a single individual can think about a question and analyses it, so that when decisions on important questions are made by one individual, it is difficult for him not to be subjective and one-sided. Only if we practice collective leadership, if the members of the Party committee reflect the opinions of the Party members and the masses in all their aspects, if they study and discuss questions from every point of view and in depth, will we be able to concentrate the wisdom of the masses to arrive at correct ideas, make decisions that conform to objective reality and avoid or diminish the risk of error. At the same time, this enables the leading members of the Party organisations to learn from each other and to move forward together.

Collective leadership must also be combined with individual responsibility. To adhere to collective leadership does not mean to deny the role of the individual. On the contrary, under collective leadership it is necessary that individuals fully play their role. Practicing the system of individual responsibility and fully bringing into play the role of individuals concretizes and ensures the realization of the collective leadership. At the regional level, as at the unit level, it is the Party that leads everything — it has an enormous amount of work. If the questions discussed and collectively resolved by the Party organisations are not divided up among individuals who take charge of them we run the risk of finding ourselves in a situation in which nobody is responsible for the work, an impossible situation for the Party to exercise its leadership.

This is why “we must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is over-emphasized to the neglect of the other.” We must not only oppose important questions being decided on an individual basis, we must also oppose the tendency to avoid responsibility, the tendency to discuss everything — large matters and small — in meetings. Other harmful practices must be opposed as well. In order to put into practice the combination of collective leadership and individual responsibility, the Party committee system must be strengthened. Chairman Mao has said: “The Party committee system is an important Party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs.” In certain units, the leading members of the Party organisations often claim that they are too busy to hold meetings, and they use this as a pretext to replace collective discussion in Party committee meetings by particular meetings with a small number of members. In other units, the Party organisations call “joint conferences” of several sectors to deal with questions which should be discussed and dealt with in the meetings of the Party committee. Thus, they mix up the relationship between Party organisations and others, which is a relationship of leader to lead. These various practices are contrary to the principle of collective Party leadership, and must absolutely be corrected. Careful preparation for each Party committee meeting must be made in advance in order that discussion can be carried out in detail. If there are divergent views, they must be put forward and discussed in depth before arriving at a decision. When a question is not clear and cannot be sorted out right away, we must not come to hasty conclusions but rather must continue to study and investigate, and put the decision off until the situation becomes clear and a common view is reached.

In order to implement the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, it is also necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the secretary and the committee members, between the individual and the collective. Both the secretary and the other members must think in terms of collective leadership; the secretary must not sort out everything himself, the committee members must not wait for someone else to take care of things — everyone must come under the collective leadership. The relationship

between the secretary and the members of a committee is the relationship of the minority to the majority and, in Party Committee meetings, the secretary must place himself on the same level as the others, give his opinions, and discuss problems on an equal footing with the others; he must not place himself above the committee, nor deal with matters in any way he wants. The secretary is also a “squad leader,” he must lead the men of his “squad” in battle, and play a central role in preparing, convening and conducting the meetings, and should encourage the members to democratically discuss the problems, to draw a conclusion after all have given their opinions, etc. He must therefore give everyone the right to speak, instead of monopolizing the floor himself, be able to listen to all the different opinions, be modest and prudent, and treat others as his equals. He must be able to do organizational and propaganda work among his own “squad members” and unify their thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, and the Party’s line, orientation and political principles. Finally, if there are shortcomings in his work, or if he makes mistakes, he must come forward to take the responsibility himself. All committee members, whether they are old or new cadres, must strive to make the Party committee into a strong, militant collective. They must take an interest in all the work, play an active part in the collective leadership, and contribute to making the committee a potent force. We must oppose the dependent mentality that “the secretary decides and the members act accordingly,” the tendency not to courageously take charge of the work which has been assigned to us, and we must also combat the negative attitude of being interested only in one’s own work and acting as if one is not involved when the work of others is being discussed.

When it becomes time to implement the resolutions of the Party committee, and each member has been assigned his share of the work and the responsibilities, the secretary — as “squad leader” — must lead the work on the basis of the principles of the Party committee’s decision, and must not impose his own opinion. When implementing the committee’s resolutions, the members given responsibility for various work must submit to the supervision, control and leadership of the secretary, and when something important happens or new

problems come up in their work, they must consult with the secretary and ask him for instructions instead of just trying to deal with it themselves. If in the course of the everyday work serious differences of opinion appear between the secretary and other Party committee members, or if an important problem comes up, the committee must meet and reach a decision after having discussed the matter: neither the secretary nor a committee member can decide alone.

In order to implement the system of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, it is also necessary to handle correctly the relationship between old and new cadres, as well as between members of the committee who participate in production and those who are removed from it. Old and new cadres must “respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other’s strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause and guard against sectarian tendencies.” The committee members who do not participate in production must respect those who have remained in it, they must take the initiative in “exchanging information,” and not be content to consult only a minority of people, or to consider the members who still participate in production as a “secondary appendage” to the committee. On their side, the Party committee members who have remained in production must concern themselves with the work as a whole, actively reflect the opinions of the masses and must not be content to concern themselves simply with their own sector. In sum, the cadres, old and new, in production or outside of it, must be modest and prudent, learn from each other, be united like the strands of a rope, in order that they can together implement Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and lead the members of the Party and the masses to win still greater victories in the revolution and in construction.

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## HISTORY DEVELOPS IN SPIRALS

*(We give here an article from Peking Review #43, October 25, 1974, written by Hung Yu. This is a slightly abridged translation of an article in Hongqi [Red Flag]# 10, 1974. In the end of the article it was written that Comrade Mao's revolutionary path was the product of integration of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete condition of the Chinese Revolution. But our party understands this according to the Ninth Congress of the CPC which said that Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military, economic, cultural, philosophical and other spheres, and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher new stage. Two line struggle was going on during the time of the publication of the article - Editorial Board).*

The People's Republic of China has triumphantly travelled a militant path for 25 years.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring our country to march forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound

to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

### **Unity of Opposites-Progressiveness And Tortuousness**

In his work Karl Marx, Lenin made a vivid and scientific generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as "a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line." In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line." (On Protracted War.) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again. . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other hand; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counterrevolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong

resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." (On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces to perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience—from without experience to having experience, from less experienced to more experienced. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experiences can one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: "With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." (On Practice.) Superficially, reversals and zigzags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to a comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites—the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things—makes up the complicated spiral movement. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both



negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centring around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the overthrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost "paradise" and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always coordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore,

after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

### **Zigzag Course of Development in China's Socialist Cause**

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the newdemocratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

In the years immediately after the birth of New China, the Party led the people of the whole country in rehabilitating the national economy and carrying out the san fan and wu fan movements (the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—and the movement against the five evils—bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation). It put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and got the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for socialist construction going. The vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction filled the people throughout the country with joy and elation, but at the same time it evoked bitter hatred and fear on the part of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Bourgeois careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih who had wormed their way into the Party ganged up in an anti-Party alliance and wildly carried out conspiratorial activities, vainly trying to split our Party, usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and obstruct the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to expose and shatter in good time the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and rallied all Party members and the people of the whole country to bring about an upsurge in socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie, however, did not take its defeat lying down. Taking advantage of the rectification campaign in 1957, it unleashed another furious attack on the Party. This fully showed that, with the socialist revolution on the economic front alone, the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat still was not secure and it was imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nation started a vigorous struggle to beat back the bourgeois Rightists and once again repulsed the bourgeoisie's large-scale frenzied attacks, thereby giving great impetus to the rapid development of socialist revolution and construction.

Having summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of socialist construction at home and abroad, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Hence the excellent situation marked by the big leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes in 1958. But the struggle in the political and ideological spheres remained very intense. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique took the field, frantically attacking the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune in a futile effort to split our Party and check the onrushing torrent of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in meeting the onslaught head-on and crushing the Peng Teh-huai Right opportunist clique whose plots fell through.

With the daily deepening of the socialist revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique ran wild in carrying out counter-revolutionary

activities. During the period when China had temporary economic difficulties due to three successive years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Liu Shao-chi and his followers openly trumpeted and pushed the revisionist line of san zi yi bao (the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households) and of san he yi shao (the liquidation of struggle against the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries). They spared no effort in their criminal activities to restore capitalism in the political, ideological as well as economic spheres.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, advanced in a more comprehensive way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "Never forget classes and class struggle." Immediately afterwards, Chairman Mao initiated the socialist education movement or, a nationwide scale, criticized Liu Shao-chi's reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, set in motion the revolution in Peking opera and other cultural and art fields, and launched the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office (a bad opera designed to reverse the verdict passed on the Right opportunists), thus ushering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The reversals and zigzags of the struggles in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were even more soul-stirring. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the entire Party and the people of the whole country, having broken through all kinds of obstacles and gone through arduous struggles, finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader. But the struggle did not end there.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who "lodged for a time" in the Party, jumped out to continue Liu Shao-chi's counterrevolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalist by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites."

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius-the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

### **Overcome Metaphysical Viewpoint of Straight-Line Development of History**

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: "Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral." (On the Question of Dialectics.) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means "all struggle and no alliance" or "all alliance and no struggle." According to Chairman Mao's directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance

involves struggles against reactionary things, splittist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: “Today our Anti-Japanese National United Front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle.” (On Policy.) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The “unity-criticism-unity” formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating struggle will of course harm the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also harm the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies have occurred in our Party’s history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical experience of one tendency covering the other.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao used day-to-day routine such as eating and sleeping as an example to give a profound illustration of what is meant by dialectics. To those who had mistaken ideas and failed to understand the dialectical relationship between fighting heroically and abandoning territory temporarily in order to wipe out the enemy troops, Chairman Mao said: “To eat and then to empty your bowels-is this not to cat in vain? To sleep and then

to get up-is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not.” (On Protracted War.) To see things in a straightline way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking and is like “eating without emptying the bowels” and “sleeping without getting up.” Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development to seize victory.

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly summing up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership into its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” Guided by Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line, our Party Mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences are an invaluable

wealth for the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao often tells the Party cadres to bear in mind the experience and lessons of the many successes and failures in our Party's history; in so doing he is teaching us to learn to analyse and correctly handle the reversals and twists and turns on the road of the revolution from a materialist dialectical point of view and to understand that such twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we have studied how the reactionary classes in the past brought about a restoration and how tortuous the struggle was in consolidating the new social system, we can understand better the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism today.

### **Twists and Turns Cannot Halt the Advance of Revolution**

The reversals and twists and turns on the road of revolution are only whirlpools, big and small, in the long river of history and are of little significance. As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism-this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history." (On the Chungking Negotiations.) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history. From Confucius (551-476 B.C.) to Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, and from Chen Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all were reactionaries swimming against the tide of history. None of them succeeded in turning back the clock of history. Instead, every one of them lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet and ended up in self-destruction.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based



on the historical-materialist viewpoint that “the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.” At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lowermiddle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of difficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.

“The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.” We also firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can impede the advance of the revolutionary cause because our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; it is the fundamental guarantee for winning victory in the revolution. It is entirely due to Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries with Chiang Kai-shek as their ringleader, that we got hold of arms and seized political power and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. When an erroneous line dominated, there were reversals and twists and turns in our struggles, causing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and even leadiffg the revolution to failure; but when the correct line dominates, the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the course of our struggle are only partial and temporary and are not difficult to eliminate. Therefore, under the guidance of the

correct line, achievements are always primary and the situation is always excellent. Having undergone tests in prolonged struggles, our Party, state organs and the People's Liberation Army can withstand any storms. After eight years of tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, -the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is consolidated as never before. As long as we strengthen revolutionary unity, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will make the excellent revolutionary situation still more excellent. "While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." This is a scientific conclusion drawn from the summing up of countless historical experiences, and it has been verified in practice.

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**Severely endeavor to make success the ongoing bolshevization process basing on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the extent expected!**

**- East Regional Bureau  
CPI (Maoist)**

We are aware that serious efforts have been made for the past two years in the various states of the East Regional Bureau (ERB) of the Central Committee of our Party under the guidance of the ERB for the Party and the movement to overcome the situation of setback. The objective situation and the problems of the different states have been reviewed in a serious manner. The review also went deep into the aspect of the extent of the success of implementing the tasks of – bolshevizing the Party in all ways and strengthening it on mass base; enhancing and strengthening the PLGA in all ways by shedding it of the continuing shortcomings and weaknesses; and rectifying the shortcomings going on in the United Front and strengthening it more than the earlier. Basing on the inference of the review we can definitely say that we can clearly see that the movement made one step forward in the direction of overcoming the present setback situation.

In this situation the ERB decided to utilize the mentioned positive aspects and advance the process of bolshevization to the expected stage with the objective of making the leadership more organized, mobile-active-dynamic and united. This circular is being released to fulfill this objective. In the light of the circular the various levels of the entire Party must implement methods like improve practice, discuss in a higher level and make criticism and self-criticism. The ERB calls upon especially the leadership committees to make a deep study of the circular with the aim to develop theoretical and political level of the entire Party.

The main aspects of the circular are –

**We have to gain hold in practicing – Unity of two opposites and seeing that one divides into two, according to dialectical materialism.**

Practice taught us that in any revolutionary work, implementing the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism in an exact manner in practice is one utmost important condition to achieve expected results. Bolshevizing the Party, the task of making the Party steadfast and rectifying the mistakes, i.e. non-proletarian trends, the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign, small, medium or big kind of retaliatory actions, the task of building KKC-RPC or new form of people's movement – in all things we can gain success to some or the other extent only if we implement the principle of unity and struggle of opposites and analyse as per one divides into two in a precise manner. If we wish to fulfill every task with a positive result, we must understand the task deeply. We must not be non-serious, have one-sided or negligent attitude, must not see it superficially but must take up the method of seeing it in a deep and multipronged manner and analyse. We must remember that if we wish to achieve the expected result in our work we must think as per the time, place and condition and the objective and external world. If we cannot take up our work according to this rule without falling in subjectivity, we shall fail in our practice. One important reason for the setback of our movement is that we failed to do in such a manner. When our movement setback we made a deep review of it and drew few lessons. We rectified our thought and tried to mold it according to the rules of the objective outside world. It is not our subjective thinking that decides the truth as to how far we have overcome the affected situation but the objective results in practice for the last two years. There are a lot of reports of the programs taken up for the past two years in the various states and special areas under ERB. The essence of a deep review of these reports shows that – there is certainly a little progress in bolshevizing the Party. This means that the theoretical-political consciousness of all the ordinary cadres has risen to a little extent when compared to that earlier; the meetings of the Party Committees have been regularized to an extent; and there is a positive change to a little extent in going to the villages and talking and discussing with the farmers about various issues and working basing on the people; the village Party cell and the village Party committee

are being reorganised; we have filled and are filling gaps; there is a little progress in the work of expansion; there is growth in the base force of PLGA and we have started the work to train them; we started to pay more attention to form various levels of command and to activate them; there was a decrease in guerilla war actions and now in order to overcome this the preparedness to make counter actions on the enemy has increased to an extent; the reorganization of KKC has begun in all villages and areas; RPCs were reorganized in a few selected areas, and the formation of new village level RPCs and ARPC is in the making; the people's movement and mass organisations have been reorganized and people's agitations are being built on a few people's issues; and other such. But we have to see all these as only slight quantitative changes. It means that each and every leadership comrade and each and every comrade must put tireless efforts to transform all these quantitative changes in a qualitative manner. The changes must be taken from below to the top meaning we must transform the negative factors into positive factors. We must give special attention to implement in practice the special policies and programs that the party adopted to organize students, youth, women, intellectuals, tribals, Dalits, religious minorities and nationalities along with the workers and peasants in addition to the general line of the party i.e. strategy-tactics and line related to the Party program. For the success of all these works it is essential that we rectify our thinking and mold it according to the outside world i.e. to the rules of the objective situation. We must remember that an important aspect of Marxist philosophy – dialectical materialism is its practicability. It emphasizes that theory is based on practice and practice is based on theory and in turn it serves practice. The decision to overcome the affected situation is not decided by our subjective feeling but the objective development in practice. Therefore we must certainly understand these things and take up practice accordingly.

**We must be afar of subjectivity, one-sidedness and negligence when making a deep study into the issue of the affected situation of the movement**

Our movement has been stuck in an affected situation for the past few years. We studied, analysed and reviewed this situation and also

decided upon few tasks to overcome it. We are all engaged in the process of implementing these specified tasks. But we are not able to gain success to the expected mark. What should have been the reason for this? The basic reason is that in spite of a common opinion about many assessments, reviews and tasks when studying the problem, we clearly see the expressions of subjectivity, one-sidedness and negligence. Consequently we are not able to gain success to the extent needed.

In fact we have subjectivity, one-sidedness and negligence. Subjectivity means not seeing an issue in an objective manner, meaning not utilizing the materialist outlook in seeing it. For example we are not able to come to a proper assessment and higher level of understanding about the basic reasons for the present situation of the movement. It means we are not able to reach from the level of ideas to a rational level. One-sidedness is seen in not seeing the issues from all angles. For example, feeling that their non-proletarian trends alone are the reason for the situation and not understanding other reasons, understanding only the negative aspects and not understanding the positive, understanding only the unfavorable factors and not understanding the favorable factors and so on. This means not understanding the particularities of two aspects of a contradiction in anything. This is said to see in a one-sided manner. It is necessary to discuss a little more about one-sidedness. As Comrade Mao said one-sidedness is – ‘not seeing the issues from all angles’. We see many examples regarding mutual disputes in the purview of BJSAC at present in a few words or sentences. A present issue a comrade brings forth or an issue of several years ago another comrade brings forth – we see a strong one-sidedness in all these things. Anyhow we know clearly, as Comrade Mao said, ‘none has the right to speak without investigation’. Comrade Mao said about the importance of investigation, ‘those who do not investigate do not have the right to speak. Many make noise when they ‘get down from the government vehicle’. They act as they wish. They dig some or the other issue and condemn some or the other. But such people face defeats. It is because such ideas and thoughts are not based on investigation. They are mere words’.

If an allegation bases on facts it is possible to search the truth basing on it. If we understand that comrades are mutually alleging

irrespective of facts we have to investigate the objective or intention of the comrade making allegations. We must also take proper action basing on it. In addition to this, Comrade Mao often mentioned Sun Tzu's words about the art of war speaking of the importance to understand the particularities of two aspects of a contradiction so as not to fall in a situation of one-sidedness – 'Know your enemy and know yourself. Then you can make hundreds of wars without the fear of defeat'. He also used to tell another thing that Veyi Chang of the Chang dynasty so as not to be one-sided – 'your understanding enhances if you listen to both the sides'.

Negligence means not understanding the particularity of the comprehensiveness of the contradiction and not understanding the particularities of both the issues in a contradiction. It means rejecting the necessity to make a deep observation and prolonged study of anything, seeing it superficially from a distance and getting down to solve them. Therefore having a positive outlook towards the present affected situation of the movement and making efforts to overcome it means we have to absolutely shed ourselves of the entire wrong trends and outlooks mentioned above and adopt the proper outlook by changing our attitudes. Only then we will be efficient in making a concrete analysis of a concrete issue and in taking our tasks towards victory.

### **Improve and activate the method of leadership**

It is a pre-condition to improve the method of party leadership, to activate it and make it effective in the present situation of our efforts to advance the Party and the movement bolshevizing our Party in all ways and facing severe challenges from the enemy. Therefore it is necessary to pay attention to the below mentioned issues. They are – we have to develop better understanding in the leadership about MLM. MLM is not something to be simply uttered. It is a dynamic science and guiding theory. So it is essential to have a profound understanding about this guiding theory instead of a superficial one. In order to fulfill this necessity it is essential to achieve good coordination between theory and practice. One cannot gain command on theory by studying one or two articles. It develops only studying combining it with solving the problems. In fact we are belittling this process. If we have such a

light and superficial knowledge of MLM we shall be inefficient in taking up theoretical, political struggle against the various revisionist, post-modernist, escapist and anti-revolutionary ideas in any kind of situation. So we have to constantly study MLM by combining it with the objective to solve the problems. This is utmost necessary to bolshevise the party better and in all ways.

But on the contrary, we see that some comrades feel that they read MLM theory a lot, they know a lot, that some comrades do not have any understanding about MLM but they are taken into the leadership of various party committees and that they are not taken and so on. In fact all these about understanding the theory are expressions of book knowledge. They are superficial and light. Especially we clearly see such ideas in a few intellectual comrades from petty bourgeois class. But since the comrades from landless, poor peasantry, tribal people and Dalits are mostly uneducated they do not have much interest towards theoretical study. They show much interest only on practice. As they gradually step into important committees most of their time is spent on committee meetings and so whenever any counter-revolutionary theoretical, political line comes forth they become inefficient and helpless in opposing and taking up theoretical and political struggle against it. They feel the boat is sinking in deep waters. During such time we see pragmatic ideas in them.

Since most of the comrades in our party are uneducated it is necessary to study the theory with maximum possible attention with the objective to solve the problems coming forth in present practice with in order to rectify it. Along with this we have to pay special attention on bringing the comrades having bookish knowledge to practice. If we can do so, we can definitely bring a little improvement than the earlier in the method of leadership.

**It is very essential to much more mingle with the activists, to identify with them and to understand mutually**

We know that once the Party line, policies and program are adopted the activists shall be the decisive force in implementing them. Therefore we have to widely discuss with the activists on each and every issue related to the programs taken up and take up the method



of explaining clearly about the work style to be adopted for the implementation of it through the activists. But it is not at all correct to tell the activists 'you have to do what we decided'. This is bureaucracy, the method of ordering. We need democratic method and explaining and convincing method. If we follow the method of passing orders, we find later in the review of this work that we did not succeed in achieving the decided objective. In fact this is the basic reason for not going forward but stepping back and drowning in a difficult situation. But some of our leadership comrades wish to be bureaucratic. When there is a defeat they find fault with the activists. Some of the leadership comrades are not friendly with the activists or make them a decisive force to go into practice but they maintain a teacher-student relation and this is a feudal attitude. This will certainly lead to negative results. So the activists must be taken as the decisive force, establish utmost friendly relations and train them in such a manner. Only thus the Party can fulfill the specified programs within the specified time. Our great teachers taught us thus – spend most of the time with the activists, stay amidst the activists, make extensive political discussions and create a political atmosphere.

**Hold high relentlessly the bright consciousness of the Party so as to strengthen the united CPI (Maoist) in any kind of situation**

Tempered in the furnace of revolutionary class struggle for the past few decades our Party emerged as an important force in the political life of the entire country. However we are facing many kinds of challenges. We are working hard and going in a jig-jag path to achieve the task of the historical objective. Therefore it is our duty to take up continuously the process of bolshevization that is more stable and disciplined than earlier in ideology, political activity and organisation. Members, activists and cadres of the entire party must enhance their Party spirit to higher level in order to make our Party more concrete and stable. They must subordinate their interests to those of the party. The interests of the various party units must be subordinated to those of the entire Party. Thus our Party can mold concretely into a comprehensive human body. Anyhow since our Party is mostly dependent on the rural area where agrarian revolutionary guerilla war is going on in a very big area, landless, poor peasant, small producer

and intellectuals are in large numbers. So certain wrong ideas like 'subjectivity', 'individualism', 'superiority', 'acting on their own wish' and 'ideas against centralism in the method of democratic centralism' arose. These trends are against the spirit of the Party. If we nourish all these wrong ideas the Party will be deprived of united feeling, united activity of the party and united discipline. Group activists, sectarian conflicts and anti-party activities take this place; there shall be a heavy loss to the prestige of the party and severe loss to the Party and the revolution. Recently it happened so. The heinous anti-party activities of many degenerated persons and betrayers of revolution is a recent example.

In this background we have to pay more attention to develop the internal unity of the party, working abiding to the rule of democratic centralism and as a part of it the entire party abiding to the Central Committee and other such of the party spirit in the entire party so as to rectify the wrong ideas and work style. No one should be allowed to raise their voice freely to spread illusions and the psyche to have deep confidence and assurance on the Central Committee and the central leadership must be developed. We must give utmost importance to fulfill the tasks given by the Central Committee. We have to send members to fulfill the various specified schemes. The necessary other works must be completed. All the decisions and resolutions made must definitely be implemented.

Immediately we see a mistake we must make efforts to rectify it. We must concretely decide the measures to be taken up. We must not allow the spread of any kind of wrong work or wrong ideas without a question. We must see that there is no gossip, various kinds of comments and ill propaganda. On the contrary, we have to take up the method of making open and fact based criticisms. The objective of this should be to help rectify the mistakes and adopt the method of sustaining mutual comradely relations and support.

Firm implementation of party discipline in such a strong party is an important pre-condition to fulfill the present revolutionary tasks and finally make the revolution successful. The individual must abide by the party, the minority the majority, the lower level the higher level and the whole party the CC. The basic line and policies of the party must be realized and implemented.

In addition to this one must take up self-critical method with dedication to rectify oneself. They must develop and widen their study according to the necessities of the party and the revolutionary movement. They must also discuss extensively with the activists. No one must be dissatisfied or selfish. All must have common interest, live a simple life and do hard work, search truth from facts and shed pride and superiority. Close coordination must be established without any gap between theory and practice. Thus we must always highlight the importance of the understanding, attitude, spirit and other such things of the party on various aspects like proletarian nature, party aim and objective and program. The entire cadres of the leadership from the CC members to the party cell must firmly highlight the above mentioned aspects, i.e. the strong spirit of the party.

**Utilize completely the favorable aspects seen in the situation to overcome the condition of setback!**

**Gradually strengthen the three magnificent weapons – Party, PLGA and United Front!**

We are aware that we are making efforts to overcome the setback or the affected situation for the past four years. We also achieved a little success in this effort. But we did not achieve the expected success. One important reason for this is – we did not properly understand that there are two angles even in the setback or the affected situation. One angle further deepens the affected situation, the second one brings out from that situation. This does not mean that the affected situation is of a stable nature. On the contrary it expresses the unity of two opposites.

Therefore we must search favorable aspects amidst unfavorable aspects and adopt proper tactics and tasks to utilize the same. Our Central Committee also released a circular ‘Present situation – Our tasks’ to utilize this favorable aspect in order to overcome the present difficult situation and advance the revolutionary movement. For example in the Russian revolution too after the failure of 1905 revolution they adopted tactics to step back from 1907 to 1912. They adopted tasks that help to utilize the favorable aspect while stepping back and also to go forward again. In the experience of the Chinese

revolution, when the Chinese revolution failed in 1927 there was a situation to step back. They adopted proper tactics to overcome such weak situation and advance the revolutionary movement.

The situations of stepping back in the above two ways are the experiences in two kinds of strategies of 'General Insurrection' and 'Protracted People's War'. These two experiences are examples of relative or unstable nature of stepping back. So there was a spate of revolutionary movement again after 1912. Lastly the Russian socialist revolution was successful in 1917. Similarly after the failure of Chinese revolution in 1927 Comrade Mao implemented the method of work of establishing liberated areas, establishing political power in a planned manner, intensifying agrarian revolution and to build militia, local and regular red army extensively as a part of the strategy of PPW and adopted tasks like arming the ordinary people and continuously expanding political power in order to once again bring a spate in the revolutionary movement.

In the same way CC-4 and CC-5 meetings adopted certain imminent tasks to overcome the difficult situation that arose in the revolutionary movement of our country. All of us are engaged in the process of implementing those tasks. CC-5 meeting stated the favorable aspects that exist in a better way than the earlier time in the international and domestic situation to once again advance the revolutionary movement through its circular 'Present situation – Our tasks'. In addition to this it also suggested several new tasks to strengthen the Party, PLGA and United Front to utilize these favorable aspects in a realistic way.

Therefore stepping back and again going forward is the process of 'unity-struggle between two opposites' of a single entity. We can once again advance the party and the movement utilizing favorable aspects by taking up dialectical materialist perspective. Therefore we must gradually strengthen the three magnificent weapons of Party, PLGA and United Front.

### **1. Our first task is to strengthen the party**

A strong party is a vital pre-condition to achieve success in any work of revolution. So our foremost and utmost important task is to mold the party in all ways, i.e. building each and every party committee

from the bottom to the top and so as to conduct proper revolutionary activities. Only by doing so, the party base will strengthen. In addition to this we must also conduct training programs of party politics basing on MLM as per the party syllabus. Along with the above process we must also take up practical work of participating in direct class struggle. Production work, class struggle, theoretical study – all these three must be taken up with coordination. We have to be serious in implementing methods like collective discussion, collective decision, division of collective functioning, coordination of collective work and individual initiative and collective check-up according to the rule of democratic centralism of the system of party committee. We must be serious in implementing the aspect of democracy as a part of centralism based on democracy. But we should not encourage ultra-democracy in the name of democracy. All the party committees must regularly conduct meetings as per the Party Constitution. The meeting must have a specified agenda. There must be discussion on the points of the agenda and concrete decisions must be taken. Every party committee must send a detailed written report to its higher committee in the specified period. We must keep in mind the conditions we are working now it is not at all fair to spend more time in meetings alone. We must spend time to solve the problems. Articles, circulars and other such of the party must not be very big, complex and in difficult language but must be natural, simple in language and small.

## **2. It is utmost important to take up rectification movement time to time to sustain the proletarian character of the party**

We have to take up ‘rectification movement’ as a movement and a campaign time to time to totally eliminate the non-proletarian trends or the bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends from the top to the bottom and from bottom to top and this must be such as to achieve the expected results. Ours is a backward country with semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature. The main center of activities is the vast rural area. Therefore majority of the party cadres are from petty bourgeois class. Thus the entire class composition happens to be the main source or the birthplace for non-proletarian trends. So when non-proletarian trends arise in the party we have to conduct ‘rectification movement’ in a planned manner during that time. There must not be any kind of relaxation in

this. Relaxation would only amount to an intentional change of the Communist Party formed with the proletarian vanguard to that of petty bourgeois class nature. So rectification movement must be conducted in the proper time against the specified wrong trends and wrong work style.

### **3. Hold criticism and self-criticism in the Party**

Criticism and self-criticism is the life of proletariat and Communist Party. It is so because if this weapon is utilized properly and in a proper manner the proletarian character of the party shall become purer and brighter. We have to keep several aspects in mind to properly hold criticism and self-criticism. They are – **a.** Criticism and self-criticism must be centralized only on political and organizational issues but not on unnecessary things. A criticism on anyone must be based on facts and should not be mere words; **b.** The criticism must have the objective to help a comrade to rectify mistakes and transform into a good comrade. It means we must make criticism on the necessary aspect and also suggest ways to rectify it. This means the style of criticism should not be negative or an individual attack that affects their individuality, be destructive but be positive and creative; **c.** There is another objective in the utilization of this weapon. The objective of criticism must be to advance the revolution and the objective of self-criticism too must be to advance the revolution; **d.** The basic aspect of self-criticism is to fearlessly speak out our weaknesses, to be clearer in saying out how one's role must be, how it is at present in the party and the development of revolution and accept it humbly without any hesitation. It is not at all acceptable to speak unnecessarily in the name of criticism and to criticize others irrationally.

### **4. Developing- strengthening PLGA in all ways is our second important task**

The experience of armed struggle for the past few years shows that the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) has emerged as the endearing army of the people. Therefore it is our important task to gradually mold it so as to utilize high plane of the art of war quantitatively and qualitatively, utilize the tactics of guerilla war according to dare, intellect and terrain and to mold it into a disciplined

army. For this we have to take up the following necessary actions – a. We must make efforts to implement the guidance of the Central Military Commission in practice. b. We must build party committees in various levels in the army, make them function in a serious manner, form commands as per different levels, conduct the meetings regularly, adopt programs and other such things, first consolidate the militia forces in the form of a squad and then build platoon and company of the militia, consolidate them organizationally, arrange their daily programs c. Take lessons from the earlier mistakes and definitely reorganize the departments such as military training, tech-supply, intelligence and medical d. There must be concrete program for the military training of all kinds of forces and the process of training must be according to the programs e. We must remember that without programs of guerilla war no guerilla squad, platoon or company can exist. So we have to take up successful actions that lead to positive results to give a blow to the enemy corresponding to our strength and ability, our initiative-plan e. Small, medium and every kind of action must be reviewed, the positive and negative aspects analysed and written. We must take lessons from them and discuss with all. We must take up guerilla war in a planned manner with the objective of mobile war and intensify-expand it.

Our second important task is to implement the above mentioned effort in a proper manner.

### **5. Our third and another important task is to build United Front, meaning strategic and tactical United Fronts**

a. Our earlier experience taught us that our party must give utmost importance to the efforts of building strategic united Front together with the proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeois and national bourgeois (this normally is constituted with small and middle level bourgeoisie) in order to make the New Democratic Revolution of India successful. Such a United Front shall have the main role in seizing of political power and establishing people's democratic dictatorship. The state power of the Revolutionary People's Committee in the rural areas is the embryonic form of this. Anyhow we could not achieve such progress in the establishment of people's state power by coordinating with the progress of the movement. Therefore we have to pay special attention to rectify this weakness as soon as possible and form RPC

that is the embryonic form, establish and develop the organ of people's state power. In addition to this we must also work in a large scale and extensively to build this strategic United Front all over the country **b.** Similarly we will have to form several kinds of tactical United Fronts in various levels with various objectives together with different class forces to mobilise the people of other sections in this strategic united Front. But we have to work to develop these struggles abiding by the main aim and objective. The circular of the CC on 'Present situation – Our tasks' stated the issues to build such tactical United Fronts in the process of building extensive people's struggles. Especially the circular brought forth the facts such as that there are good opportunities to mobilize workers, peasants, students, youth, women, intellectuals, the entire religious minorities, Dalits, backward nationalities, the entire progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces against Brahmanic Hindu fascism. However we have to give a practical shape to this program basing on our organisation, our initiative and our independent program **c.** The efforts of the party in our Mass Organisations are very lesser than the necessary. Party work in the Mass Organisations is to make the party fractions work properly. Since there are various kinds of petty bourgeois thoughts, habits-practice and non-proletarian trends in the Mass Organisations it is necessary to make these fractions work properly. Especially we see that subjectivity, individualism, waste of expenditure, roaming and behaving as per their wish, having marriage relations against the rules of the party, not opposing the extensive attack of imperialist, Brahmanic hindutwa culture in a proper manner and other such things are prevalent. Along with this there is also a trend in having over-confidence in experimentalism in the veil of revolution. Such persons do not show interest in studying the theory of MLM, the documents of the Party, the official organs of the Party and party circulars but are interested in articles, books and magazines with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. Many of our comrades in the areas of guerilla war are martyred, injured and are facing difficult conditions like hunger and thirst in the process of counter-offensive to the fierce, cruel military offensive of the enemy. But we do not see an understanding about these in such persons. The thought of sending a few members into the party and the army is not seen to the extent needed. Therefore it is very much necessary to conduct constant



training classes to develop a little understanding of the theory of MLM among the entire activists along with the members of the fractions of various Mass Organisations. We must make efforts to inculcate proletarian outlook, proletarian culture, proletarian life style and proletarian discipline.

### **Call**

We have discussed in this circular the importance of enhancing our understanding on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and dialectical materialism and also the importance of paying more attention on several other aspects. The objective of this discussion is the same – making severe efforts to implement the related aspects in practice. Only by doing so, it will be possible to coordinate theory with practice.

With the process of bolshevizing the party in the past several years we see positive results in overcoming of the affected situation of the party and the movement to an extent. So we must have the understanding that we must make severe efforts to advance these positive aspects without any kind of complacency.

### **Comrades,**

We have been making Armed Agrarian Revolution and Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla War, meaning People's War according to strategy of Protracted People's War for the past nearly five decades. We could bring the movement to the present state facing enormous martyrdoms, twists and turns, ups and downs, thousands of jail lives including tortures and other such things. With severe resistance from our Party, the oppressed people and sections the state changed their plan of Operation Green Hunt and intensified another strategic offensive 'SAMADHAN' since the past one year. All of us must be prepared in all ways individually to successfully face such a condition and also totally prepare the entire Party, PLGA and United Front to face and defeat successfully this offensive with the deployment of thousands of additional police, Para-military and Commando forces, strengthening carpet security and unleashing a crueler offensive than the earlier. We have to also complete the entire preparatory work to successfully implement all the specified political, organizational and military tasks.

Let us have absolute confidence in the line, policies, method and style of the Party to accomplish all these works. Let us have endless confidence and belief in the ordinary people. Let us enhance our creativity and efficiency to utilize the present favorable international and domestic situation. Let us concentrate and utilize all these in the direction of successfully accomplishing future tasks.

The path is jig-jag. But if we stick to the party line, policies, method and style we can overcome the present situation of Indian revolution and advance the New Democratic Revolution.

We must remember that the people, only the people are the main motive forces in the making of history. India too is not an exemption. It is inevitable that darkness sheds and dawn emits red rays. People will achieve the final victory.

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“No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement”

Mao

**Let us improve the theoretical, political training  
to strengthen the Party  
amidst the enemy fascist offensive!**

Our Party CPI (Maoist) is issuing this circular in view of the necessity to improve Party education to strengthen the Party to efficiently fulfill the tasks of protracted revolution in order to overcome the difficult situation of our movement and advance in the path of success, taking into view the positive and negative experiences of the leadership in the central level to the Party Members in the fields of people's army and people's organisations in education in the leadership of the party from the CC to AC for the last fifteen years since its emergence.

Dear Comrades,

As soon as our new party the CPI (Maoist) was formed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004 we conducted theoretical, political and organizational campaign on this historic event in our party all over the country. Later we conducted a big theoretical, political campaign (through study, classes and discussions) on the fundamental documents and note of debates as a part of Party Conferences and preparations for Congress. On the whole though these campaigns were mainly successful there was no enough education in places where they were not comprehensively conducted and so we could not unite the party strong enough.

The PB formed the Central Political School in 2005 March. The PB decided that since there was the task of conducting conferences in the entire Party and successfully completing the Congress this school shall start work after the Party Congress and that the respective committees of the various states shall continue education program as they have been going on. However we failed to a large extent to impart Party Primary education to a large number of those who obtained Party Primary Membership in several states. Though certain amount of Party education was imparted in some of these states it could not be continued in a regular manner later.

The main concentration of the Party at that time was holding Party Conferences and Congress but in many states proper attention was not paid towards education that was to be continued to consolidate the local level Party units and various levels of Party Committees.

The CC realized the necessity to improve the theoretical, political and organizational standard of the Party in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress. The CC formed the central SCOPE (Sub Committee On Political Education) or the Central Political School in the first CC meeting after the Congress. This Committee held its meeting immediately and placed draft resolutions before the CC about the books to be published for the basic six months course, the study material to be formulated for one year and about classes to be held on the study material for the leadership by the RBs. The CC decided that the next PB meeting shall take a final decision in this matter. In a few months the Secretary of the Central Political School and in-charge Comrade Ajayda (CCM) died out of ill health on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2007. Within a short time from then one more important member of this school was arrested. The committee became defunct. Our CC faced considerable losses in the intensified offensive of the reactionary ruling classes on the revolutionary movement all over the country in 2005-2012. This caused a limitation to successfully conduct the centralized programs of the CC in time and with coordination. So the PB decided that though the Central Political School functions, importance must be given to run party political schools in the Regional Bureau and State levels. In 2010 there was an attempt to revive the Central Political School in vain. Anyhow right from the beginning the CC/PB/CMC formulated important programs regarding education to be imparted all through the Party as per the centralized plan, prepared various study material and sent them to the Regional Bureaus and the State Committees.

The education in the higher level faced this limitation but the CMC and Regional Bureaus working in the leadership of the PB comrades on behalf of the CC imparted education in various levels. The Central and the Eastern Regional Bureaus formed the Regional political schools and imparted education in the respective states. In other regions the concerned RB/CCMs, State Committees imparted education to various levels of Party cadres. Due to the severe countrywide enemy offensive

our political education was also affected. Education continued in varied levels. In Dandakaranya a state level education sub-committee was formed and in its leadership education is imparted to all levels of the party cadres - mobile political school for political education, mobile academic school for academic education; Basic Communist Training School to cultivate primary level communist cadres; and area and village level primary schools to educate the girls and boys of the villages with scientific and democratic perspective. Theoretical, political, organizational, military, cultural, production, development, welfare and education activities are coordinated with the agrarian revolutionary guerilla war that is made by the PLGA and the people in the leadership of the party to form Revolutionary People's governments and to run revolutionary political power. Our experiences in party education in Dandakaranya are relatively higher and extensive. Central Instructors Team and Regional Military Commands in the Central and the Eastern Regions, State Military Commissions in the states and instructor teams in its guidance and lower level Military Commands and instructor teams were formed that imparted political and military training to the PLGA forces. The Military Commissions and the concerned CCMs and the State Committees in states where there are no commands together gave political and military training in their areas. On the whole there are differences in the political and military training in the party. The political and military training given to the PLGA and the people has been an utmost important factor in achieving valuable, higher level experiences developing people's war in the country. The inequality in the theoretical, political, organizational, military and cultural training in the party is a part of the inequality in the development of the movement in the country. In view of the level and scope of our movement, the unequal development of the movement, the problems to be solved and the revolutionary goal, study and training in the party are very fractional. There is no proper attention. There is no continuity.

However the syllabus, study notes and reference study material prepared in various languages for the theoretical, political, organizational, military and cultural training for members of the CC to the primary Party members for the past fifteen years will help to a large extent to improve party education. The documents released during this period by the Unity Congress of the Party, the regional

extended meetings, the State Conferences/Plenums/Extended meetings; the policy documents issued by the CC; the documents of the CC and the SCs regarding internal theoretical struggle; the resolutions and the circulars, letters, messages and reports released by all levels of Party committees including the CC/PB/CMC; the magazines, publications, statements, interviews from the party committees starting from the CC to the DC and the Central and the State military commissions and the abundant literature of propaganda issued by the entire Party, PLGA and People's Organisations are our utmost valuable asset of great experiences. They represent our assessments, tasks, practical effort and successes and failures in the past fourteen years. They contribute a lot to the study, training and to develop understanding for the Party, PLGA and People's organisations. They contribute very much for the theoretical and political education of the entire revolutionary camp. Similarly the revolutionary Mass Organisations, democratic Mass Organisations, forums of United Front and the various democratic organisations too released such literature that helps to educate the revolutionary camp. To put it briefly all this is a big relentless practical theoretical political education.

One of the very important reasons for the victories achieved in various sectors in the revolutionary movement in the past fifteen years is the theoretical study of the Party and our positive efforts regarding theoretical training. But at the same time the efforts of the CC and many SCs in theoretical study, theoretical, political, organizational, military training, social investigation, forming appropriate teachers' teams and consolidating them, preparing syllabus and study material and sending them and other such things is partial. The efforts of the CC to drive such states regarding education are partial. We can clearly see the shortcoming in several states in explaining the necessity of study in the party and turning it into a communist activity of utmost importance in Party life and in making the Party political schools part of party organisation. The defect regarding party education is serious. One of the very important reasons – for the inability – to timely solve certain important problems that came forth in practice during this period; to much more consolidate and spread speedily the Party, PLGA and people's organisations; to advance the development achieved in the revolutionary movement to a much more higher stage; for the

prevalence of alien class tendencies in the party and severe losses in various forms (surrendering to the enemy, betrayals, passivity, group conflicts, economic misappropriation and other such) and thus for the difficult situation in the movement is – the lack of enough theoretical, political, organizational and military education from the central and the state committees according to the level, extent and tasks of the movement. The CC takes the main responsibility for this defect and decided to make severe efforts to rectify this mistake and to overcome this weakness.

Majority of the party comrades working in various spheres and various levels over the country are engaged in constant practice for the cause of revolution. Most of them lack proper study and training. Due to this deficiency they are working in a casual, mechanical, spontaneous, subjective manner (with dogmatic and pragmatic outlook) and are unable to achieve the expected results. Our theory, world outlook, politics, objective, line, organisations, methods of leadership, work style, class struggle, People’s War – all represent the international proletariat, take all the toiling people in the path of liberation and build a new society. They are totally different and against the reactionary ruling classes in all aspects and destroy their power. We can make the New Democratic Revolution successful and advance to achieve Socialism and Communism only through – theoretical study – training with a proper perspective and strong will; the practice taken up in a creative manner in the light of theory; learning from experiences and improving practice; developing the theory much more through repeatedly taking up this process; and through the process of better protracted practice in the light of the rich theory.

Our general political line starting since Naxalbari is correct and the fundamental concepts regarding New Democratic Revolution are correct. But the history of the Indian Revolutionary movement for the past five decades proved that the dynamics of our revolutionary movement and our successes and failures depended upon – to what extent we have theoretically, politically, organizationally and military prepared the Party, PLGA and the people basing on this line and on these fundamental concepts; to what extent we have politically mobilized and consolidated the people and prepared them for the

Protracted People's War; to what extent we adopted appropriate tactics according to the changes in the social conditions and conditions of the movement; and to what extent we provided efficient leadership according to this. We can clearly say so in view of our concrete historic experience.

Comrades Lenin, Stalin and Mao said thus about the importance of a strong Party –

“There is no better weapon for the proletariat in its struggle for power” – Lenin; “Once the correct political line is formulated, tested in practice the party cadres in the leadership of the party shall become a decisive force.....in order to apply the political line in practice we need cadres, those who understand the political line of the party, those who received this line as their, those who are prepared to put it in practice, those who can really change it, those who put it in practice and act accountable and those who preserve and fight for it. If we fail in this the correct political line might fall in the danger of becoming nominal” – Stalin; “If revolution is needed revolutionary party is essential. Without a revolutionary party, if there is no party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, built in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style it is not possible to lead the proletariat and the broad masses to defeat imperialism and its running dogs” – Mao.

But when we see in view of the shortcomings in the class composition of our Party at present and in the theoretical understanding related to MLM we understand that theoretical remolding is in a low level and petty bourgeois ideas are still strong. The supremacy of proletarian ideology is yet to be established in a strong manner. Due to this concrete situation there is a possibility for more mistakes and for the rising of wrong trends in the process of understanding and implementing the Party line and policies.

New Democratic Revolution shall become successful only through building the three strong magic weapons the Party, Army and United Front. The formation, development and the role of the three magic weapons in NDR are mutually dependent. It is the Party that can play the leadership role by efficiently utilizing the rest of the two magic weapons. Mao said “.....United Front and Armed struggle are two fundamental weapons to defeat the enemy. United Front means the



United Front to achieve armed struggle, party means the courageous fighter that utilizes United Front and armed struggle in order to jump on the enemy camps and smash it. Thus both of them are mutually related". The Party will have to efficiently utilize the rest of the two weapons and make planned efforts to educate itself in theoretical, political, organizational, military and cultural spheres through the entire process of revolution in order to lead the revolution. At the same time special theoretical, political, organizational, military, cultural efforts must be made to mold the People's Army and United Front in an effective manner in the leadership of the Party. It is because ideological and political education is the vital link in uniting the entire party for great political struggles. Mao said thus about the importance of theoretical education – "Theoretical education is the key to unify the entire Party. Without this, the Party cannot achieve a single political task".

We can strengthen the three magic weapons – The Party, People's Army (now PLGA) and United Front (now the Mass Organisations, organisations of the United Front and the local new democratic governments) that are very important for the success of New Democratic Revolution only by implementing appropriate organizational line and military line according to the political line of the Party in the light of MLM. Thus we can gradually overcome the present difficult situation, ignite the flames of People's War all over the country and facilitate the path to develop as an invincible force. Therefore we have the immediate task for which all the party committees in the various areas of the country concentrate even in the present difficult situation of our movement to improve education and to improve practice in the light of the theory.

We accept MLM as our guiding theory and study it to understand the world and our country as a part of it and transform them in a revolutionary manner and to enhance the efficiency of the Party and the average efficiency of the cadres of all levels in the Party. Therefore theoretical education is one of the utmost important tasks in all the activities of the Party. When we say theoretical education of the Party it means learning. Basing on the knowledge gained in this process we have to further enrich the policies of the Party and develop the party

ranks theoretically. Similar kind of education on the basis of study, training and concrete application of theory is necessary to unite the entire Party. It is definitely necessary for the Party leadership to theoretically educate itself, to study the science of MLM to educate the party theoretically, to train the ranks, to creatively apply its principles to the concrete conditions, to directly participate in class struggle, to unite with the Party ranks and the people in a close manner, to learn from them and to rectify the mistakes. We need to immediately overcome the negligence, lack of attention, formal method, complacency, helplessness and spontaneity that is prevalent in various levels regarding theoretical study and training. Unity of interest, unity of practice in the Party and unity between the Party and the people are very much necessary for successfully fulfilling the political tasks that are taken up to achieve the goal of revolution. These three kinds of unity can be achieved only when the Party follows proper theoretical, political line. We can thus rectify the mistakes and wrongs in the process of practice and overcome weaknesses.

Thus we need to take up regular Party education according to the necessities of the movement in various areas of unequal development and to the necessities of various spheres of the movement. Anyhow it is hard to successfully immediately fulfill this task in the present difficult condition. But in view of its importance the entire Party committees, mainly the central and the state committees must adopt creative methods and make serious efforts in this regard. Keeping in view the structural character of our Party and the cadre policy of the Party the PB is releasing a generalized, uniform syllabus for education to impart planned, regular theoretical, political, organizational study and training in the entire Party, PLGA and People's Organisations (wherever it is mentioned State Committee or District Committee it also includes the committees equivalent to it).

### **For Party Primary Units and Gram Party Committees (GPC)**

The members of the Party Primary Units must be given a clear understanding about materialist dialectical theory, on the dialectical method and historical materialism at least in a primary level for a Marxist world outlook. They must be given a primary understanding about social stages, capitalism, colonialism, imperialism,

neocolonialism and LPG policies. They must be taught about the history of the independence movement of India as a colony of the British imperialists, especially about the role of the proletariat/Communist Party in the movement. They must be taught about the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social condition since the transfer of power (nominal independence) in 1947 August in India and about the changes in the social condition. They must be given a primary understanding on the social major, fundamental contradictions, the main contradictions and other contradictions, the forms of exploitation of surplus value, about forms of social oppression, about the parliamentary political system-the ruling class and other parties and their class and social basis and about the Brahmanic ideology. They must be provided with the primary understanding about CPI (Maoist) - Indian Revolution – the character of the Indian society, the revolutionary phase, immediate and protracted objectives, political line, military line, targets, motive forces, three magic weapons, semi-feudal armed agrarian revolutionary program, anti-imperialist national democratic revolutionary program, program against social oppression, program in the urban areas, the formation of people's army, guerilla war, the formation of organs of political power, guerilla bases – liberated areas, ebbs and flows coming in the process of revolution, advancing to achieve Socialism-Communism after changing the present system by liberating the villages, encircling the towns and ultimately establishing countrywide power and establishing New Democratic society, the World Socialist Revolution and Proletarian Internationalism.

They must have a primary understanding about the proletariat as the leadership class for social revolution, the necessity of the Communist Party as its vanguard, MLM as the guiding theory, the class basis of the Party, the organizational character of the Party, Democratic centralism, discipline, revolutionary work style (applying the theory to the concrete condition, taking up criticism-self-criticism, learning from mistakes), class line-mass line, the essentiality of strongly uniting with the broad masses, of an organisation, of opposing anarchism and liberalism inside the organisation, to go deep into practical work with strong determination, to serve the people, ordinary life style and hard work, the communist style of life and struggle working for the cause in a selfless, sacrificing, courageous manner and strong will and other

such things. They must be given a primary understanding about the vital aspects in the history of the Communist Party of India in the leadership of the CPI and the CPM from 1925 to 1965, the importance of the theoretical and political struggle put up against this revisionist leadership by vanguard forces like Comrades CM, KC and others, the importance of Naxalbari Armed Peasant Revolutionary struggle, the importance of the formation of CPI (ML) and MCC parties, the main ebbs and flows in the Indian Revolutionary movement, the importance of the formation of the unity of revolutionaries – CPI (Maoist), the history of the revolutionary movement in the leadership of the new party, especially the concrete condition of the movement in the respective states/areas. They must be given primary understanding about the situation of the present immediate movement – the strategic scheme and tasks of our Party and be prepared so as to formulate a concrete program in view of the concrete situation of the respective areas and work actively.

The activist groups of the party too must be educated with the selected necessary aspects of these things. The party branches also must be educated with the same syllabus. The GPCs must be imparted training on methods of primary leadership so as to lead the party cells, branches, activist groups, Mass Organisations, Militia and Revolutionary People's Committees.

Our Party Primary Units are built secretly with the advanced forces among the people that come forth from the local class struggle as a part of the building of revolutionary movement. These units exist as a part of the local people's organisations and lead the people through them on the daily problems. These units persistently enlighten the political consciousness of the people, isolate the main enemies, develop unity among the people and guide them. They work selflessly and courageously for the cause of communism and play an utmost role in the basic level. This local theoretical, political, organizational, struggle and cultural efforts alone help to form the appropriate strong basis to expose revisionism and reformist tendencies depending on our correct political line, for the formation of mass base, for building the three magic weapons, for building Revolutionary People's Committees, for the preparation of Professional Revolutionaries, to remold their world

outlook and for their declassification. So, primary education must be imparted to these units by the higher committees to provide the correct theoretical, political understanding and to help for the development of its organizational strength and capabilities. These units must concentrate on explaining the politics of seizure of political power by the peasantry that is, the path of PPW right from the beginning. They must be enlightened about secret activities and developing guerilla struggles and guerilla formations. Propaganda programs must be conducted time to time and theoretical and political education must be given so as to develop a higher consciousness in them to organize in the RPC and struggle. The people must be taught about the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and the changes occurring in it. They must be given an understanding about the forms of struggle and organisation to be taken up according to the changing conditions. This training for these units and people must be in a simple style, practical and in the mother tongue. They must be given the necessary reference study material and other necessary literature and made to study.

### **Reference Study Material**

Basic documents of the party – MLM, Party Program, Party Constitution, few chapters from the Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution – the character of the present Indian society, analysis of the classes in the Indian society, the fundamental tasks of people’s democracy, central task of revolution-seizing political power through protracted people’s war; Policy documents of the party – caste question, woman’s question, nationality question, Policy and Program of Revolutionary People’s Committees, PLGA program, the three forces of PLGA and its tasks from the PLGA Handbook, especially the primary study notes on the base force; Comrade CM – Eight historic documents and two articles on Naxalbari struggle; CPC – Spring Thunder; Comrade KC – Articles on Naxalbari (from Dakshindesh magazine), Review on Sonarpur-Kanksha struggles; fundamental principles of MLM – Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy, Scientific Socialism, primary study notes on Strategy-Tactics; on the history of our Party (history of the respective district and the state), the history of our country, history of modern world, primary level study notes on parliamentary system; the primary level study notes that the various State Committees and Education

departments prepared regarding social movements and sciences in the local languages (for example the Rajneethik Siksha Maala – Part 1, 2 of BJSAC in Hindi; MAS study notes of DKEDC, BCTS text books), the manifestoes of various Mass Organisations (worker, peasant, student, youth, children, woman, elimination of caste, cultural, literary, civil rights and others); the New Democratic Revolutionary alternate program of our Party; the life histories of the great Marxist teachers, international woman leaders, Comrades CM and KC, Jhansi Lakshmi, Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad, Savithribai Phule, Jyotirao Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar, Kayyur heroes, Gaiind Singh, Goondadur, Birsa Munda, Alluri, Komaram Bheem, Lakshman Nayak and others; Marxvaad parichay maala 1-5 (Sivavarma); articles on International woman's Day and May Day; Marx-Engels – Communist Manifesto; Marx – Wage, labor and capital, Value, price and profit; Engels – Fundamental principles of Communism, Role of labor in the transition from Ape to Man, Engel's speech near the grave of Marx; Lenin – tasks of Youth Leagues, the three fundamental bases of Marxism – the three components, on Frederick Engels, the historic task of Marxism, the historic future of the teachings of Karl Marx, Organise, Marxism-Revisionism, on Religion, on State, on Women, articles on Party Organisation; Stalin – contradictions in young communist league, dialectical historic materialism, articles on party organisation; Mao – Class analysis, Peasant struggle in Hunan, three essays (in the memory of Norman Bethune, serve the people, the foolish old man who removed the mountains), New Democracy, on correct handling of contradictions among the people, where do correct ideas come from, Communist-Expert, articles on Party organisation, youth movement; Chou En Lai – Message to youth – Learn from Mao, articles on party organisation; Emily Burns – What is Marxism.

### **For Area Committees**

They must be provided a clear understanding about the fundamental principles especially the theory of materialism, dialectical method, historical materialism, principles of contradiction, the dialectical relation between theory and practice and the method of creative application of theory to the concrete condition in order to understand the MLM theory and to develop Marxist world outlook.

They must be given the understanding about the caste based feudalism, the present semi-colonial semi-feudal social condition, the changes in this society, the social classes-class contradictions (major contradictions, the fundamental contradictions in them, the main contradiction and other contradictions), revolutionary phase, the theoretical and political line of the party, New Democratic Revolution, Protracted People's War, three magic weapons, bourgeois democratic revolutions – capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism and LPG policies – its impact on the Indian society. The Area Committees must be provided better understanding about the Indian Parliamentary political system, Indian Constitution, ruling class parties, revisionist parties, government reforms, counter revolutionary LIC policy – our counter tactics, sectional movements – organisations, New Democratic Revolutionary alternate program and other such theoretical, political issues. The AC members must be made efficient to analyse the class contradictions, apply them to practice and have the initiative to take up political, organizational and struggle effort among the people and review their own experience and learn lessons with the understanding of the social, economic, political, military and cultural conditions of their area in the light of MLM and in the light of the theoretical and political line of the Party.

Right from the beginning we must concentrate among the peasantry to explain the politics of seizure of political power that is the path of PPW. They must be enlightened about secret activities, guerilla struggles and to develop guerilla formations. We must take up propaganda activities time to time so that they can gain higher consciousness to organize in an armed way in the Mass Organisations and RPCs in order to develop and preserve class struggle and also be imparted with theoretical and political education. The people must be taught about semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and the changes in them. They must have the understanding about the forms of struggle and organisation according to the changing conditions. They must be trained so as to identify themselves closely with the people, formulate proper slogans and be able to take up propaganda and agitation and political mobilization, to mobilise the peasantry and the broad masses in the anti-feudal, anti-Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-state struggles, to mobilise the oppressed social sections and democratic forces in various struggles against social

oppression and against suppression. We must impart training to them so as they understand the necessity to adopt tactics to develop unity among the broad masses by exposing bourgeois reformism and revisionism, chiefly basing on the basic classes against the main enemies and sustaining the friendly forces on our side. We must build local organisations (class, sectional Mass Organisations, People's Militia, Primary Party Units, GPCs and RPCs) and train to deal them. They must be trained in organizational issues like preparing the agenda of the meetings of the local organisations, the meetings of the Area Committees, correcting the points in the agenda in the meetings, concluding the discussions, writing resolutions, writing reports on the implementation of the resolutions and on the movement to the higher committee, writing reviews, writing letters, statements, writing pamphlets, preparing slogans and methods of propaganda, writing accounts, maintaining records, implementing secret method of functioning. They must be given field training on the formation of local organisations, on making them function efficiently, on making class struggle. The field training must be such that the leadership comrades must conduct the meetings of the local organisations together with the AC cadres and provide direct guidance and experience. We must see that the efficiency of the AC cadres increases through this field training. They must also be trained in organizing the advanced elements that stand in the forefront in the Party Primary Units, to recruit them as Professional Revolutionaries in the Party and the Army, in efforts in the cultural sphere, in agricultural production and in conducting welfare activities.

The local and area level organisations must be imparted theoretical, political, organizational and military training so that they remold their world outlook, improve their method of study, method of leadership, work style, firmly abide to discipline, properly implement democratic centralism, realizing and rectifying the mistakes that come forth or continue in their understanding and practice, putting forth self-criticism and criticism without hesitation to learn from study and practice, to pointedly criticize non-proletarian trends that arise in the party, implementing class line and mass line in the real spirit and to solve the contradictions among the people in a proper manner with the objective to maintain unity among them. They must be trained on



aspects like reviewing the practice and taking lessons, understanding the social conditions, movement and the enemy offensive and making an assessment. The Area cadres must be trained in running the RPCs from the village level to the area level making agrarian revolution and guerilla war, in coordinating the various organisations, sectors, movements, especially the open and secret activities and in leading the movement in the area according to the district and the state perspective.

The Area Committees play an utmost vital and direct leadership role like pillars in building the revolutionary movement working among the oppressed classes and oppressed social sections in the theoretical, political, organizational, military, cultural, production, welfare and other spheres in the light of MLM. We can build strong foundations in all the sectors of people's war in the area level only by basing on the training given to the Area Committees in formulating tactics with a strategic view according to the conditions of the area and in creatively applying the decisions of the higher committees to the conditions of their area. We can thus pay a strong basis to the development of district level movement and the development of district level cadres. In view of all these the AC comrades must not simply drown in routine work always but pay attention to study. They must be trained in time according to the necessities of the movement from the higher committee.

### **Reference Study Material**

The Area cadres who could not study, be trained or did not pay proper attention to study when in the lower level must study selected material from the reference study material of the Party Primary Units. Fundamental principles of MLM – Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy, basic study notes on brief history of MLM; Party basic documents; among the policy documents of the party, the party's stand on caste question, woman's perspective, the stand of the party on nationality question, policy program of RPC, jail commune, relevant parts from PLGA handbook (PLGA program, base force and secondary forces in PLGA, party's stand towards military actions, principles of practice of the PLGA, Party Committees in PLGA, Commissions-Commands); Marx – Class struggle in France, Civil War in France, on Trade Unions; Engels – Socialism, utopian or scientific, foreword to 'Peasant war in Germany';

Lenin – on Karl Marx, What is to be done, Imperialism – the Highest stage of Capitalism, imperialism-the dawn of social revolution, imperialism-split in socialism, state and revolution, on religion, the tasks of the Third International, principles of organisation of the Communist party of the Third International, thesis on the question of national colonialism, thesis on agrarian problem; Stalin – dialectical historical materialism, Anarchism or Socialism, Foundations of Leninism, Language question, on October Revolution, on Party organisation; Mao – Where do correct ideas come from, Dialectical historical materialism, Practice, Contradictions, China Revolution – China Communist Party, New Democracy, Guerilla War, Basic tactics, Let us reform our methods of study, Oppose book worship, Subjectivism, On relations between practice and knowledge and between knowing and doing; Articles of Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Dimitrov, Chou En Lai, Chute on Party organisation; CPC – A Basic understanding of CPC, Political work, Fundamental rules of Chinese Soviet, Women’s liberation in China; PCP - ...guide; CPP – RPC; CPN (M) – URPC program; CPI (Maoist) – basic study notes on Indian Economy, on the history of the Party and NDR, the Political and Organisational Reviews of the concerned Area/District/State, POR of the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress, brief histories of PW and MCCI parties (People’s War/Lal Pathaka, 2005).

AC Hand book; on the building of three magic weapons until the area level, on conducting meetings, on the coordination between the various organisations and sectors, on democratic centralism, on criticism and self-criticism, on Party discipline, class analysis, field trainings, education-rectification campaigns, bolshevization campaigns, selected ones from the circulars/letters/resolutions of the DC, SC, RB and CC especially from the DC and AC circulars/letters/resolutions and selected articles from the central and the state magazines; the manifestoes of Mass Organisations; on worker’s movement, on peasant movement, on woman, student and youth movements, on Mass Organisations, on United Front, on People’s Militia, on RPCs, on the woman’s question, caste question, on LIC policy paper, on cadre policy, on party organisation, articles and study material on guerilla war; Language and grammar.

## **For District Committees**

The district level cadres must be trained so as to have a comprehensive understanding on the fundamental principles of MLM (Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy, Scientific Socialism, proletarian strategy-tactics), the history of International Communist movement especially the Paris commune, the histories of the revolutions in Russia and China, the history of Three Internationals, Great Debate and GPCR so as to understand MLM, to remold their world outlook into Marxist world outlook, to know the method of applying practice to theory and to build and lead the revolutionary movement. They must be imparted training so as to help to build the movement with a comprehensive understanding regarding the ordinary political line of the party and the path of PPW. They must be taught the history of the country especially the social, economic, political, military and cultural developments since 1857 and also the history of the state. The history of the world, especially the bourgeois democratic revolutions, the question of migration of nationalities, imperialism, revisionism, crisis, fascism, war, proletarian revolution – formation of socialist state, war and peace, nationality liberation movements, neocolonialism, capitalist restoration in the Socialist state, Social-imperialism, LPG policies and its impact on the world and our country. Counter revolutionary LIC policy and our policy counter to LIC must be comprehensively explained.

The basic documents and policy documents of the party, Indian economy, on the history of CPI [on the right and left lines the CPI followed from 1925 to 1967, the neo-revisionist line of the CPM, on the history of ML/Maoist party (the various right and left lines that came forth the ML movement), on the process of unity of ML revolutionary groups and formation of CPI (Maoist) especially the history of Maoist movement of the concerned states] must be thoroughly explained. The training must be such that the cadres can study the social conditions, the changes in them in the concerned district and state and the ebbs and flows in the district revolutionary movement in the light of MLM, the basic and policy documents of the party, properly analyse their own experiences and the experiences of the movement in their purview and take lessons. They must be trained to adopt tactics according to the concrete conditions and implement them from the

forefront, to creatively apply and implement the decisions of the regional, state and the central committees to the conditions of their district and to build and strengthen the Party, Army and United Front in their district. The training must be such that they do not always be drowned in the routine local work but pay attention to theoretical and political study.

The district cadres must be taught with examples about remolding and revolutionizing their world outlook, the method of study, method of leadership, improve work style, strictly abide to discipline, properly implement democratic centralism and strengthen the collective work style, collective leadership-individual responsibilities, to take up self-criticism and criticism without hesitation to realize and rectify the mistakes that arise and continue in the understanding and practice and learn and teach from study-practice, putting forth criticism in a straight manner, implementing class line and mass line in its true spirit and in correct handling of contradictions among the people with the aim to maintain unity among them. They must be explained about the self-collective effort to be made to impart effective theoretical, political, organizational and military training to all the organisations in various levels. The higher committee must give organizational training and field training to the DC cadres. This training must not only keep in view the changes in the movement but also to develop the organizational talent of the cadres to be elected into the DCs. Training must be imparted explaining practical experiences to review the practice and take lessons, to understand the social conditions, movement and enemy offensive and assess it and other such things. The district cadres must be trained in building and dealing the RPCs from the village level to the district level making agrarian revolution and guerilla war to make the PPW successful, in building the guerilla bases, in coordinating the various organisations, spheres and movements in the district especially the open and secret activities and in leading the district movement according to the regional/state perspective.

In view of the concrete social conditions of our country in the present time every district (area of the movement) constitutes rural, sub-urban and town areas with little differences and is relatively more broad and with more population. There is unequal development in the

social conditions of not only the country and the state but also in those of the district. In view of this in addition to developing the understanding about our fundamental political and military tactics of revolution we have to provide understanding about the tactics to be adopted in the respective district. Moreover in view of the tasks of the district movement every district has a strategic role in various forms. Therefore there is enormous importance to develop the theoretical, political understanding of the district cadres, to deepen their Marxist world outlook, to bring them a hold on applying theory to practice, to make them adopt proper tactics according to the conditions and to develop their leadership talents in order to develop them as efficient leadership cadres.

The district cadres must make wide and deep study to improve their method of study. The district cadres must make practical efforts to form RPCs by building the three magic weapons and intensify and widen the guerilla war according to the perspective of accomplishing NDR through PPW and also to provide efficient leadership in all sectors of the district, rural, town and plain areas. We can thus form a basis to prepare the necessary cadres for Party, Army and UF from the district to the state level and to develop cadres for the RC and SC from efficient and relatively more experienced district cadres and build a strong movement in the state.

Zonal Committee members and the AC secretaries/members that are part of the Sub-Zonal Committees must be given education so that they can provide efficient leadership to the Sub-Zonal movement. Selected literature from the syllabus of the Zonal Committee must be utilized to educate the Sub-Zonal cadres. Basing on this the Sub-Zonal cadres must be made to study and be trained. The concerned Regional and State Committees must take up this responsibility.

### **Reference Study Material**

Those district cadres who could not study, get training or did not pay attention as area cadres must study selected literature from the reference study material of the Area Committees. Marx – Poverty of philosophy, thesis of Feuerbach, the Eighteenth Brumaire Louis Bonaparte, on Paris Commune, the inaugural address in the International Workingmen’s Association, the general principles of

International Workingmen's Association, on Trade Unions; Civil war in France, criticism on Gotha program; Engels – Origin of family, private property and state, conditions of working class in England, the end of Ludwig Feuerbach-German classical philosophy, peasant war in Germany, on Paris Commune, on power, military articles; Marx-Engels – on Paris Commune; Lenin – Marx-Marxist theory, What is to be done, Two tactics of Social democracy, on Paris Commune, One step forward-two steps backward, development of capitalism in Russia, capitalism in agriculture, thesis on agrarian question, the importance of militant materialism, reformism in the working class movement in Europe, April thesis, the program of proletarian revolutionary war, the collapse of Second International, proletarian revolution-renegade Kautsky, Imperialism-the highest stage of capitalism, state, imperialism-split in socialism, the program of Third International, organizational principles of Third International, Third International-its place in history, elections, the question of migration of nationalities, Soviets-dual power, Paris Commune, 1905 Revolution, tactics, War-Peace, woman's question, intellectuals' question, compromise-agreements, articles on Trade Unions-Mass Organisations, on war-peace, on Soviets, on October Revolution; Stalin – Socialism or Anarchism, Foundations of Leninism, the history of Bolshevik party, Marxism-linguistics, Opposition; Mao – struggle in Chingkang mountains, a single spark will become a prairie fire, how does red political power exist in China, Essays on philosophy, Contradictions, Practice, Military writings, Articles on education-rectification, New Democracy, methods of leadership, articles on work style, coalition government, on liberated areas, on agrarian revolutionary reforms, articles on economic policy, on imperialism, war-peace, on art and literature, on woman's question, articles on cultural revolution; CPC – the report of the first Congress of the Soviets; articles on soviets; assessment on Stalin in the articles of Great debate, neocolonialism, fake communism of Khrushchev, June 14 letter and articles, the history of modern China – Ho Kanchi, first part of Shanghai textbook (on Political economy), selected documents and articles on GPCR, military writings of Chute; Women's liberation in China (Claudi Broyle), Women in the liberation struggle in China (Editor – Women of China, New World Press), Women in revolutionary China – Party (Dalia Devin), woman's question before and after revolution in China – APCMS

paper, Sandino's daughters – the stories of women in Nicaragua struggle (Margarett Randel), Women in Indian working class movement (APCMS seminar papers), there is no history without women – Indian women in movements (V Gargi); Our Party – the documents of erstwhile PW party and MCCI party on Deng revisionist clique and Maoism; documents of the Unity Congress (basic documents and the central and the state documents of POR); party policy documents (urban work, cadre policy, LIC policy-our counter tactics, PLGA handbook, formation of international organisation, China Social-imperialism); documents of rectification campaign; CPI (ML) Eighth Congress (1970) documents; CPI (ML) (People's War); Self-Critical Report (1980) document, the POR of Andhra Pradesh State 12<sup>th</sup> Conference, POR of the All India Special Conference (1995); PU - 1, 2, 3 (1997) PORs of central conferences; CPI (ML) [People's War] – POR of the Ninth Congress (2001); MCCI – PORs of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> conferences (1986, 1996), CPI (ML) Naxalbari – basic documents; Basic positions, Review note (2008 March), Military line (2010 January), on party organisation and guidelines on preparations (2010 January), guidelines for work among people and Mass Organisations, struggle against Brahmanism (2010 January), documents on guidelines for UF activities (2010 February; study class basic notes – MLM - Marxist Philosophy, Political economy, Indian economy, Party history (1925-67); articles published in People's War magazine – world War, Three world theory, fascism, neocolonialism, globalization; selected articles from Lal Pathaka, People's War and Lal Chingari; CPP – Barrio Organising Committee guide, PCP – RPC; CPN (M) – URPC program; Language and grammar.

### **For Town and City Committees**

Except for the Kolkata city movement during the Naxalbari days, the town and city committees of the Party have worked as area and district level committees during the two erstwhile Maoist streams [CPI (ML), MCCI] or since the formation of the new Party – CPI (Maoist). Few city committees worked in a theoretical, political and organizational level and played a political role more than the district level committee. But due to enemy repression and subjective mistakes they were affected or weakened before they sustained for a long time. In many areas we could not reorganize the town and city committees. But

though the urban movement was affected to a large extent within four to five years after the formation of the new party we gained new experiences in some states.

We wrote clearly about the strategic role, the tactics, functioning and tasks of the urban movement the document on strategy and tactics of Indian Revolution and urban work. As a part of it we adopted fundamentally correct guidance on Party organisation, study and training. Basing on it we adopted tasks and plan to develop the urban movement but due to the intense counter revolutionary offensive all over the country during the same period and due to subjective mistakes our urban movement was affected to a large extent. An important subjective mistake was – in view of the changes in the urban areas as a part of the changes in the conditions of the country, the central and the state leadership did not think in a deep manner and take fast necessary decisions to protect the subjective forces from the enemy offensive and work and about the changes to be made in the forms of struggle and organisations and functioning. An inseparable important aspect of this is the lack of proper attention towards study and training. Therefore it is necessary for the party units in the towns/cities and all the party committees to realize deeply the importance of study and training and make special efforts for the same with the objective to reorganize the movements in the urban and plain areas.

During the period of LPG policies in the interests of the imperialists and Indian comprador ruling classes there were relatively fast changes in the relations between the towns and villages, in the dependency of the villages on the towns and in the impact of the villages on the towns. According to such considerable changes the urban movement, the movements in the outskirts of the towns and the legal/open democratic movements based on towns became increasingly important in the PPW. As a result of the changes in the objective conditions the situation of entwinement of the rural and urban movements – anti-feudal, anti-social oppression, imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capital and state became entwined to a large extent. Keeping this in mind we can build a strong and secret party with a wide and deep mass base and a mass character and a strong people's army with the active support of the people by basing on the main field of work, the rural



area and the main force of peasantry as per the political line of our party and work among the broad non-peasant masses in the rural areas, the working class and people of all sectors in the urban areas and accomplish NDR.

The study and training to the town cadres and city cadres must be taken up as per the syllabus of the area and district cadres (except for those only useful for the rural areas). Along with this syllabus, study notes and reference study material must be prepared specially for the organisation of the town and the city movements. Special syllabus must be prepared and given for study and these comrades be trained about the aspects of urban work in the document on strategy and tactics of Indian revolution, on the document on urban work, on labor laws, the important changes in social, economic, political, military, transport, communication, administration, education, health, cultural and other such sectors in the urban areas due to the LPG policies, on the similarities and differences in these changes, on the concrete situation of the concerned area, on the history of the working class movement in the town/city/state/country, our orientation regarding urban work, the forms of struggle and organisation, the legal and democratic movements being built based on towns, secret party organisation and on coordination between secret and open activities. The concerned leadership and cadres must study the situation in the towns and cities in their purview to creatively apply the theory to the concrete condition and for concrete education. Also education must be imparted to the primary party units, factory/town/college party committees in the towns and cities. The concerned higher committees must make them study and train them combining other aspects so as to enhance their political, organizational, struggle and technical understanding and the efficiency and talents of leadership.

Party education must definitely be imparted to party comrades working in small towns, district centres and outskirts of towns in the direct leadership of the area and district committees in places where mainly rural movement is going on. They must also be given the training that is being given to the town cadres and city cadres. There must be little changes in the syllabus and reference study material. The responsibility lies with the district, regional and state committees.

Regarding the urban movement being built basing on the rural areas the concerned party leadership committees must make a study of the concrete situation in order to build revolutionary movement in the towns and outskirts. New forces must be organized and trained in a planned manner. Proper forces must be selected, trained and allotted. Special attention must be paid to the study and training of the cadres of these areas.

### **Reference study material**

The following literature must be given as reference study material for the town and the city committees – aspects regarding the urban movement in the document on strategy and tactics of Indian revolution and in the POR of the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress; document on urban work of the new party; document of the AP State Committee of CPI(ML) (1973) on urban work; circulars/letters of the central and the state committees on secret functioning; experiences of the urban movements in Kolkata, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Delhi, Singareni, Dhanbad, Warangal, Visakhapatnam and other towns; the experiences of the movements of the workers, urban poor, students, youth, intellectuals, employees, professionals, women, Dalits, fisher-folk, minorities, small and medium type traders, farmers and Adivasis since the initiation of LPG policies in the country; history of Indian working class movement written by Sukumal Sen; present Trade Unions – Worker’s movements, outsourcing, migration of workers, employees’ organisations-movements, especially the history of the working class in the concerned city and state; the history of international worker, student, women, environment movements; labor laws and International Labor Organisation (ILO); Marx on Trade Union movements, the parts related to working class movement and urban movement in the history of Bolshevik party and the history of modern China, the experiences of Shanghai city, articles on working class movements and urban movements in the writings of Li Shao chi, Chen Yun and Chou En Lai, relevant articles in Marxism-Guerilla War, Novels like Prasantha Prathyushalu, Udayageethika, Erra Mandaralu, Naa kutumbam, Ditavu gundelu, the secret methods of ANC of South Africa; the experiences of the urban movements in Peru, Philippines and Nepal; Language and grammar.

## **For State Committees**

The State Committees will have to adopt proper tactics in the light of MLM and basing on the political line of the party and with the comprehensive perspective related to PPW, keeping in mind the concrete condition of the ebbs and flows of the All India movements and the movement in the concerned state, in the conditions of the country and internationally, and the concrete conditions in the movement in various areas of their state, take up practice in revolutionary work style and have to develop the revolutionary movement. The state level cadres have to follow class line – mass line and adopt proper slogans and proper tactics constantly and gain hold in mobilising and organizing the broad worker peasant and other masses into the field of political struggle, developing subjective strength and weakening the strength of the enemy. They will have to gain hold in the work of building and strengthening the Party, People's Army and United Front in the process of PPW, in conducting guerilla war and in the building of organs of New Democratic political power/liberated areas. They will have to solve the concrete problems of the revolutionary movement in the light of the theory, analyse their experiences and the experiences of the movement in their area and develop their understanding and tactics basing on them. They will have to pay proper attention on strategy and tactics not only in improving the methods of leadership and methods of study and in taking decisions on their own but also in guiding the party committees of their purview. The State Committees must have to train the party committees of their purview in theoretical, political, organizational, military and cultural sectors and also impart political training to the people. They have to demonstrate proletarian consciousness so as to not fear self-criticism and criticism, the internal struggles of the party and not be hesitant to fight to preserve the party line. They must not fear the enemy offensives and stand in the forefront of the party ranks and provide guidance with utmost courage and dare and sacrificing nature. They must make efforts to stay away from liberalism and bureaucracy and must also develop the initiative and active role of the party ranks and the people. They have to play an active role in the political life of the party by speaking their opinions on the guidance of the Regional Bureau/CC and about the movements of other areas and spheres. Thus

the state level cadres must apply their valuable experiences to the Indian Revolutionary movement and play an utmost important strategic tactical role in the New Democratic Revolution.

The state level cadres require deep understanding – on the history of MLM that developed in three phases and the theoretical and political struggles in it; on the development of international revolutionary movement and on the development of theory; on the theoretical and political struggles in the history of our party in 1925-1967 and 1967-2018, the development of revolutionary movement and the development of the party line and strategy and tactics; on the history of our country, on the history of modern world and the present domestic and international situation; the main characteristics of the revolutionary war of our country – the strategy and tactics of protracted people’s war, formation of people’s army, basic tactics of people’s war, making guerilla war and establishment of liberated areas; on the experiences of our/ present communist and nationality liberation movement counter to the counter revolutionary LIC policy; on the bourgeois revisionist theoretical trends prevalent in the country and internationally; on the proletarian strategy and tactics to be followed in the new democratic and socialist revolutionary stages; on continuing revolution until we achieve communism in the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist society and on continuing cultural revolutions as a part of it.

Therefore all the state cadres must take up wide, deep, comprehensive and comparable study with great attention and interest. They must make a conscious effort to play an active and efficient leadership role in revolutionary practice. The Central Committee must train them so that they become such cadres and also lend active and efficient leadership to them. Only thus the state committees shall be built and strengthened with cadres theoretically and politically developed, organizationally experienced, having a hold on the revolutionary work style, standing firmly amidst reactionary revolutionary offensives and lending leadership with courage, tested in practice and gained the confidence of the party ranks and the people of their purview. Only thus efficient central level leadership cadres that can lead the Indian revolutionary movement will develop from these committees and also in the far future. The study and training of

the state level cadres must be persistent and according to this in a high level.

The role of the Regional Committees in our movement is similar to that of the State Committees with certain important differences. The study, training and education and the reference material that these committees have to impart to the lower committees are similar to that taken up by the State Committees with certain important differences. The concerned State Committee, Regional Bureau/CC comrades must concretize the study, training and reference study material of the Regional Committees.

### **Reference study material**

The state cadres who could not study and get trained as district cadres must study selected literature from the reference study material of the district committees – the history of MLM in three phases (Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, proletarian strategy and tactics); as a part of it the workers' organisations and their struggles in the International Communist Movement, the objective and tasks of the proletariat, proletarian party, revolutionary revolt/socialist revolution, state machinery, United Front, peasant problem, people's army, the question of migration of nationalities, strategy and tactics, proletarian dictatorship, socialist construction, Trade Unionism/economism, labor aristocracy/revisionism, proletarian internationalism, war-peace, woman's question, family, art and literature, environment, development in science and technology, capitalism-imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, social imperialism, neoliberal policies of the imperialists – the stand of various domestic and international proletarian parties towards important issues like the impact of these policies in the world especially in the class struggle and all spheres and on the theoretical struggle between the parties, correspondence between them; Marx – thesis on Feuerbach, introduction to contribution to critique of political economy, criticism of economy, criticism on Gotha program, Civil war in France, Capital, theories of capital and surplus value, the question of migration, on the Eastern societies; Engels – Ludwig Feuerbach-the end of German classical philosophy, peasant war in Germany, Anti-During, Dialectics of nature, domestic problem; Origin of family, private property and

state; Lenin – Marxism-Revisionism, proletarian revolution-renegade Kautsky, Left wing Communism-infantile disorder, Materialism-pragmatism - a criticism, notes on philosophy, articles on propaganda and agitation, articles on party organisation, articles on military organisation, articles on strategy and tactics, on new economic policy, articles on socialist construction, articles on the question of migration of nationalities; Stalin – problems of Leninism, Opposition, history of Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik), Marxism-nationality question, nationality question-Leninism, language question, soviet economic problems; Mao – compilations of Mao's writings on various subjects – essays on philosophy, military writings, articles on party organisation, methods of leadership and articles on work style, articles on education and rectification, articles on united front, articles on the establishment of liberated areas, articles on agrarian revolutionary reforms, articles on economic policy, criticism of soviet economy, articles on imperialism and war-peace, continuing revolution in socialist society – articles on cultural revolution, articles on art and literature, articles on woman's question; CPC – articles of Great debate, history of modern China, Shanghai textbook; selected writings of chute, documents of CPC Congress from 1-10, documents and articles regarding cultural revolution, articles from Peking Review; advanced study class notes of our party – MLM, Marxist philosophy, political economy, history of the Communist Party of India (1925-67), Indian Economy; our party – documents of the Eighth Congress of CPI (M), Charu Mazumdar's writings, articles from Liberation magazine; histories of Punapra-Vayalar, Tebhaga, Telangana, Varli peasant movements; Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Terai, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Beerbhum, Kanksha, Sonarpur, Kolkata, Bhojpur and other great movements of the Naxalbari period; the documents of the first and second central conferences of MCCI, the documents of the State Conferences of Bihar-Jharkhand and Bengal; People's War party - the documents of the various State Conferences, the documents of the All India Special Conference, the Ninth Congress documents; PU party – the documents of the three central conferences, those of the state conferences; Naxalbari party – basic documents and other important documents; documents of the Unity Congress – Ninth Congress, party policy documents, articles on the internal theoretical struggle of the party, articles on the theoretical

struggle in the international sphere; the histories of important peasant, adivasi, worker, student, youth, cultural and literary, woman, elimination of caste and other social sections and anti-displacement struggles that took place from the ending of 1970s; history of India; Indian economy, class notes on the history of CPI; Deviprasad Chattopadhyay on Indian philosophy; Kosambi on history; Ambedkar writings; RS Sharma's books on caste and religion; Suniti Kumar Ghosh – feudalism, comprador bourgeois class, nationality question, partition of the country, books on planning; selected books and articles on the worker, peasant, woman, dalit, adivasi, student-youth and nationality movements; Indian Constitution, charters of the United Nations; LIC – the manuals of the US military on LIC, George Thompson's book on the implementation of LIC in Malaya communist revolution, articles of Turkey, Philippines and US Maoist parties on LIC, our party document on LIC; important documents of the Maoist parties of Malaya, Thailand, Philippines, Peru, US, Turkey, Bangladesh, Nepal and other such countries; Language and grammar.

### **Central Committee**

Our party has the great goal to destroy capitalist imperialist system on this earth and establish Socialism-Communism. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism lends the theoretical guidance to all our activities for achieving this goal. As a part of achieving this goal our immediate aim is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution by destroying the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois system that lie as a burden on the vast masses of our country. In our country revolution means people's war and so in order to achieve this immediate objective until we reach the final goal of Socialism-Communism, the members of the CC have to remold themselves as politicians and fighters, preserve the proletarian theory and politics, fight on one hand with imperialist fascism and on the other with right and left opportunism, strengthen and remold the party according to this and take up continuous revolution. This shall be the main task of the CC of our party.

In order to efficiently make revolution our party must not only take up MLM theory as the guiding theory but also apply this theory in a creative manner. It must adopt correct line according to the conditions

of the country and implement it. Only by following the correct line our party will develop into a strong force from a weak force, armed forces will be formed from the ruins and it will be possible to seize state power. If we follow wrong line revolution shall setback, the victories achieved shall be lost. Therefore our party must adopt MLM stand, understanding and methods according to the fundamental principles of MLM and take up periodical, deep social investigations and study about class relations in our society. It must concretely analyse the conditions time to time, the history of the country and the characteristics of the revolution of the country. It must independently solve the theoretical and the theoretical and practical problems related to revolution. We have to definitely learn from international experience. But we should not duplicate this experience mechanically. Our party must develop our experience in a creative manner in the light of the real issues of our country. Only thus our party can advance the revolution towards victory. It can only thus serve the World proletarian revolution.

The Central Committee must have cadres of the central level with abundant theoretical, historical knowledge and about the present conditions of the country and the world, clarity towards the theoretical and political line of the party, hold in creatively applying the theory in revolutionary practice, stand firm in the arduous path of protracted struggle and gain prolonged experience, gain the confidence of the lower ranks and elected by the representatives who stand in the forefront of the entire party and lend efficient leadership; they must constantly mold the people's opinion according to the revolution and bring out the active, creative role of the people in people's war; develop the political consciousness of the party ranks and the people so that they can demarcate between real friends and real foes, real Marxists and fake Marxists; must lead them in the path of revolution with self-confidence and courage to seize state power fighting back the intrigues, machinations and the neo Goebbels propaganda of the reactionary ruling classes and the imperialists to divert the people from the path of revolution; must constantly pay attention towards strategy and tactics and gain expertise in properly utilizing them in different conditions (in the domestic and international conditions and according to the changes in revolutionary war); must not fear the severe difficulties and fierce



counter revolutionary offensives, temporary defeats and blows in the process of protracted people's war, learn from the sharp experiences of class struggle, fight courageously, destroy the strength of the enemy in pieces, develop subjective strength quantitatively and qualitatively and step forward successfully to achieve the goal; will have to not only see the process of the present incidents beforehand but also assess the future process and its direction in order to escape from the unexpected dangers that come across in the process of revolution, find solutions even in complex conditions and advance; will have to realize and sincerely admit the mistakes and wrongs in the process of class struggle, learn from them and teach the people; fight firmly and correctly against the non-proletarian trends and the right and the left trends that arise in the party, defeat them and preserve the unity of the party and the party line; must have the communist consciousness of fighting against selfishness constantly taking class struggle as the vital link for the great cause of establishing communist society and not in vested interest (of post, prestige, corruption, caste, religion, gender, region and relatives) and keep politics in command; sincerely believe that people are the makers of history and play the efficient leadership role to serve them selflessly, be in the forefront and play the role of revolutionary construction to lead them to achieve the final victory; and continue revolution in the guidance of the correct line in the dictatorship of the proletariat with the goal of Communism and see that political power in the socialist society that is formed after the establishment of new democratic state does not go into the hands of the revisionist/reactionary forces and capitalism is not restored, revolutionize the world outlook of the proletariat and the broad masses and lend leadership in the light of those great experiences with the perspective of successfully making cultural revolutions.

In the protracted people's war before a small weak force defeats a big strong force and achieves final victory, due to the unceasing utmost cruel, merciless counter revolutionary offensive there are at times severe losses and setbacks. This is not only our experience but that of many revolutionary parties of the world. Only by training the party so that it properly implements the theoretical and political line in the light of MLM and staunchly stick to this line we can implement proper organisation and military lines. Only by proper implementation of our

correct theoretical and political line we can solve the problems in the political mobilization of the worker peasant and vast masses and the problems in the process of armed struggle in a proper manner; we can only thus develop the secret character and organizational strength of the party; implement democratic centralism in its spirit and in addition to strengthening the unity, centralized leadership and discipline of the party we can develop the initiative of the members of the entire party and the people; we can follow class line and mass line; we can thoroughly successfully cleanse non-proletarian trends; we can properly conduct the struggle between two lines and develop the unity of the party; we can concentrate mainly among the proletariat and agricultural workers and poor peasantry, build party units and spread them, recruit them as Professional Revolutionaries in a big manner, bring them into the leadership in the process of practice and sustain the proletarian character of the party; we can develop the proletarian leadership role in revolution; we can spread the party in other democratic classes and sections; and can build a strong party and strong party leadership. Strong party organisation and strong party leadership are mutually dependent. The leadership is the main, vital, strategic and stands in the forefront of the entire party. We can make the party strong and invincible only when our Central Committee and all the ranks of the party in its leadership work hard consciously and with a firm will, fight courageously and learn from own experiences and those of the world revolution. But none of these fall from the sky. This is one of the utmost valuable lessons we have to learn from the history of invincible Bolshevik party and Communist Party of China.

Enough number of higher rank leadership cadres is definitely necessary to accomplish the Indian Revolution. So the Central Committee must individually make theoretical study as per its high stage and train all the ranks along with the state cadres theoretically. We must definitely rectify the mistakes in our study and party education. The reference study material of the state cadres must be the minimum study material of the CC cadres. All the CC level cadres must have a minimum knowledge on this material. They must make constant efforts to gain hold on them. All the literature that helps to solve the problem of Indian revolution shall be the study material of the central level cadres. They must normally study to develop deep

knowledge on the fundamental principles of MLM, on the history of the International Communist Movement, the history of the communist movement of our country, on the present conditions of our country and the world and on our revolutionary war. We have to pay attention on solving the problems of the movement in the light of MLM, working as per the rules of social development with the goal of accomplishing Indian New Democratic Revolution and select the literature that helps for this and take up wide, deep, comprehensive and comparative study. The present central level cadres must take up the following aspects for their study – deep study on the changes in the social conditions of the country to enrich our strategy and tactics by solving the utmost important problems of the Indian Revolutionary movement with the aim of advancing the movement; make deeper study of the Party history to learn much more from our rich experiences; make a much more deeper study into the revolutions of Philippines, Peru, Nepal,, Bangladesh, Turkey and other revolutions to learn much more from the experiences of the world revolution; study the domestic and international politics to deeply understand the ebbs and flows of the revolutions of our country and the world. We must keep them in view and give utmost importance to individual study. The CC must also pay proper attention to collective study.

### **Comrades,**

The aim of our party education is to develop the efficiency of the party and as a part of it the average efficiency of all levels of cadres to properly solve the problems of revolution and achieve successes and to strengthen the theoretical and political foundations of the entire party and develop strongly the Party, People’s Army and United Front in the leadership of the party. Comrades of the CC to the GPC must keep this syllabus and reference study material in view and make individual study and collective and comprehensive study in the respective committees. There is enormous importance to collective study in the present concrete situation of our party. Those who know to read must read for those who do not. Those who cannot read must get read through others and also make severe efforts to learn to read and write. The party committees from the top to the bottom, the political schools, the various levels of leadership committees must

keep the necessities and peculiarities of the movement, apply the theory to our concrete situation and conduct training classes in various forms. Syllabus, study notes, reference study material must be given in the mother tongue and made to study. The training classes must be held in various forms. Training for the Primary Party Members to the District cadres must be simple, applied to practice and necessary teaching aids must be used to the maximum possible extent. Every State Committee must make planned efforts to give syllabus, study notes and study material in the local language. The time period for training classes must be decided according to the subjects, the local situation and the efficiency of the teachers. There must be planned and severe efforts to establish political schools and to prepare political teacher teams for party education starting from the CC to the DC (up to AC in the GB). As a part of it there must be special effort for theoretical education in PLGA and UF also. The electronic gadgets that are utilized to bring a good change in party study must be consciously utilized in a good way but not be utilised in a wrong way. To put it briefly party education must be an inseparable part of party organisation and the political life of the party.

We must understand and constantly keep in mind that the theoretical study and training that is taken up in all levels is to understand the theory, apply it in practice to the concrete conditions of our revolution and to develop the efficiency to solve the problems and thus bring a considerable change in the understanding and practice of our party. So, theoretical, political and organizational education must not be formal but be taken up constantly to integrate theory with the revolutionary practice in the country. These regular efforts will strengthen the theoretical and political foundations of the leadership cadres of all levels and the theoretical and political foundations of the Primary Party Units and they can gain hold on creatively applying theory to the concrete conditions and the efficiency to solve the problems correctly. Thus the party will strengthen organizationally and all the party committees will be able to efficiently lead the revolution with self-confidence. Only by doing so we can united and courageously fight back the utmost fascist 'SAMADHAN' offensive of the enemy. On the other side we will be successful in protecting the party from the influences of semi-colonial, semi-feudal ideologies and culture, in

protecting the party from the revisionist theoretical attacks and in fighting them back theoretically. Only thus the Party and the People's Army and United Front in the leadership of the party will strengthen and develop as an invincible force. We can accomplish NDR and advance the World Socialist Revolution to success. Thus we can make true the dreams of thousands of martyrs.

The CC sends a general, uniform syllabus to the party units of all levels as per their level to achieve this objective. Basing on this there must be study and training once in two to three years without fail. There must be constant education to new members and to comrades being elected into the higher responsibilities. Our education must definitely be result oriented. Theoretical education in the party is a relentless process. This must be constantly enriched in the process of PPW. Only with constant party education in all levels we can review our practice once in every three to four years and enrich it. We must make efforts to utilize this syllabus in a proper way. The CC requests all the Party members to send their valuable suggestions to enrich this syllabus.

**Revolutionary greetings,  
Central Committee  
CPI (Maoist)  
22 April 2019**

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“Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture”.

- Mao

**Let us detest the political degeneration of Sudhakar-Madhavi!**

**Let us take them as negative teachers, highlight the sacrifices of the martyrs and the Party line**

**And advance the New Democratic Revolution of India!**

Dear Comrades,

A member of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) Oggu Satwaji (Sudhakar, Sharath) and Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee (BJSAC) member Madhavi (Neelima), the couple surrendered before the DGP of Telangana on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2019. Both of them served the revolutionary movement for a long time, held many responsibilities, developed in phases and reached a high stage. They could not understand the concrete conditions of the Indian Revolutionary movement that is unequal in various parts of the country, they utterly failed to understand the counter revolutionary offensive, became selfish, lost their sacrificing nature, degenerated politically and surrendered to the enemy and betrayed the Party, the Revolutionary movement and the revolutionary people. They insulted the aspirations of the martyrs who laid their lives for the success of NDR and degenerated to an utterly low level. Therefore, the CC expels both of them from the Party and states them as the traitors of revolution. We need to deeply analyse the reasons for Sudhakar and Madhavi's surrender and take appropriate lessons.

Sudhakar belongs to a middle class peasant family of Sarangapur village of Nirmal district of Telangana. He joined Radical Students Union when he was studying intermediate in Nirmal in 1983. In 1984 he was recruited as a full timer in the erstwhile People's War party and worked as a courier of the Adilabad District Committee and the AP State Committee. He was arrested in 1986 while working for the supplies of the Technical Department and released from jail in 1989. He worked as a member and later the Commander of Sirpur-Chennur squad from 1990-to 1994 and later as a DVCM in the Adilabad Divisional Committee from 1994- to 1998. In 1998 he became the DvCS. In 2000 he was elected into the North Telangana Special Zonal Committee in the North

Telangana Conference. As per the CC resolution he was transferred to Dandakaranya (DK). He worked as a member of the DKSZC between 2001-2003 and as an incharge of the DK Military Commission (SMC) from 2003- to 2014. In this way Sudhakar developed step by step along with the developing revolutionary movement and conducted the responsibilities allotted by the Central and the State Committees. The CC faced many losses in the counter revolutionary offensive in between 2005- and 2012. In these conditions, the 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CC held in 2013 co-opted Sudhakar into the CC taking his positive characteristics into view. He continued as a member of the CRB for one year until 2014 august. As per the decision of the CC he was later transferred to the ERB. He worked as the in-charge of the Bihar Regional Unified Command of the BJSAC from 2015 until his surrender to the enemy. Certain non-proletarian tendencies clearly came forth in him when he was working as DKSZCM and as CCM.

Vyudugula Aruna (Madhavi, Neelima) belongs to Mahammadapuram village of Warangal rural district of Telangana state. She opposed child marriage and joined the guerrilla squad as a full timer in 1994. She worked in Warangal district until 1997 and was later transferred to Adilabad. She married Sudhakar in 1998. She worked as ACM, Commander of the squad in this area and was transferred to DK along with Sudhakar in 2001. She worked in the National Park Area Committee (AC) of the West Bastar Division of DK and became ACS in 2002. In 2002 July she became DvCM and DVCS in 2009 and was promoted as Regional Committee Member (RCM) the same year. As Madhavi came from a petty bourgeois background, she was warned in the 2012 Division plenum for the disunity in the DvC and non-proletarian trends like sectarianism, bureaucracy, individualism, petty bourgeois superiority in her and for DVC mistakes. She maintained family relations without informing the Party on contrary to the Party methods of work. Though Sudhakar knew this he did not criticize Madhavi and he too continued family relations with wrong methods. After one year as she was transferred to BJ in the rank of RC, i.e., in January 2016 she was coopted into the SAC as per the decision of the ERB and BJSAC in view of her positive aspects.

Sudhakar joined in the party from a petty bourgeois class

background. As long as his class consciousness and commitment towards revolution sustained, relatively he did positive work. The DK movement was relatively in advanced stage when Sudhakar and Madhavi worked there. The SZC was relatively strong. In this process individual alien class tendencies came forth in both of them. Subjectivism theoretically and bureaucracy, sectarianism, individualism politically sustained as the main trends in them. Their weakness of non-adherence to Party discipline organizationally came forth in continuing their family relations. They maintained individual relations with a contractor in contact with the party and maintained contact with their families. When they were in the process of transfer to the ERB, they called their families through this contractor against the resolutions of the CRB and the CC. He was already in the vigilance of the police and APSIB. CRB discussed the situation and together with the PB comrades CRB comrades emphatically told both of them not to maintain relations with the family. They self-critically agreed to discontinue the relations with that contractor and their family.

They worked in the Bihar region for nearly three and half years. During this time they were mostly in the Koel-Sankh zone. Here their weaknesses were intensified. Jharkhand Regional plenum, the 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum of the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee, BJSAC meeting and the 9<sup>th</sup> meeting of the ERB were held successfully by retaliating several enemy attacks between 2018 February and 2018 July. They reviewed the movement in these meetings. They reviewed the right and wrong, the favorable and unfavorable aspects and took proper lessons. They adopted appropriate tasks to face the challenges. As a part of it they also criticized Sudhakar (Sarath) and Madhavi (Neelima) to some extent. Totally, their practice showed subjectivism, sectarianism, indiscipline, individualism and bureaucratic trends in this manner :

1. After Sudhakar took up the responsibilities as the in-charge of the Bihar Region Unified Command he needed to deeply mingle with comrades of various levels in order to understand – the specific situation of the Bihar-Jharkhand SAC; the class struggle for the past fifty years; the history and experience of the armed struggle; the situation a little earlier to the formation of the united party; the



situation after the formation of the new party; the difference between these two; the form of the difference in that present time; the reasons of severe contradictions between comrades of various levels along with the leadership comrades; the reasons for the formation of TPC-JJMP-JPC and other such counter revolutionary gangs; the weaknesses that acted and continue to exist for not being able to eliminate such gangs; and the positive and the negative aspects of all these. But he did not do all these and only tried to solve the problems with a subjective outlook in a mechanical manner and the results were negative.

2. He considered the versions of comrades unilaterally, believed it and tried to solve the contradictions between them. So he could not identify with the majority of the comrades.

3. He took a wrong stand and tried to solve the mistakes of corruption and moral mistakes only through disciplinary actions. He did not pay importance to theoretical, political and organizational effort.

4. He got irritated very soon, spoke with anger – on such occasions Sudhakar (Sarath), Madhavi (Neelima) often said ‘everything is improper here, go and see in DK, CRB and see what is going on there! BJSAC is not equal to Area Committee of DK’ and so on. They looked down the local comrades. They neglected the study of objective conditions and had individual impressions. On the contrary MLM says that we have to go forth not with individual interests but with objective reality. It means it is clear that their practice is not on par with the role of a genuine, efficient leadership to change the unfavorable aspect in the objective situation favorable in the light of theory.

5. Sudhakar and Madhavi continued lively relations with their families through the same contractor of Telangana who was in their contact previously, by calling him to BJ. Irrespective of the local (BJSAC) resources for the treatment of Madhavi, Sudhakar sent her to his family through this contractor. He recalled her after three months. The contractor met Sudhakar-Madhavi for the third time along with the younger brother of Sudhakar. They two (brother of Sudhakar and contractor) were arrested on their way back in Ranchi. The police recovered 25 lakh rupees and half a kilogram gold from them. The

enemy took chance of this and made big propaganda campaign in media by saying that the CC and the State leadership are exploiters, they build luxurious buildings and they send their children to foreign countries to study.

This became a point of discussion in the Bihar Regional Unified Command meeting and the BJSAC 3<sup>rd</sup> plenum in 2017 October. He said 'It is true that those two came here only after I called them. But I did not give them gold or 25 lakhs, I only gave them 20 lakh rupees'. He said he would tell about it not here but in his Committee (ERB) why he gave them the money. In the 9<sup>th</sup> meeting of the ERB in 2018 he said that he gave the money to the contractor for the treatment of Madhavi and for communication sets. He was not sincere in his answers and this led to misunderstandings among the party cadres. He was not sincere and self-critical, dealt bureaucratically and with superiority, told lies to the party leadership and the activists. So the cadres were not confident in Sudhakar and Madhavi. As a result, the mistakes that were continuing from past became more problematic and complex.

In fact Sudhakar and Madhavi could not take up the task of reviving the movement that was affected due to severe countrywide enemy offensive as a challenge. They could not own that area. They could not integrate with the language, food habits, culture and habits of the area. They neglected to pay attention to study the history and the concrete conditions of the place. In both of them, mainly in Sudhakar with little knowledge and sectarianism, one sidedness, subjectivism increased more and more by thinking that 'what he is doing it is correct'. He was afraid of the enemy offensive, he became weak in thinking that people are the iron fort for Communists, lacked in sacrificing nature and became insecure. He gradually lost the consciousness that he has to bring out his whole strength for the revival of the movement, gain the confidence of the leadership and the cadres and the people and become a great leader. He lacked strong will, sincerity and sacrificing nature to bring out a breakthrough in the movement by giving an objective form to the revolutionary theory depending on the strong aspects of the movement, the people and the party and by creating new aspects and thus lost confidence in the party, in the party leadership and the people. He indulged even in opportunist methods.

He was not prepared to implement the program formulated to overcome the setback and advance the movement, in all the district and state level plenums of the BJ Special Area that were held successfully. He betrayed the movement.

In fact both of them have been vacillating for the past one year, got politically degenerated and finally surrendered to the police. These traitors gave all the secret information of the party to the enemy and created enormous loss to the Party and the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary movement and the people shall never excuse these traitors.

Sudhakar-Madhavi joined hands with the Telangana police and made several allegations on the party in the media. They said – “The practice is against the theories of the Party. Party is not implementing the resolutions. Casteism lies deep in the party. Money is collected and utilized for family purposes. Due to this and other such reasons the party distanced from the people. In Dandakaranya too recruitment and people’s cooperation became less and there is a decline in the influence of the party. Since the women are oppressed many are committing suicides. There was no response when questioned about mistakes in the party. We never used the party funds for personal interests. We handed over all the accounts to the party. Due to all these reasons we could not continue in the party and so we are surrendering. Our ill-health too added to this”.

In fact it did not cover up that they stole the party funds in a big way. Due to the feudal-imperialist ideology, culture and values of the class society that reflect in the party, due to the severe mental pressures out of the relentless utmost cruel murders and atrocities and ill deeds of the government counter revolutionary armed forces and due to the mistakes and shortcomings in the party very few woman comrades committed suicides. The concerned party committees reviewed the incidents. The traitors did not tell this and also the political education campaign all over the party to overcome these mistakes. Various levels of leadership cadres in some areas of the country indulged in corruption though few in numbers. In a few places few anarchists and degenerated persons committed atrocities and rapes on woman comrades. It is a fact that such incidents are rare in our party. Due to these two kinds of

mistakes the party and the revolutionary movement faced various kinds of loss. Not only the party committees in the concerned areas but the leadership committee too reviewed the incident, took up criticism-self-criticism to overcome it and punished them. Education was taken up and guidelines too were adopted. As a part of it the plenums in BJ specifically discussed and reviewed the mistakes and weaknesses. Both of them participated in these plenums but made comments in an opportunist manner and joined hands with the exploitive classes. This is nothing but moral degeneration of Sudhakar and Madhavi.

### **Where are the origins of Sudhakar-Madhavi degeneration?**

Knowing the conditions and gaining command on the proletarian theory are the two primary tasks of the central and the state committees of our party, CPI(Maoist). Knowing the conditions means making a systematical and total research into the concrete conditions of various countries of the world, our country, states and areas. Neglecting the study of specific conditions and study of history is nothing but neglecting the economic, political, military and cultural histories. If one neglects the study of MLM one cannot work by standing strategically firm and tactically flexible. One cannot continue to be communists all through their life and continue the revolution until the final victory. It will be difficult for them to shed their metaphysical method of thought that they have been habituated to. Sudhakar and Madhavi had such a work style and so they could not sustain as revolutionary communists and turned to be traitors of revolution.

The activists of the party and members of party committee must first know the objective situation of the area they are working. Only then they can work properly. Framing the necessary program for research and study all over the party shall help as a fundamental link to bring a change in the method of work of the party.

Though the united party, CPI (Maoist) was formed and it became relatively strong, the party is not yet organized in all the states, areas and among all the socially oppressed classes and sections in the country. A strong Party, strong People's Army and a strong United Front are yet to be developed to accomplish the Party Perspective. Right from the beginning the three main targets of the New Democratic Revolution

and the enemies of the people, the imperialists, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and the feudal class have been making relentless counter revolutionary eliminative attacks to wipe out the party. Many comrades were martyred in the enemy offensives, some were arrested, some surrendered to the enemy and a few comrades died out of ill-health. This led to many constant changes in the party committees from the CC to the lower level. In such complex conditions where the party is relatively less strong it is prone to a weak leadership. Our subjective strength is not according to the objective necessities. So we lost favorable opportunities for the advancement of revolution. Since we are not yet relatively consolidated into a proletarian political party, there is immaturity, less quality, indiscipline, alien tendencies, late response towards issues and precision in organizational work. So the party is facing many difficulties in developing close relations with the majority people and developing Mass Organisations and Party through all kinds of political movement and taking the policies and people's war into the masses. Organizational work is political. Organizational work is one great characteristic of the Russian Bolsheviks. If bolshevization is needed, if small party has to become a strong people's party, we need a good organisation of active members that can take the party line into the people and that can consolidate the people's practice through fundamental work of the various layers of party organisations. Great Marxist teachers Stalin and Dimitrov said thus regarding revolutionizing the party and advancing the New Democratic Revolution – "We should give effect to the ninth of Stalin's twelve conditions for the revolutionisation (bolshevization) of the Party, namely, that on the establishment of a centre (nucleus) of leadership. The criteria for such a leading group should be the four which Dimitrov enumerated in his discussion of cadres policy—1. Absolute devotion to the cause, 2. Contact with the masses, 3. Ability independently to find one's bearings, 4. Observance of discipline. Whether in carrying out these central tasks—war, production, education (including rectification) - or in checking-up on work, examining the cadres' histories, or in other activities, it is necessary to adopt the method of linking the leading group with the masses, in addition to that of linking the general call with particular guidance" (*Certain*

*problems regarding the methods of leadership', MSW, Vol III, 1943).*

In the class society each and every one lives as a part of a special class. There is a clear influence of a class on every thought without any exemption. Communists must link their ideas so as to coincide with the rules of the objective world. If they do not suit he/she shall fail in practice. Once one fails he/she takes lessons and molds their ideas according to the rules of the outside world. Thus they can turn the failure into success. Great Marxist teachers repeatedly taught that failure is the mother of success.

Dialectical materialist theory of knowledge cannot be separated from human knowledge and practice. Practice is the basis for theory. In turn it helps practice. There are two distinct characteristics of Marxist dialectical materialist philosophy. One is its class character and the second is its practicability. The great Marxist teacher Mao said thus about those who reject this –

“Only those who are subjective, one-sided and superficial in their approach to problems will smugly issue orders or directives the moment they arrive on the scene, without considering the circumstances, without viewing things in their totality (their history and their present state as a whole) and without getting to the essence of things (their nature and the internal relations between one thing and another). Such people are bound to trip and fall” (*Practice', MSW, Vol I, 1937 July*).

So they will not have a comprehensive perspective about the objective process on the whole. They will not have a clear path. They will not have a protracted perspective. They are satisfied with occasional victories and the little sparks of truth and are complacent towards many issues. Such people lead revolution in a blind manner. Proper leadership means – normally it is not possible for the leadership to realize truth without erring. But a good leadership must be sincere in self-criticism, it must always listen to the criticisms of the cadres and the people in order to overcome their weak points and shortcomings. This kind of a leadership always invites the supervision of the party cadres and the people on them. When the Communist Party Members have certain eligibility they will not hesitate to rectify their mistakes with the help

of the Party Organisation and the people.

We must not forget the two demarcation marks between revolution and counter revolution and between successes and shortcomings. If we do not do so we will be confused about the character of the problem. A good study and analysis are very much necessary to do better demarcation. Our attitude towards every individual and every issue should be comprised of analysis and study. We must also realize the quantitative angle of a situation or of a problem and make a primary quantitative analysis. Every issue (every quality) shall express in a specific quantity (measure). There is no quality without any quantity. We must see clear difference between right and wrong and between the tasks achieved and shortcomings and decide which is primary among the two. Mao said that revolutionary parties and revolutionary people will be tempered, will gain maturity and confirm success only by imparting repeated education basing on the positive and negative examples and by showing the similarities and differences between them.

If we see the practice of Sudhakar-Madhavi in the light of the above MLM principles we see how their positive aspects helped them to develop step by step in phases and how their negative aspects in applying the social rules and theory of knowledge that MLM theory synthesized, influenced them severely and speeded up their degeneration. They understood the higher responsibilities in the party subjectively as posts and could not understand the tasks they have to take up and the study and practice to fulfill the same. They were inefficient in applying the dialectical analytical method towards the issues. They were not prepared to learn from the strong positive aspects of the BJ movement and for complex, difficult political-organisational effort to achieve better results. They were pragmatic, complacent and felt superior. So they could not demarcate between their successes and failures. They were confused in understanding their character. Regarding such people our great Marxist teacher Lenin said thus in an answer to the question 'what is politics?' – 'Politics is a struggle between classes. Whoever discards this vital link they shall become blind, semi-mature and dull-headed. They shall divorce from the socialist perspective' (*Peking Review, No.1, 1976 January 2<sup>nd</sup>*).

The CC could not assess Sudhakar-Madhavi, especially Sudhakar properly when it handed over higher responsibilities as to how efficiently he can take up the responsibility. Sudhakar lacked firmness and discipline, he was vacillating and considered blood relations more than class relations. The CC was subjective and liberal in realizing such aspects and where they might lead. The whole party from top to bottom has to consider them as negative teachers and take lessons.

Some people feel that since the Communist party is the vanguard of the proletariat, there should not be any kind of contradictions and struggle inside the party and that the party must be totally pure. This is an inexperienced, idealist feeling and is against materialist dialectics. "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." (*'Contradictions', MSW Vol I, 1937 August*). In a proletarian party purity is principal and relative, impurity is non-principal and absolute. There is unity between two aspects of a contradiction. At the same time both of them contend. This shall be the motive force for dynamics and change in things. This is the fundamental principle for the development of all aspects. This is the fundamental principle regarding the development of the party also. Our party's existence is not in vacuum. On the contrary it is working in a hard atmosphere of class struggle. In a revolutionary party with a genuine political and theoretical line, in the process of revolution, though genuine revolutionary forces are in command, inevitably, those genuine forces and fake forces exist together. Similarly there is a possibility of gradual infiltration of a few secret agents, renegades, class enemies and other unwanted forces. Few leaders of revolutionary party also who do not pay attention to mold them theoretically, do not develop proletarian method of work will degenerate. The leaders of the revolutionary party who do not pay proper attention to mold themselves theoretically and do not adopt proletarian method of work will degenerate. If a revolutionary party does not pay proper attention towards theoretical, political, organizational and military training according to its great objective, alien class tendencies shall become prevalent. This will lead to more degeneration. This is the dialectical relation between the collective and individual and between the leadership and the members in continuing theoretical effort in the



party. Our whole party – the leadership and the members must deeply realize the importance of this. We can considerably lessen degeneration and surrenders by bolshevizing the party and ourselves accordingly.

However complex the struggle is, however difficult the travelling is, the proletariat and its vanguard the genuine revolutionary communist party will definitely realize its revolutionary task, temper itself and bolshevize. It enriches the understanding of MLM and proletarian culture in the party. Genuine revolutionaries and fake revolutionaries or counter revolutionaries will be exposed in the tests of revolutionary practice. Communists consider the great, bright objective of Communism more than their lives. They sacrifice for the liberation of the people of India and the world. They face difficulties. They lay their lives in the arena of war. They advance in waves. They stand dignified before the hanging pillar. They give importance to die by fighting than to surrender. For this 'Thus it can be seen that to lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization. (*'Contradictions' MSW, Vol I*). The Bolshevik revolutionaries protected and consolidated the party theoretically, politically, militarily, organizationally and culturally amidst fierce enemy attacks (during the counter revolutionary period) wiping out enemy agents and coverts. The Chinese communist revolutionaries highlighted this heredity. Similarly let us mold the party according to the present complex, difficult conditions, bolshevize it and advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution.

**Revolutionary greetings**

**Central Committee**

**CPI (Maoist)**

**30-3-2019**

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“Undoubtedly some people joined us during the revolution not because they understood the *Marxist* criterion of the correctness of Social-Democratic slogans and tactics, but only because they were “striking”. That today, when the wave has ebbed, there remain and will remain only real Marxists, does not frighten us but rejoices us”

- Lenin

## **Post-election situation – Our Tasks**

**The victory of BJP in the leadership of Modi in the elections to Lok Sabha indicates the escalating Brahmanic Hindu fascism-Parliamentary fascism!**

**Let us prepare the Party, PLGA and Revolutionary People's Organisations and the people to militantly resist the intensifying exploitation, oppression and suppression of the Imperialist, Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois, and Big Landlord classes!**

The mockery of elections to the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha and to the Assemblies of Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh in India that is boasted by the ruling classes to be the 'biggest democracy' has been completed in seven phases in the months of April and May 2019. Eighty lakh personnel and scores of lakhs of government hired armed forces have been deployed for these elections. The government and the various political parties spent more than one lakh crore rupees of public money. The BJP utilized the whole government machinery including the Election Commission as per its wish to return to power. The Election Commission justified this as a necessity for conducting 'free, transparent and independent' elections. In fact there is severe opposition among the people towards these fake parliamentary elections. Especially our Party the CPI (Maoist) and the organisations for nationality struggles and democratic organisations in Kashmir and the North East publicly called for boycott of elections. Contradictions/Clashes between the ruling cliques/parties during the election season intensified in an unprecedented manner. These elections were conducted like a big war campaign on the people of the country with large scale deployment of armed forces to control this opposition from the people and the clashes in various places, mainly in the areas of people's

movement. As a part of it 90 activists and people of the national liberation struggle in Kashmir and 40 revolutionaries and people in the areas of the movement were killed. Hundreds were arrested and jailed.

In the past five years the NDA government in the leadership of the BJP played a reactionary, anti-people, traitorous role and heavily implemented policies favorable for imperialist globalization and for the exploitative ruling classes. Not a single crime was left that the BJP did not commit against the country, the worker, peasant, middle classes, the oppressed people, oppressed social sections (women, Dalits, Adivasis (tribals) and minorities) and the oppressed nationalities (Kashmir and North East nationalities). As a result the BJP faced defeat in the elections to Assemblies in five states in November 2018. The RSS-BJP formulated a very big aggressive scheme of instigating Hindu religious ideas and ideals against Pakistan by concentrating all the forces of money, men and power and with the support of imperialist Multi-National Companies and the corporate companies and landlords of the country to win the elections to the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha without being influenced by this defeat. Booth management was their main policy. As a part of it they created a spell of propaganda of welfare schemes that would put people in illusions, formulated a budget with several fake promises, instigated anti-Pakistan/anti-Muslim feelings, Hindu communalism, national frenzy and war frenzy in the name of Pulwama incident and succeeded in gaining votes. This makes clear the conspiracy of Modi-RSS behind the Pulwama attack. In addition to these, caste and religious sentiments were instigated-used, central agencies like CBI were utilized and the opposition parties controlled, split and made to surrender and since the opposition parties too followed anti-people policies for a long time and lost the confidence of the people they utterly failed to show an alternative to Modi. The BJP could thus gain victory in these elections. The BJP-NDA alliance in the leadership of Modi gained maximum majority with 303 seats for the BJP, 353 seats for the NDA out of the total 543 seats (there was no election to one seat) and returned to power.

In spite of the boasting of the opposition parties to bring down Modi they could not unite. All the parties including the Congress lost the capability to utilize the severe opposition among the oppressed

classes, sections and nationalities towards the Modi rule. Therefore the heavy propaganda of the Congress party trying to create illusions among the people with 'Jan hitaishi' (people's well-being) election manifesto, especially 'you will gain justice now', 'poor family-72,000 rupees' in the name of 'Minimum Income act' could not at all influence the people. So the Congress could not even gain the status of the main opposition party in these elections. The grand alliance of the BSP-SP-RLD in Uttar Pradesh, the great alliances in Bihar-Jharkhand, Karnataka and Maharashtra with the partnership of Congress, the CPI, CPI (M), TDP, PDP and other parties could not gain the confidence of the people and fell flat. The TMC too fell in a situation of self-defense. TRS too met a strong blow. The existence of AAP fell in danger. The regional parliamentary parties of the North East turned to be comprador parties of BJP and thus the BJP strengthened in that area. The Modi wave did not work in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Odisha. Thus fascism came forth in a much stronger way through these parliamentary elections.

In the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh and Sikkim YSR Congress and Sikkim Krantikari Sangathan came to power utilizing the anti-government vote. BJD in the leadership of Naveen Patnaik could come to power for the fifth time utilizing the aspirations of Odia nationality too. With no other alternative in Arunachal Pradesh the BJP came to power in a sweep.

The Election Commission, imperialist agencies and the Indian corporate organisations created a roar of propaganda with many new maneuvers since 2019 January in an unprecedented manner to gain 100 percent polling in these elections. The Election Commission increased its propaganda to vote with the name of 'Operation Himmat' (courage) and other such with the support of combing, patrolling and fake encounters by government armed forces in order to effect the call to boycott elections in the areas of our movement. The electoral parties utilized the corporate media to pour fake promises and created large scale illusions and tempo of elections. They pressurized the people also in the areas where they took a critical attitude towards the parliamentary system to vote. The Election Commission considered the in-

stigation of caste, religious and regional sentiments, the utilization of money, men, liquor, violence-threats by the electoral parties as a part of the democratic process. There is no limit to RSS-BJP. Though the Election Commission seized cash, gold, silver, liquor and drugs of a value of Rs.8,000 crores that the electoral parties illegally distribute in a large scale to buy the voters, it utterly failed in controlling the scores of thousands of crores of rupees that was distributed to the voters that was many times more than this amount. The BJP, Congress and the regional parties spent in an unprecedented manner in these elections. The BJP exceeded all the other parties.

All the electoral parties as usually once more brought forth scamsters, gangsters and criminals in a very big number as their candidates in these elections. The candidates and millionaires with such criminal, exploitative class background won in the elections. On this occasion none of the electoral parties raised or brought forth the people the fundamental economic, political and cultural problems of the broad oppressed people, nationalities and the country. The parties in the arena of elections indiscriminately used rotten parliamentary jargon to reveal the extent of corruption and crime of their opponent candidates. They widely and publicly indulged in violence. They indiscriminately utilized caste and religion. This turned to be a luxurious game of the rich. All these revealed the anti-people character, favoritism, reactionary and selfish policies and scams of corruptions of the parties and candidates in the arena of elections. All these facts reveal the fakeness of the parliamentary elections in the country that is the 'biggest democracy' of the world.

In spite of many circus feats by the Election Commission to increase the percentage of polling it was not above 63 percent as per official numbers. This is 3 percent lesser to that of the earlier elections to Lok Sabha. If we keep aside the percentage of rigging with large scale money, muscle power and state power and the domination of government armed forces, the actual percentage of polling will be much lower. Hundreds of polling booths were shifted to places where there are police stations and camps of the Para-military forces with the difficulty to conduct polling in the strong areas of revolution and na-

tionality liberation movements. There was large scale rigging in such booths. However the percentage of voting is not above 5-30 in the strong areas of movement in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and other states. As a part of controlling votes with guns and as a part of self-defense from police attacks PLGA fighters in the leadership of our Party and with the help of the people conducted several heroic attacks on the mercenary forces of the enemy in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Andhra-Odisha Border area and Telangana and wiped out 35 and injured 76 armed police. Though frightening atmosphere was created in a big way in Kashmir there was only ten percent polling in some areas. The slogan 'freedom for Kashmir' reverberated once again. In the North East areas too people boycotted elections in many places. The people boycotted elections in 165 places of the country for solving their local problems. Voters preferred the 'NOTA' button in a big way with the threats of the exploitive ruling class political parties and the government armed forces that they shall be branded terrorist or Maoist, that they shall not give rice through PDS and that they are not qualified for government reform schemes if they do not vote and in the conditions where there is no real alternative. Thus the oppressed people, oppressed nationalities and sections boycotted elections in a considerable number in protest to the anti-people policies and repression of the governments in the areas of revolutionary movement and nationality liberation struggles and as per the call of the democratic and anti-displacement movements.

Though it was said that the NDA alliance gained victory with a large majority in these mock elections, it is a fact that it gained only one third of the number of the total voters. The fakeness of the BJP is clear from its stating that they gained votes of all the sections and irrespective of religion, caste, region and gender identities. This shows the bankrupt nature of the biggest democracy.

The message of Modi to the people after his victory that 'Vijay Bharath' (India won), that he gained 'sab ka sath, sab ka vikaas, sab ka viswas' (development to all with all and confidence of all), that he would work together with the social sections that did not vote him,

that he will not indulge in any deeds for a wrong objective in the coming five years and that whether this is called his will, dedication or commitment – is deceptive and in a fascist style. The BJP government in the leadership of Modi with pro-imperialist, pro-landlord, anti-federal, expansionist policies shall come out in no time with its naked fascist character in a more cruel manner than the earlier utilizing its majority in the parliament. The maximum majority of the NDA government in the leadership of Modi in the Lok Sabha, the lack of a strong parliamentary opposition and more than this mainly the intensifying social, economic, political crisis indicates the danger of intensification of the Brahmanic Hindu fascist offensive and the great offensive on the people in all the sectors in the name of formation of new India.

**Dear Comrades,**

Imperialism has been internationally facing economic and financial crisis for a long time and there do not seem to be any chances to overcome. While we see competition between the imperialist countries in the form of trade wars in the financial sector, in the military sphere there is intensifying competition in the Middle East (West Asia) and Indo-Pacific area. The US is strengthening the Pacific Command and 'QUAD' (Quad security agreement) alliance formed in the Indo-Pacific area. It is manipulating so as to strategically bring forth 'BIMSTEC' (Initiative in Bay of Bengal – technology and economic cooperation of multiple areas). India, Myanmar, Thailand, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan are part of this) in the place of SARC to contain the domination of China in this area and to make India the 'South Asian police'. One Road One Belt scheme, QUAD summit, Doklam developments, blasts during Easter in Sri Lanka, the recent visit of Modi to Maldives and Sri Lanka and other such are intensifying the contradictions between the imperialists and are increasing tensions in the Indo-Pacific Area.

The impact of imperialist economic crisis is making the lives of the people more and more miserable. Although the resistance struggles of the oppressed nationalities and the people are intensifying for better living conditions since politically the communist and nationality liberation struggles are weak the offensive of the imperialist financial

capital is taking a cruel fascist form. Right parties are coming to power in several capitalist-imperialist countries and in backward countries also. Fascism is spreading all over the world. As a result the three fundamental contradictions are sharpening throughout the world.

The Modi clique that came to power the second time in the country is much more strengthening its government bureaucratic mechanism by making persons like Amit Shah part of the cabinet and eight cabinet committees. It says that it will concentrate on various spheres and issues but it is nothing but for deceiving the people and to aggressively implement the globalization agenda of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists, MNC and TNC. The Modi government that formed the government for the second time is going to any extent to fulfill the wishes of the US imperialists and to obey and implement their directions. It is aggressively and very speedily implementing the imperialist sponsored economic liberal policies. These economic liberal policies are eating away the domestic industries and commerce.

Firstly, the international financial capital enters backward country like India as a part of quest for profits. The profits it gains go to its mother organisation in New York, London, Tokyo, Berlin and other such countries. There is no benefit to the country.

Secondly, the rate of profits on the imperialist capital invested in our country is three to four times more than that gained in their motherland. The merciless exploitation of the workers in this country, the loot of raw materials dead cheaply and due to nominal or no environmental restrictions, environment is destroyed in a large scale and they gain unimaginable profits here.

Thirdly, the comprador rulers of the country say that there is no capital to invest in sectors like fundamental infrastructure and energy resources but it is a big lie. If the profits to the imperialists are stopped, if the 100 billion dollars of the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class in the Swiss banks be withdrawn, if the enormous black money economy in the hands of the exploiters is seized, if the 12 lakh crore rupees of loans that the domestic and the foreign corporate companies did not repay could be taken over and if the heavy unproductive waste expenditure of the ministers, officers, MPs, MLAs and the



police and the defense sectors be reduced to a large extent we can gain ten times more than the investment now coming from the foreign countries in the country itself.

Fourthly, the comprador rulers say that foreign assistance and co-operation are essential for modern technology. This is also a lie. History proved that socialist countries like the erstwhile Soviet Union and China stepped forward depending on the domestic technology and that the growth those countries achieved was not at all influenced with imperialist sanctions. Moreover our country has enough technology to develop forces of production in the vast backward rural area. In fact since the industrial and agricultural sectors fell in crisis due to the policies imposed by the imperialist organisations and the Multi-National Companies and the Indian semi-colonial, semi-feudal system did not provide any opportunities, the peasantry lost their livelihood and are migrating to the urban areas in a large scale. Unemployment reached its zenith and skilled and unskilled workers and highly educated youth are leaving for foreign countries.

Industrialization with imperialist financial capital is anti-people and anti-country. These industries do not produce the essential goods of the people but only luxurious ones that give maximum profits. This foreign capital does not have a social perspective. Only a few rich and a few higher middle classes benefit out of them. This will push the vast masses into more poverty. The gap between the rich and the poor increases sharply. This results in a drop in the growth of domestic market and industry. The economy of the country shall degenerate much more.

In fact 70 percent of the FDI coming into the country is utilized to buy business shares of the government and private organisations. Only a small amount is spent for the establishment of new organisations. In a way such a capital will not create employment. Actually, it enters the country along with modern machinery. It is imported to India along with the inflation rates and also deprives a lot of jobs. Unemployment will grow further. FDI is spreading tentacles in all sectors of India. The earlier Modi government allowed FDI in main sectors like insurance, banking, mines, defense production, media and even in small scale

sector, agriculture, handicrafts and retail also. It also plans to get 100 percent FDI. It is a well-known fact that on one hand it talks great about patriotism and on the other totally hands over the country's economy to foreign corporate companies and implements anti-people, anti-country policies. In order to achieve this goal the imperialist MNCs, the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlords and media giants brought Brahmanic Hindu fascist party, the BJP to power leaning towards forming a strong fascist government than a weak coalition government in the centre. The victory of BJP in the leadership of Modi indicates the escalating Brahmanic Hindu fascism-parliamentary fascism.

Due to industrial and agrarian crisis the semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy of India is caught in depression. Commercial deficit is on the rise. The growth rate of GDP reached the lowest of the past five years. According to the statistics of NSS unemployment reached 7.8 percent in the urban and 5.3 percent in the rural areas. But Modi government's agenda is to serve the interests of imperialist MNCs and that of the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords and establish 'Brahmanic Hindu raj' in the country. Therefore, it shall much more exploit and oppress all the oppressed classes (workers, peasants, middle class and national bourgeois), oppressed social sections (women, Dalits, tribal people, religious minorities) and oppressed nationalities (Kashmir and the North East). It is beyond doubt that it would indulge in much more severe atrocities and fascist attacks on them. These fascist forces took up attacks in the name of 'protection of Cow' 'ghar vapasi' (transformation of religion), 'love jihad' (just war of love) and 'mob lynching'. In addition to these old forms they shall take much more cruel forms. Modi claims terrorism to be his main target and that it needs to hold a worldwide conference on terrorism. BJP said in its election manifesto that fighting against terrorism is patriotism and brought forth its Brahmanic Hindu fascist agenda to – thaw 'Article 370' and Article 35A', wipe out Naxalism, implement the NRC Bill all over the country, chase the Muslim migrants coming from the neighboring countries away from the country and shelter people of Hindu and Buddhist religions. This means that the offensive on the revolutionary movement in the leadership of our Party and the nationality liberation

struggles in the Kashmir and North East areas shall intensify. In the name of the offensive there shall be a rise in atrocities on democratic movements, students, intellectuals, women, dalits, tribal people and people of religious minorities, sexual assaults on women, attacks, destruction of properties and massacres. There shall be a civil war like situation. Due to this fascist offensive the living conditions of the oppressed people all over the country shall become more miserable. The BJP in the leadership of Modi with its 'heavy victory' in the elections is eating away the opposition parties and the parties of its NDA alliance and this will lead to the intensification of contradictions between the exploitative ruling classes. As a result the four fundamental contradictions in the country will sharpen day by day, the struggles of the oppressed classes, sections and nationality struggles shall widen and conditions shall become more favorable for revolution. Fascism cannot stop the advancement of proletarian struggles in the imperialist countries and the revolutionary democratic struggles in the backward coun-

“Lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet” is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behavior of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people’s revolutions on a broader and more intense scale. Did not the persecution of the revolutionary people by the tsar of Russia and by Chiang Kai-shek perform this function in the great Russian and Chinese Revolution?”

- Mao

tries. On the contrary the advancement of these struggles shall destroy the paper tiger - imperialism and fascism. This is a historic fact.

On the whole we can say that the NDA government in the leadership of BJP that came to power for one more time is going to be much more aggressive in implementing pro-imperialist policies, shall severely exploit crores of the labouring masses and shall more mercilessly repress the revolutionary and democratic movements. We must keep in mind that the election results gave the NDA government much more opportunity to suppress the organized movements and the worker, peasant, middle class people's movements, to formulate many more draconian laws and implement many more fascist measures. On this occasion we must remember that which ever comprador ruling class parties they might be, and who might be their imperialist masters, they had suppressed communist revolutions and they will not act anything different. This is the experience since the Paris Commune. We saw the experiences of El Salvador and Sri Lanka. We have to shed the people of any kind of illusions towards the ruling parties. It is very imperative to enlighten the vast masses of the country and build a broad movement to defeat the new strategic multipronged offensive in the name of 'SAMADHAN' or in any other name by the central and the state governments and to preserve the victories achieved by our People's War. We have to intensify the people's struggles and people's war to root out the Brahmanic Hindu fascism and all kinds of reactionary, fascist and counter revolutionary forces with the objective of establishing a genuine democratic federal republic with the following countrywide program -

- \* We must give utmost importance to politically mobilise the people of the country against Brahmanic Hindu fascism. For this purpose we must mobilise the broad masses to militantly resist the intensifying exploitation, oppression and suppression of the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes.

- \* We have to preserve leadership, activists and people by avoiding unnecessary losses. We must spread the party by recruiting new members. Comrades of all levels must be trained and new leadership established. The party must be consolidated

with the experiences of the bolshevization campaign from the village level to the top level.

\* The party, PLGA, revolutionary people's organisations and people must be prepared politically to face the fascist offensive of the enemy. We must make them conscious on the intensity of enemy fascist attack, its level, its cruel character and the necessity to make enormous sacrifices in the process of fighting it back. We must have the initiative to build broad, powerful united fronts in all possible levels on every issue and to unite with the other struggle organisations and forces. We must unite the people on a broad basis and intensify people's struggles. We must enthuse the people with the daring guerilla actions of our forces in various areas of the country. We have to prepare the people to develop their active role in people's war. The party must play an active leadership role in this.

\* We have to take up the intensifying daily, fundamental and environmental problems of the people and mobilise them in militant struggles. We must expose and take up wide propaganda against the state terror that is being unleashed in the form of draconian laws, the deployment of police and central Paramilitary forces in the areas of our movement, the expansion of carpet security, the militarization of these areas, arrests and tortures, destruction of properties, crops and villages, atrocities on women, fake encounters, massacres of people and other such forms and against the state sponsored murder gangs and form a broad united front with all the forces that oppose the brutal state offensive and take up people's resistance struggles. We have to take up guerilla war with initiative and in an active manner with the objective to defeat the war on the people – 'SAMADHAN' or any other new offensive by the central and the state governments with the aim to wipe out the revolutionary movement. We have to coordinate people's resistance with guerilla war.

\* We must mobilise the farmers on their immediate demands with the demand of distributing the lands of the landlords to the landless and poor peasants on the basis of 'land to

the tiller'. We must step up agrarian revolutionary class struggle. We must broadly mobilise the peasantry in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles in the all India level and build a strong peasant movement. We must become part of their agitations and lead their struggles. We must mobilise all the democratic and pro-people forces in support of the peasant agitations and build united struggles together with them. We must strengthen the movements.

\* We must organize the workers against the Brahmanic Hindu fascist cliques founding a base in the proletariat, against privatization and retrenchment in the name of modernization, the reactionary reforms in the labor laws, the draconian laws indiscriminately unleashed on them, for the improvement of working conditions, for hike in wages and other such life and death problems of the workers and build a strong worker's movement.

\* We must organize students, youth and intellectuals against the saffronisation of education, culture and history, against privatization and for preservation of education and scientific education system. We must take up a program to mobilise the unemployed youth on a broad basis against the unemployment problem that is becoming a great giant day by day.

\* We must consolidate the women's movements on a broad basis against the Brahmanic Hindu fascist offensive and patriarchal suppression on women, against sexual atrocities and against the feudal-imperialist vicious culture. We must build a strong countrywide women's movement.

\* We must build a strong movement on a broad basis against the rising Brahmanic Hindu fascist offensive on the Dalits. We have to make efforts to mobilise the advanced forces of other castes in this movement.

\* We have to organize the adivasis, peasantry and urban poor on the intense countrywide problem of displacement and build militant struggles against the domestic and foreign (imperialist) corporate companies. We have to spread them to all states in the all India level. We have to combine them with the agrarian

revolutionary struggle going on the basis of 'land to the tiller'. We have to mobilise all the tribal communities and build wide people's struggles with the demand to implement the Fifth schedule in the adivasi areas.

\* We must have the initiative to organize the anger that is bursting against Brahmanic Hindu fascism among the religious minorities especially the Muslim people. We must organize them together with the rest of the oppressed sections and build a wide strong anti-fascist movement.

\* We must build solidarity movements in support of the nationality liberation movements of Kashmir and North East for their right to separate and self-determination and to movements for separate state like Gorkhaland. We must take up large scale people's struggles against the conspiracies of Brahmanic Hindu fascists to nullify Article 370 and Article 35A in Kashmir and implement the National Citizenship Register bill in the North Eastern states.

\* Abiding to the political line of our party we must have the initiative to utilize the contradictions among the ruling classes and must be very skillful. Utilizing this opportunity, keeping in view our experiences in the activities of United Front we must take up people's struggles so that the people and nationalities of the oppressed classes and sections under the influence of the ruling parties will unite and be attracted towards the people's movements. For this purpose we have to enhance the theoretical, political and organizational standard of the party ranks. We must work in communist style, be self-sufficient and increase our strength and fight the common enemy. We must learn from the experiences of the world revolutionary movements and those in our country.

\* The Party leadership must keep in mind the opinion that will be expressed in the party, PLGA, people's organisations and the people that with the victory of Brahmanic hindu fascism the government offensive on the revolutionary, democratic movements shall intensify in all spheres. No doubt the RSS-BJP forces shall indulge in fascist offensive along with the government

armed forces. The RSS has the main task of wiping out the communists from the beginning. So we have to consider the Modi government as real tiger in view of tactics. But we should not forget that it is strategically against 90 percent of the people and is being realized as their enemy by the broad masses more and more widely day by day. In such a situation we must inspire our forces so as to not be disappointed and feel despaired, to utilize the favorable situation, widely politically mobilise and consolidate the people and fight firmly with class hatred mustering much more strength.

### **Dear comrades!**

Modi government decided to implement a reactionary scheme to establish 'Hindu fascist state' in the country by 2022 in the name of 'New India'. It means the fascist forces of the country in the leadership of Modi shall work to achieve their objective with a protracted plan and take up offensive on forces against them. This reactionary plan and this fascist offensive shall inevitably lead to people's resistance and its defeat. Workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, women, Dalits, tribals, religious minorities and people of the Kashmir and North East nationalities are fighting against Brahmanic Hindu fascism all over the country in various scales on various forms. In spite of the deployment of more than five and a half lakhs of police and Para-military forces in the areas of movement the people are advancing the people's war in the leadership of our party. The people are denying any amount of fascist repression and are going forward in the path of struggle. This is also the trend internationally. Conditions are becoming more and more favorable for revolution. We have to utilize this favorable condition, strongly and extensively unify ourselves with the oppressed people and organize them. Fighting the escalating Brahmanic Hindu fascism that has the aim of establishing 'Hindu fascist state' is a challenge for the revolutionary, democratic forces and people in our semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. At the same time it is also a great opportunity for their unity and united struggle. In such a situation let us implement the above mentioned program with initiative and in an active manner and strengthen the protracted people's war! Let us go one



step further towards the goal of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution and finally Socialism-Communism!

**Revolutionary greetings  
Central Committee  
CPI (Maoist)**

**11<sup>th</sup> June 2019**

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Hail the 70th Anniversary of  
the China Revolution!

Hail the 50th Anniversary of  
Our Party!

To belittle the socialist ideology *in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology". - Mao

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing". - Mao

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement". - Mao