

PEOPLE'S WAR

Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee
Special issue of the
Centenary of Great October Socialist Revolution

November 2017

13

Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)



Long live the centenary celebrations of
the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live World Proletarian Revolution!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!

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Homage to martyrs

PLGA forces, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC), Revolutionary Mass Organisations, People's Militia and the revolutionary people are working in the path of advancing the People's War defeating the repressive strategy that the Indian exploitive ruling classes are unleashing in the name of Mission 2017 as a part of Operation Green Hunt in order to totally wipe out the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our Party in the country. PLGA conducted heroic raids in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand, AOB and Odisha and ambushes in Kothacheruvu and Burkapal in DK. The retaliatory actions of the PLGA made the Indian exploitive ruling classes review Mission 2017. They came out with a new 'SAMADHAN' strategy on the 8th of May, 2017. They intensified their utmost cruel multi-pronged repressive offensive with the aim is to eliminate the revolutionary movement by 2022. Our Party worked to intensify and spread People's War counter to this 'SAMADHAN' strategy. The cadres of the Party, PLGA, RPC, the fighters of People's militia, activists of the revolutionary mass organisations and the revolutionary people continued their revolutionary tradition of sacrifice with strong will to achieve the task of New Democratic Revolution as a part of achieving Socialism and Communism.

More than thirty revolutionary activists and revolutionary people were martyred across the country since the last issue of People's War from 2017 August to 2017 November. Out of them one each is from BJ and Western Ghats, 28 from DK and three from Odisha. Seven out of the total martyrs are women comrades.

The mercenary police gangs of the exploitive ruling classes took up many fake encounters and encirclement-elimination offensives to wipe the revolutionary movement. They murdered totally 20 comrades, two each in the fake encounters in Ithagudem, Rasathong and Kannaiguda of South Bastar division, one each in Palemadugu and Beerbhattee, one in Murunga of Darbha division, one each in Mookavelli, Jaramogiya and three in Mankeli of West Bastar division, ,

five in Irpanar and one in Duruveda in Maad division. One each in Bhendi, Tavvekassa and Koder in Gadchiroli district, three in Kopenkhadka covert operation in RKB division were martyred. One comrade died in an accident of the booby trap in BJ, two comrades died of ill health and one with snake bite in DK.

In September Comrade Meghanadh Singh (45) was martyred in an accident in a booby trap near Buda pahad in vatri area on the border of Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh. He was a member of Bihar Regional Committee. Meghanadh belongs to a poor peasant family in Majhila village in Manika block of Latehar district. He worked in the party for 15 years. At the time of his martyrdom he was looking after the Technical Department. In Kabani area of the Western Ghats Comrade Latha (Anu), the in charge DvCM of Bhavani squad was martyred due to an attack of an Elephant. This incident took place when our squad went to a village for food. Comrade Latha worked as a member of Kerala State Committee in the erstwhile CPI (ML) (Naxalbari). The six AC/PPC members are – Platoon Deputy Commander in Battalion in DK Comrade Sodi Seetha, Comrade Madakam Raje (Soni) of Gadchiroli, Comrades Rakesh, Mahesh of RKB division, Comrades Badru of BBM division of Odisha, Comrade Karan, commander of protection squad of CCM. Sixteen comrades were members of Party/PLGA – Sodi Lakma, member of PLGA battalion, member of DKCNM team Comrade Jyothi, Comrade Ramsai of division supply team of Maad division, member of Maad division CNM team Comrade Raini, guard of DvCM Comrade Santhila, PLGA members Comrades Sundri, Anitha of Maad division, Comrade Mangli of Gadchiroli, Sodi Deepak, Muchaki Pojjal of South Bastar, Ranjith of RKB, Korsa Sonu, Modiyam Manku, Thathi Guddu of West Bastar, Comrade Mitha of BBM division of Odisha. Comrade Madakam Hadma was a GPC member of South Bastar, two RPC members (Comrade Podiyam Bheemal was the president of village RPC and Comrade Podiyam Sannal was the president of the agriculture department of the area level RPC), Comrades Ragal was the president of village committee of DAKMS in North Bastar, Phagnu of Maad was a member of People's Militia, Comrade Parsa Payiku was a member of Mass Organisation in West Bastar, Comrade Sodi Doola a militia member of South Bastar, a villager Comrade Madakam Durwa of Darbha division, villager Comrade Kumma Vanjaram of West Bastar division.

The exploitive ruling classes are utilizing lakhs of police, Para-military, commando forces including the Airforce in a big way to wipe out the revolutionary movement. It is also using informer-covert network and is taking up fake encounters and covert massacres inflicting losses to the movement. The attacks mainly target the leadership of secondary forces and fighters of PLGA, the local party, militia, RPC, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and the people. Counter-guerilla operations are intensified to wipe out the Party leadership and the PLGA forces with enormous number of forces whenever opportunity rises. We need to deeply understand the treacherous multi-pronged offensive of the ruling classes as per their LIC strategy and fight it back.

Enemy is many times strong, the revolutionary movement is in a difficult situation all over the country, there is a serious problem of supply to advance the People's War but the people are fighting heroically in the leadership of the Party. The martyrs handed us great lessons with sacrifice of their valuable lives. Their Communist values and sacrifice are ideal for us. Let us pledge to fight until our last breath highlighting the high values and the tradition of sacrifice they gave us to make the New Democratic Revolution successful and to make true their dreams. This shall be the actual homage to them.

From the Editorial Board of People's War

Corrections in the 10th&11th issues of People's War

In PW-10 released in 2016 June -

Dear Comrades, In PW-10, the 10th Anniversary special issue in the article of 'Women's question-People's War-People's Liberation', the 5th line of the fourth paragraph in P 90 – 'In Lalgargh Tapasi Mallick was raped and killed' must be corrected like this –

In the struggle against the land acquisition for the Singur TATA nano motor vehicle company in Hugli district in West Bung, 11 year old Tapasi Mallick was raped and murdered by the CPM goondas with the support of the police. In the movement in the leadership of the 'People's Committee Against Police Atrocities' in the jurisdiction of the Lalgargh Police station in West Midnapur district of the same

(continued in Page 19...)

Editorial

Let us hold high the Great Russian Socialist Revolution on the occasion of its centenary celebrations!

For the first time after the formation of class society in the human history the proletariat overthrew the exploitive class and came to power in Russia through Bolshevik Revolution with the aim of establishing a society free of exploitation. Though the proletariat came to power for the first time in the 1871 Paris Commune it could sustain only for 72 days. That is the reason why, after the success of Russian revolution Comrade Lenin recalled that day and told the workers and the people that the Russian revolution would advance further. The Revolution was successful on 25th of October as per the old calendar and 7th of November as per the new calendar of Russia.

Nicolas II the representative of the monarchic, feudal and military government was removed from power in February 1917 and bourgeois Cadet Party came to power. Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks supported it. In those conditions this government governed from the above and the Soviets took over in the village, factory, town and streets. There was dual power in Russia. In that uncertain condition Comrade Lenin came out with his April thesis in which he gave a call to the workers, peasantry and the soldiers that all powers be given to the Soviets and everyone needs land, bread and independence. This call initiated the Bolshevik Revolution. In the subsequent period of six months amidst many twists the Bolsheviks took up correct revolutionary tactics in the leadership of Lenin and made the Russian Socialist Revolution successful.

Comrade Lenin deeply studied the experiences of Paris Commune. He ingrained Marxism. He believed that Marxism is the guide to practice. Marx said that classes exist in this society and formulated a practical theory that the proletariat shall destroy capitalism through class struggle and come to power. Marx and Engels told this to the world for the first time in the Communist Manifesto. Both of them propagated this theory and prepared the proletariat for the future revolutions. They also realized from the defeat of revolution in Germany that the

proletariat and the peasantry must fight united against the monarchical, bourgeois rule. Proletariat came to power through the Paris Commune. Marx and Engels supported this revolution. They said that it is difficult for the proletariat to rebel and sustain its power in that condition and explained from their experiences the measures proletariat has to take up to preserve revolution.

Comrade Lenin took up Marxism as a compass and applied it to the specific conditions of Russia. He constantly taught the necessity of worker-peasant unity. He rendered lot of attention to this unity in the first revolution in Russia in 1905. Along with the theory Comrade Lenin furnished great importance to practice. While the leaders of the Second International mainly believed that revolution shall be successful in England and Germany where capitalism had developed, Comrade Lenin assessed the specific conditions of Russia and strongly emphasized that proletarian revolution shall be successful in Russia. While Marx guessed that there would be simultaneous revolution all over Europe, Lenin applied Marxism to the specific conditions of capitalism and said that after capitalism transforms into imperialism, revolutions shall occur in its weak link. Lenin also said that this weak link is in Russia and that there shall be a revolutionary outbreak in this country. Comrade Lenin observed the experiences of the 50 years of progressive ideas in Russia in the 18th century and those of the proletariat struggles of St. Petersburg in the decade of 1890 in the light of Marxism and assessed the dynamics of the Russian Revolution on this basis. He took up struggle in the theoretical sphere against the Narodniks, the legal Marxists who followed Bernstein, the economists, the Mensheviks, the liquidators and the Trotskyites. He built the Bolshevik Party.

‘The Party is not only the *advanced* detachment of the working class. If it desires really to direct the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the *organized* detachment of its class. The Party’s tasks under the conditions of capitalism are immense and extremely varied. The Party must direct the struggle of the proletariat under the exceptionally difficult conditions of internal and external development; it must lead the proletariat in the offensive when the situation calls for an offensive; it must lead the proletariat so as to escape the blow of a powerful enemy when the situation calls for retreat, it must imbue the millions of unorganized non-Party workers with the spirit of discipline

and system in the struggle, with the spirit of organization and endurance. But the Party can fulfill these tasks only if it is itself the embodiment of discipline and organization, if it is itself the *organized* detachment of the proletariat. Without these conditions there can be no question of the Party really leading the vast masses of the proletariat’.

- Stalin in ‘Foundations of Leninism’ – Chapter 8 - Party

With the experiences of the worker’s Soviets formed during the 1905 Revolution, Lenin realized the importance of the Soviets all through the period of the 1917 Revolution. As soon as there was an opportunity to stabilize power from below he first overthrew the monarchy and later the bourgeois power and made the Socialist Revolution successful. He formed Red Guard teams for armed rebellion. He organised the soldiers who became helter-skelter in the first imperialist war with the slogan of bread and roses and aimed their weapons on the exploitive governments. Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin lead the Russian revolution to success. This role of Lenin developed Marxism in the new conditions and gained a stable place as Marxism-Leninism.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 November made a favorable impact on all the workers, peasants and the oppressed of the world. The surge of Russian Revolution spread to all corners of the world. It greatly enthused the oppressed and the exploited. It inspired their practice. The imperialists, capitalists, and landlords of the world shuddered at the success of the Russian revolution and its impact. Formation of Communist Parties commenced in the capitalist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial countries all over the world. The proletariat of Europe broke out of the influence of the Second International and genuine proletariat parties were formed. With this Third International was formed in the leadership of Lenin and the World Communist movement advanced.

When revolution was going on in Russia in the leadership of Lenin, capitalism developed into imperialism. Comrade Lenin commented imperialism thus – Imperialism means the development of finance capital in the much developed capitalist countries, the spread of influenced areas and colonial areas more and more, the inevitable struggles of the people in the large number of colonial countries and

dependent countries to break the chains of imperialism, the ownership of the influenced areas and colonial countries goes into the hands of monopoly capitalist organisations and there is unequal development in the various capitalist countries. As a result the struggle between the countries that gained authority on the colonial areas and the countries that wish to gain a part of it intensifies. Both these groups conflict to re-divide the world. That is why Lenin said 'Imperialism is the dawn of Socialist Revolution'.

In imperialist era, 'independent countries and their economic policies are not self-reliant. All of them have become different chains in the chain of world economic system....it means that 'it changed into a worldwide policy of a very few countries putting the majority people of the world in slavery by hegemony of riches and colonial exploitation...'. Due to this 'there is a need to think about world proletarian revolution'...Similarly 'proletarian revolution will become successful in the country where the chain of imperialism is broke'..... 'In 1917 the chain of the imperialist world front proved to be weaker in Russia than in the other countries. It was there that the chain broke and provided an outlet for the proletarian revolution. Why? Because in Russia a great popular revolution was unfolding, and at its head marched the revolutionary proletariat, which had such an important ally as the vast mass of the peasantry, which was oppressed and exploited by the landlords. Because the revolution there was opposed by such a hideous representative of imperialism as tsarism, which lacked all moral prestige and was deservedly hated by the whole population. The chain proved to be weaker in Russia, although Russia was less developed in a capitalist sense than, say, France or Germany, Britain or America. So the proletariat fulfilled Socialist Revolution firstly in Russia'.

Stalin in 'Foundations of Leninism' – Chapter 3 - Theory

Comrade Lenin studied imperialism and state, exposed the revisionist ultra-imperialist theory of the leader of Second International Kautsky and emphasized the necessity to establish dictatorship of the proletariat in the place of the state. In Russia Socialist Revolution became successful through General Armed Insurrection in the guidance of Comrade Lenin. In the place of a bureaucratic, feudal, military, monarchic empire the foremost Socialist Constitution of the world, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR)

government was formed. In 1922 some more nationality republics were brought together to form Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

‘Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

Stalin in ‘Foundations of Leninism’ – Chapter 1 – The Historical roots of Leninism

Socialist Revolution in Russia advanced in the leadership of Comrade Lenin and Stalin facing many obstacles. Soviet Socialist Republic achieved tremendous progress beyond capitalism. While capitalism caught in cycles of economic crisis took shelter in war and fascism, USSR in the leadership of Stalin molded its Socialist economic system without any economic crises. Education was provided to all, everyone could avail medical facilities, work to all, respectable life to all, self-determination to nationalities, agricultural development, industrial development, scientific experiments, international cooperation.....there were great successes in all fields that made Soviet Union a model and ideal to various countries of the world. Then the capitalist and imperialist forces of the world started offensive on it. They took up false and vicious propaganda. They dragged it into war. The imperialist and capitalist countries were eager to strangle and eliminate the first socialist state. As a part of it Hitler attacked and destroyed the Soviet Republic in World War II. The people of Soviet made courageous sacrifices in the leadership of Comrade Stalin and put an end to Hitler’s fascism. Five crores of Soviet people laid their lives in this war. Soviet Union invincibly going forth in social development for two decades had to become a part of this imperialist war and waste its resources, strength and efficiencies for it. After the war Soviet Union revived in six to seven years and achieved the earlier development in the agricultural, industrial and social sectors. The leader of all these victories for the past thirty years Ioseb Dzhughashvili Stalin died in 1953. Khrushchev succeeded Comrade Stalin and revived capitalism in Russia. This led to the beginning of the collapse of Bolshevik Revolution.

Since the end of WW II China, a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country achieved liberation in the path of Protracted People’s War in the

leadership of Comrade Mao and People's China emerged in 1949 October. There was a storm of nationality liberation struggles and revolutionary struggles in the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and in the dependent countries that were turned to colonies. The Socialist countries supported these revolutionary rebellions. With this imperialism discarded its colonial policy and took up neo-colonial policy. Our country India under the rule of the British was given fake independence in 1947 August and put in its control as a part of neo-colonial policy. Since then our country is semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Big Feudal classes are the enemies and targets of the Indian people.

There were many changes in imperialism in the past century. While in the imperialist phase of Lenin's time there were international monopoly organisations, trusts and cartels, now Multi-National Companies took their place. The present imperialism is surviving in the hands of 500 MNCs and 100 big banks. The direct colonies that each capitalist power controlled in the earlier period now achieved nominal independence and became neo-colonies of more exploitation by all the imperialist forces. The understanding of Lenin about imperialism totally applies in practice. Capitalist imperialism adopted the Keynesian theory after World War I and Bretton Woods, World Bank and IMF took up economic theories like Thatcherism after WW II, to sustain the economic crises that are embedded in its birth. But imperialism could not overcome economic crises. Now it is neck deep in the financial and economic crisis that is continuing since 2008.

Socialism that spread to one third of the world at that time started to collapse from the revival of capitalism out of revisionism in Russia and become non-existent after People's China took up capitalist road in the leadership of Deng after the demise of Mao in 1976. The sixty years of new Socialist society set back. Capitalist roaders of the Communist Parties in these countries seized power and included those countries in the imperialist camp. They transformed a considerable part of the government capital into private monopoly capital and invited Foreign Direct Investment. The economic system was turned into an imperialist economic order.

Revisionism and neo-revisionism are entrenched in India and are in the way of the revolutionary movement. They stick on to the ruling classes, claim to be leftists and serve the exploitive classes. During the Russian revolution Lenin felt that the revolutionary movement cannot be successful without fighting against revisionism and made a constant struggle against it. In our country too we have to uproot revisionism with the same spirit.

US imperialist economic system that developed into a super power after WW II became a war economic system, constantly fell into the mire of wars and so its resources depleted. It became politically, economically and strategically weak. In this situation it is not able to maintain its allies politically and militarily like earlier. In this period Europe started developing as a strong economic force and was increasingly demanding its share of the exploitation. With the increasing competition in the economic sphere between the US and the EU and due to conditions of economic crisis it was unable to allot large amount of funds for the NATO alliance like earlier. In this situation it failed to keep the NATO alliance united. On the other hand Russia is sustaining its place. China developed into a new social-imperialist force and stood as a strong opponent to the US in the economic sector. It established the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to increase its hold and establish control on Asia. It is strengthening its strategic scheme through the One belt-One road scheme. It is trying to strengthen its military sector. Russia and China are rising as competitors to the US. In this situation the geo-political alignments across the world are undergoing changes.

The competition between the US and China shall intensify in the economic, trade, diplomatic and military sectors in near future. The competition and conflicts between the imperialist alliances for the re-division of the world shall intensify. These realignments lead to a rise in political crises in the backward countries. Asia shall witness competition and conflicts between China, Russia, Iran and Pakistan on one hand and the allies of US - Japan, South Korea, India and other countries on the other thus resulting in the realignments in other regions of the world too and intensifying the competition and conflicts internationally. The nuclear missile tests of North Korea for its self-defense in view of the danger from US, Japan and South Korea is worrying the US imperialist camp.

As a part of it Pakistan that was a strategic ally of US until now made strategic defense-economic agreements with China and became its strategic ally. On the other hand a very close partner of Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991, India later came close and an important military partner to the US through the military agreement last August - Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement-LEMOA. This military agreement of India made in order to face the economic and military strength of China demonstrates its strategic shift. The tensions between China and India in Doklam this year due to deployment of armies on both sides is a part of it.

In West Asia the people of Palestine continue to struggle to resist the constant attacks and the spread of occupational areas of the US imperialists and Zionist Israel violating the peace agreements. The US President Trump was accused by many countries of the world including the Arab countries for his announcement of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in the place of Tel Aviv. The people of the African countries resist the interventionist occupational policies of the imperialists.

In India the Brahmanic Hindu fascist policies of the central government in the leadership of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi for the past three and a half years are aimed at aggressively implementing the interests of the imperialist and feudal classes. With the pro imperialist and anti-country policies of the Narendra Modi government there is a rise in the attacks of financial capital on the people all sections.

All the Brahmanic Hindu fascist policies of the central government in the leadership of Narendra Modi are against the oppressed classes, oppressed nationalities and oppressed social groups of our country. So a situation came up where the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, women and all have to fight against Brahmanic Hindu fascism.

Attacks of Brahmanic Hindu fascist forces on Dalits and Muslims have increased in the name of protection of cow in the country for the past three and a half years. Starting from Dadari in Uttar Pradesh to Una in Gujarat, Nerella and Abhangapatnam of Telangana, Pahul Khan to Ahmad Khan in Rajasthan, the cruel murder of Muslim migrant worker Afrajul by Hindu communalist Sambhulal in the name of Love Jihad and its posting in social media – all these reveal the frenzy of Hindu

communalism. Democratic, secular, rational people like Govind Pansare, Narendra Dabholkar, Kalburgi and recently journalist Gowri Lankesh in Bengaluru were brutally killed by the Hindu fascist forces. There was strong protest to these murders from all over the country. Situation shows that in the coming days Revolutionary forces, Dalits, Muslims, Adivasis and other advanced sections shall become more organized and take up militant struggles against Brahmanic Hindu fascist forces.

With the attempts of the central and the state governments to loot natural resources from the adivasi areas of the country by aggressively implementing the interests of the domestic and foreign corporate organisations the adivasi communities are facing severe displacement problem and are losing their survival and identity. So, anti-displacement movements of the adivasi and the non-advasi people shall become more organized in militant struggle.

Dalit, Adivasi and religious minority students of the hundreds of Universities and thousands of colleges across the country are fighting against the imperialist feudal policies of Narendra Modi in order to resist the Hindu fascist attacks. In the recent elections in the Universities in various parts of the country the Hindutwa student organization ABVP met an utter defeat that reveals the resistance of the students against these policies.

Fifteen crores of workers of the country successfully observed general strike in the leadership of the left Trade Unions last September against the anti-worker policies of the Narendra Modi government. In 2015 fourteen crore workers went on strike. On 28th February this year ten lakh employees of the public sector banks observed bandh opposing labor reforms and anti-people government policies like outsourcing. Future shall witness a rise in the workers' strikes. The policies of the Modi government are not only anti-worker but also lead to the loss of the small and medium industries thus leading the small and the medium capitalists to fight in various forms.

The peasantry of all parts of the country is fighting in various forms against the anti-farmer policies of the central and the state governments. The peasantry of Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Telangana and many other states took up militant struggles against the government. On the 20th of October

thousands of peasants organized into 'Kisan Mukthi Sansad' and held a massive rally in Delhi condemning the anti-farmer policies of the government. Hundreds of farmers' organisations from all over the country participated in this rally.

Goods and Services Tax (GST) was introduced with amendments to the indirect tax system to mold the whole country into a uniformed market in the interests of the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. People and the traders were affected with these tax rates in various slabs. There were countrywide agitations against this. So the government had to lift 175 goods out of the 225 goods of the 28 percent slab. Anyhow there is heavy tax burden in many sectors. In the name of false propaganda of curbing corruption the Modi government demonetized big notes that created lot of difficulties to the people. One year later the Reserve Bank made it clear in its report that there is no black money. The government was exposed.

The country is getting bankrupt with the pro imperialist economic policies of the Modi government. The GDP growth rate fell to 5.7 percent in April-June in the fiscal year of 2017-18. It increased to 6.3 percent in the second quarter. The reason for this increase is the increase of the FDI to 60.1 billion dollars. This capital is seen in the form of purchasing the companies in our country, the large amounts of FFIs from the foreign countries. Its result is seen in the increase of foreign exchange resources to 400 billion dollars and Sensex to 32 thousand points. Earlier they were in the form of equity and now they took the form of loans. These are increasing the burden of the country.

Due to demonetization and GST policies of the government there are deep financial and economic reasons. The loan efficiency of the industries fell to 5.1 percent in 2016-17 unprecedented in the past 60 years. Two lakh jobs were created in the organized sector and the capacity of employment generation slowed down. When compared to employment generation in 2011 this is not even twenty-five percent. On the whole the imports increased and exports decreased. While the trade deficit was 23 billion dollars in 2016 it went up to 41 billion dollars in 2017. These might intensify in the coming days. If we see these aspects that give life to the economic system we understand that the statement of the Indian government about achieving maximum growth rate in the world is only false.

The impact of demonetization and GST of Narendra Modi, the shallowness of 'development' in Gujarat, the rise of the Hindu communalist attacks on the Dalits and Muslims led to the rise of dissatisfaction of the people of Gujarat, the laboratory of Hindutwa. BJP narrowly won the elections in Gujarat. Six ministers of this party met utter defeat in the elections. BJP propagated mission-150 seats but could not win even 100 seats. Modi guessed their defeat in Gujarat and so instigated anti-Pakistan and Muslim feeling apart from propagating casteist and regional feelings. But he could not attract the rural areas of Gujarat and the angry unemployed youth. He could win only with the votes from the BJP strong urban areas. Thus the political impact of BJP is fading out. This shall definitely show impact in the 2019 elections.

The revolutionary conditions of the world and our country are fantastic. Without a strong revolutionary party it is not possible to utilize these conditions. So on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of Bolshevik revolution we have to extract the genuine essence of this revolution, bolshevise our Party and develop it into a genuine Leninist Party to lead the revolutionary struggles to make the revolution successful. We have to learn the revolutionary method and style of revolutionary character from the Russian revolution and make efforts to gain victories in Indian Revolution in a fast pace. We must advance the Indian Revolution in the path of Protracted People's War in our country in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism theory. The Russian revolution that took place in the leadership of Lenin and Stalin eternally inspires us. The Russian Socialist Revolution handed over a beautiful future for the humankind of the world. It broke the chains of exploitation and paved the way for the great journey of the humankind for the formation of a Socialist society and then through Communism. Let us advance in this path and take forth the Communist ideal. Let us hold aloft the Russian revolution.

In almost all the European countries Julius calendar that Julius Caesar proposed was practiced in the Roman Empire. A Pope the 13th Gregory found mistakes in the calendar and proposed a new calendar in 1582. This is called the Gregorian calendar. Later the Julius calendar was followed in some countries of Europe and some other countries

followed the Gregorian calendar. At the time of revolution Julius calendar was in practice in Russia. According to this calendar the date of the success of revolution was October 25th. After revolution the government of Russia decided in February 1918 to follow the Gregorian calendar. There is a variation of 13 days in these two calendars. So October 25th became November 7th. The day of the success of October revolution and its celebration came to be November 7th.

Editorial Board

(continued from Page 7...)

state, a mentally ill adivasi woman Chithamuni Tudu was horribly raped by the police at 12'o clock in the night and attacked with the butt of the weapon on the eye in which she lost one eye.

In PW-11 released in 2017 March -

In the article of CC on GPCR in PW-11, the special issue on GPCR, there was a mistake in the first line of the last paragraph of Page 38. We give here the incorrect and the correct –

Incorrect - The Second Plenum of the Ninth CC in September 1970 exposed the secret schemes of the 'leftists'. Lin Piao was appointed in the post of the president of the Republic of China.

Correct - In the second plenum of the 9th CC in September 1970, the 'Leftists' conspired to make Lin Piao the President of the People's Republic of China but the plenum exposed this conspiracy.

In Pages 43-44 of the Hindi version of the booklet on GPCR there are few quotes from the Party document on 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'. The third line of the last paragraph of the quotes in P41-42 of this document goes like this – ^lkezkt;okn&lkearokn fojks/kh laLd`fr dks feVkdj*- This has to be read as ^lkezkt;okn&lkearokn laLd`fr dks feVkdj*- This mistake of translation is originally in the Hindi version of the S&T document and needs to be corrected there too.

The EB of PW feels guilty of these mistakes.

Marxist Teachers on October Revolution

V. I. Lenin THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

Published in May 1919

From V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition,
Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965

Vol. 29, pp. 305-13.

The imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia in an effort to cut off the Soviet Republic, as a seat of infection, from the capitalist world. These people, who boast about their “democratic” institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic that they do not see how ridiculous they are making themselves. Just think of it, the advanced, most civilised and “democratic” countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying undivided military sway over the whole world, are mortally afraid of the *ideological* infection coming from a ruined, starving, backward, and even, they assert, semi-savage country!

This contradiction alone is opening the eyes of the working masses in all countries and helping to expose the hypocrisy of the imperialists Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and their governments.

We are being helped, however, not only by the capitalists’ blind hatred of the Soviets, but also by their bickering among themselves, which induces them to put spokes in each other’s wheels. They have entered into a veritable conspiracy of silence, for they are desperately afraid of the spread of true information about the Soviet Republic in general, and of its official documents in particular. Yet, *Le Temps*, the

principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, has published a report on the foundation in Moscow of the Third, Communist International.

For this we express our most respectful thanks to the principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, to this leader of French chauvinism and imperialism. We are prepared to send an illuminated address to *Le Temps* in token of our appreciation of the effective and able assistance it is giving us.

The manner in which *Le Temps* compiled its report on the basis of our wireless messages clearly and fully reveals the motive that prompted this organ of the money-bags. It wanted to have a dig at Wilson, as if to say, "Look at the people with whom you negotiate!" The wiseacres who write to the order of the money-bags do not see that their attempt to frighten Wilson with the Bolshevik bogey is becoming, in the eyes of the working people, an advertisement for the Bolsheviks. Once more, our most respectful thanks to the organ of the French millionaires!

The Third International has been founded in a world situation that does not allow prohibitions, petty and miserable devices of the Entente imperialists or of capitalist lackeys like the Scheidemanns in Germany and the Renners in Austria to prevent news of this International and sympathy for it spreading among the working class of the world. This situation has been brought about by the growth of the proletarian revolution, which is manifestly developing everywhere by leaps and bounds. It has been brought about by the *Soviet* movement among the working people, which has already achieved such strength as to become really *international*.

The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third International actually emerged in 1918, when the long years of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially

during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. Officially, the Third International was founded at its First Congress, in March 1919, in Moscow. And the most characteristic feature of this International, its mission of fulfilling, of implementing the precepts of Marxism, and of achieving the age-old ideals of socialism and the working-class movement — this most characteristic feature of the Third International has manifested itself immediately in the fact that the new, third, “International Working Men’s Association” *has already begun to develop*, to a certain extent, into a *union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.

The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale.

The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx’s cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This prevision and this theory — the prevision and theory of a genius — are becoming a reality.

The Latin words have now been translated into the languages of all the peoples of contemporary Europe — more, into all the languages of the world.

A new era in world history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom.

How is it that one of the most backward countries of Europe was the first country to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to organise a Soviet republic? We shall hardly be wrong if we say that it is this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and the “leap” she has made over bourgeois democracy to the highest form of democracy, to Soviet, or proletarian, democracy — it is this contradiction that has been one of the reasons (apart from the dead weight of opportunist habits and philistine prejudices that burdened the majority of the socialist leaders) why people in the West have had particular difficulty or have been slow in understanding the role of the Soviets.

The working people all over the world have instinctively grasped the significance of the Soviets as an instrument in the proletarian struggle and as a form of the proletarian state. But the “leaders”, corrupted by opportunism, still continue to worship bourgeois democracy, which they call “democracy” in general.

Is it surprising that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has brought out primarily the “contradiction” between the backwardness of Russia and her “leap” over bourgeois democracy? It would have been surprising had history granted us the establishment of a new form of democracy *without* a number of contradictions.

If any Marxist, or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmoniously proportionate way, his answer would undoubtedly be in the negative. There never has been and never could be even, harmonious, or proportionate development in the capitalist world. Each country has developed more strongly first one, then another aspect or feature or group of features of capitalism and of the working-class movement. The process of development has been uneven.

When France was carrying out her great bourgeois revolution and rousing the whole European continent to a historically new life, Britain proved to be at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although at the same time she was much more developed capitalistically than France. The British working-class movement of that period, however, brilliantly anticipated much that was contained in the future Marxism.

When Britain gave the world Chartism, the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement, bourgeois revolutions, most of them weak, were taking place on the European continent, and the first great civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had broken out in France. The bourgeoisie defeated the various national contingents of the proletariat one by one, in different ways in different countries.

Britain was the model of a country in which, as Engels put it, the bourgeoisie had produced, alongside a bourgeois aristocracy, a very bourgeois upper stratum of the proletariat¹. For several decades this advanced capitalist country lagged behind in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. France seemed to have exhausted the strength of the proletariat in two heroic working-class revolts of 1848 and 1871 against the bourgeoisie that made very considerable contributions to world-historical development. Leadership in the International of the working-class movement then passed to Germany; that was in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when she lagged economically behind Britain and France. But when Germany had outstripped these two countries economically, i.e., by the second decade of the twentieth century, the Marxist workers' party of Germany, that model for the whole world, found itself headed by a handful of utter scoundrels, the most filthy blackguards — from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien — loathsome hangmen drawn from the workers' ranks who had sold themselves to the capitalists, who were in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

World history is leading unswervingly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but is doing so by paths that are anything but smooth, simple and straight.

When Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist and not the renegade from Marxism he became when he began to champion unity with the Scheidemanns and to support bourgeois democracy against Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, he wrote an article — this was at the turn of the century — entitled “The Slavs and Revolution”. In this article he traced the historical conditions that pointed to the possibility of leadership in the world revolutionary movement passing to the Slavs.

And so it has. Leadership in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for a time — for a short time, it goes without saying — to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the British, then of the French, then of the Germans.

I have had occasion more than once to say that it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries *to begin* the great proletarian revolution, but that it will be more difficult for them *to continue* it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organisation of a socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual — for twentieth-century Europe — political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia’s backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily then if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia; of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war². From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Thirdly, the 1905 revolution contributed enormously to the political education of the worker and peasant masses, because it familiarised their vanguard with “the last word” of socialism in the West and also because of the revolutionary action of the masses. Without such a “dress rehearsal” as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917 — both the

bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October revolution — would have been impossible. Fourthly, Russia's geographical conditions permitted her to hold out longer than other countries could have done against the superior military strength of the capitalist, advanced countries. Fifthly, the specific attitude of the proletariat towards the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution, made it easier for the urban proletarians to influence the semi-proletarian, poorer sections of the rural working people. Sixthly, long schooling in strike action and the experience of the European mass working-class movement facilitated the emergence — in a profound and rapidly intensifying revolutionary situation — of such a unique form of proletarian revolutionary organisation as the *Soviets*.

This list, of course, is incomplete; but it will suffice for the time being.

Soviet, or proletarian, democracy was born in Russia. Following the Paris Commune a second epoch-making step was taken. The proletarian and peasant Soviet Republic has proved to be the first stable socialist republic in the world. As a *new type of state* it cannot die. It no longer stands alone.

For the continuance and completion of the work of building socialism, much, very much is still required. Soviet republics in more developed countries, where the proletariat has greater weight and influence, have every chance of surpassing Russia once they take the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bankrupt Second International is now dying and rotting alive. Actually, it is playing the role of lackey to the world bourgeoisie. It is a truly yellow International. Its foremost ideological leaders, such as Kautsky, laud *bourgeois* democracy and call it "democracy" in general, or — what is still more stupid and still more crude — "pure democracy".

Bourgeois democracy has outlived its day, just as the Second International has, though the International performed historically necessary and useful work when the task of the moment was to

train the working-class masses within the framework of this bourgeois democracy.

No bourgeois republic, however democratic, ever was or could have been anything but a machine for the suppression of the working people by capital, an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the political rule of capital. The democratic bourgeois republic promised and proclaimed majority rule, but it could never put this into effect as long as private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

“Freedom” in the bourgeois-democratic republic was actually freedom *for the rich*. The proletarians and working peasants could and should have utilised it for the purpose of preparing their forces to overthrow capital, to overcome bourgeois democracy, but *in fact* the working masses were, as a general rule, unable to enjoy democracy under capitalism.

Soviet? or proletarian, *democracy* has for the first time in the world created democracy for the masses, for the working people, for the factory workers and small peasants.

Never yet has the world seen political power wielded by the *majority* of the population, power *actually* wielded by this majority, as it is in the case of Soviet rule.

It suppresses the “freedom” of the exploiters and their accomplices; it deprives them of “freedom” to exploit, “freedom” to batten on starvation, “freedom” to fight for the restoration of the rule of capital, “freedom” to compact with the foreign bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants of their own country.

Let the Kautskys champion such freedom. Only a renegade from Marxism, a renegade from socialism can do so.

In nothing is the bankruptcy of the ideological leaders of the Second International, people like Hilferding and Kautsky, so strikingly expressed as in their utter inability to understand the significance of Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, its relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The newspaper *Die Freiheit*, organ of the “Independent” (alias middle-class, philistine, petty-bourgeois) German Social-Democratic Party, in its issue No. 74 of February 11, 1919, published a manifesto “To the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany”.

This manifesto is signed by the Party executive and by all its members in the National Assembly, the German variety of our Constituent Assembly.

This manifesto accuses the Scheidemanns of wanting to abolish the *Workers’ Councils*, and proposes — don’t laugh! — that the Councils be combined with the Assembly, that the Councils be granted certain political rights, a certain place in the Constitution.

To reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat! How simple! What a brilliantly philistine idea!

The only pity is that it was tried in Russia, under Kerensky, by the united Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, those petty-bourgeois democrats who imagine themselves socialists.

Anyone who has read Marx and failed to understand that in capitalist society, at every acute moment, in every serious class conflict, the alternative is either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political doctrines of Marx.

But the brilliantly philistine idea of Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. of peacefully combining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat requires special examination, if exhaustive treatment is to be given to the economic and political absurdities with which this most remarkable and comical manifesto of February 11 is packed. That will have to be put off for another article³.

Moscow, April 15, 1919

NOTES

¹ Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 110.

² Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 92.

³ See pp. 392-401 of this volume.

The International Character of the October Revolution

(On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution)

- J. Stalin

Pravda, No. 255, November 6-7, 1927

The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution “within national bounds.” It is, primarily, a revolution of an international, world order, for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended by one group of exploiters at the helm of government being replaced by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained. Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the uprisings of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known “great” revolutions in England, France and Germany. I am not speaking of the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions *in principle*. Its aim is not to replace one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all groups of exploiters, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to establish the power of the most revolutionary class of all the oppressed classes that have ever existed, to organise a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in

the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the manner of life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world.

That is the basic reason why the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order.

That also is the source of the profound sympathy which the oppressed classes in all countries entertain for the October Revolution, which they regard as a pledge of their own emancipation.

A number of fundamental issues could be noted on which the October Revolution influences the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is noteworthy primarily for having breached the front of world imperialism, for having overthrown the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

The class of wage-workers, the class of the persecuted, the class of the oppressed and exploited has *for the first time* in the history of mankind risen to the position of the *ruling* class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered in* a new era, the era of *proletarian* revolutions in the countries of *imperialism*.

It took the instruments and means of production from the landlords and capitalists and converted them into public property, thus counterposing socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus and transferred power to the Soviets, thus counter-posing the socialist rule of the Soviets, as *proletarian* democracy, to bourgeois parliamentarism, as *capitalist* democracy. Lafargue was right when he said, as far back as 1887, that on the morrow of the revolution "all former capitalists will be disfranchised."

The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats that at the present time a peaceful transition to socialism is possible through bourgeois parliamentarism.

But the October Revolution did not and could not stop there. Having destroyed the old, bourgeois order, it began to build the new, socialist order. The 10 years of the October Revolution have been 10 years of building the Party, trade unions, Soviets, co-operatives, cultural organisations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The indubitable successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the front of construction have clearly shown that the proletariat *can* successfully govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully direct the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement.

Menenius Agrippa, the famous Roman senator of ancient times, was not the only one to uphold the old “theory” that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters any more than the head and other parts of the body can do without the stomach. This “theory” is now the corner-stone of the political “philosophy” of Social-Democracy in general, and of the Social-Democratic policy of *coalition* with the imperialist bourgeoisie in particular. This “theory,” which has acquired the character of a prejudice, is now one of the most serious obstacles in the path towards the revolutionisation of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this false “theory” a mortal blow.

Is there any further need to prove that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries? Such generally known facts as the progressive growth of communism in the capitalist countries, the growing sympathy of the proletarians of all countries for the working class of the U.S.S.R. and, finally, the many workers’ delegations that come to the Land of Soviets, prove beyond doubt that the seeds sown by the October Revolution are already beginning to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the “metropolises.” It has also struck at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution broke the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from it, without exception, all the oppressed peoples of a vast state. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself unless it emancipates the oppressed peoples. It is a characteristic feature of the October Revolution that it accomplished these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national enmity and conflicts among nations, but under the flag of mutual confidence and fraternal rapprochement of the workers and peasants of the various peoples in the U.S.S.R., not in the name of *nationalism*, but in the name of *internationalism*.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah peoples, slave peoples, have for the *first time* in the history of mankind risen to the position of peoples that are *really* free and *really* equal, thereby setting a contagious example to the oppressed nations of the whole world.

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered in* new era, the era of *colonial* revolutions which are being carried out *in the oppressed countries* of the world *in alliance* with the proletariat and under the *leadership* of the proletariat.

It was formerly the “accepted” idea that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilisation and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, while the latter are the only bearers of civilisation, whose mission it is to exploit the former.

That legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice that the liberated non-European peoples, drawn into the channel of Soviet

development, are not one whit less capable of promoting a *really* progressive culture and a *really* progressive civilisation than are the European peoples.

It was formerly the “accepted” idea that the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples is the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, the method of nations drawing apart from one another, the method of disuniting nations, the method of intensifying national enmity among the labouring masses of the various nations.

That legend must now be regarded as refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian, internationalist* method of liberating the oppressed peoples, as the only correct method; by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal union* of the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntariness* and *internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future integration of the working people of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

It need hardly be said that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Such facts as the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples in China, Indonesia, India, etc., and the growing sympathy of these peoples for the U.S.S.R., unquestionably bear this out.

The era of tranquil exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries has *passed away*.

The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the *proletariat* in those countries, the era of its *hegemony* in the revolution, *has begun*.

3. Having sown the seeds of revolution both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, having weakened the might of imperialism in the “metropolises” and having shaken its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has thereby put in jeopardy the very existence of world capitalism *as a whole*.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has passed—owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed collisions, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter—into the process of the decay and the dying of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant dropping out of a vast country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, undermining, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created—in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship—a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, a base such as the latter *never possessed* before and on which it now can rely for support. It has created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the latter *never possessed* before and around which it can now rally, organising *a united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism*.

This means, firstly, that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism from which the latter will never recover. For that very reason capitalism will never recover the “equilibrium” and “stability” that it possessed before October.

Capitalism may become partly stabilised, it may rationalise its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, temporarily hold down the working class; but it will never recover the “tranquillity,” the “assurance,” the “equilibrium” and the “stability” that it flaunted before; for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development when the flames of revolution must inevitably break out, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patch-work and daily bringing nearer the fall of capitalism. Exactly as in the well-known fable, “when it pulled its tail out of the mud, its beak got stuck; when it pulled its beak out, its tail got stuck.”

This means, secondly, that the October Revolution has raised to such a height the strength and importance, the courage and the fighting preparedness of the oppressed classes of the whole world

as to compel the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, important factor. Now the labouring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a “blind mob,” groping in the dark and devoid of prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illumines their path and opens up prospects for them. Whereas formerly there was no *world-wide* open forum from which the aspirations and strivings of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship.

There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would for a long time cast the gloom of unbridled, black reaction over the social and political life of the “advanced countries.” It cannot be denied that the very existence of a “Bolshevik state” puts a curb upon the dark forces of reaction, thus helping the oppressed classes in their struggle for liberation. It is this that explains the savage hatred which the exploiters of all countries entertain for the Bolsheviks.

History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the downfall of *feudalism*, the word “Jacobin” evoked dread and abhorrence among the aristocrats of all countries, so now, in the period of the down fall of *capitalism*, the word “Bolshevik” evokes dread and abhorrence among the bourgeois in all countries. And conversely, just as formerly Paris was the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred of the Jacobins did not save feudalism from collapse. Can there be any doubt that hatred of the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from its inevitable downfall?

The era of the “stability” of capitalism has *passed away*, carrying away with it the legend of the indestructibility of the bourgeois order.

The era of the collapse of capitalism *has begun*.

4. The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution in the sphere of economic and socialpolitical relations. It

is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and gained strength under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Hence it marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution has brought into being an impassable chasm between Marxism and Social-Democratism, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of Social-Democratism.

Formerly, *before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, Social-Democracy, while refraining from openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat but doing nothing, absolutely nothing, to bring nearer the realisation of this idea, could flaunt the banner of Marxism, and it is obvious that this behaviour of Social-Democracy created no danger whatever for capitalism. Then, in that period, Social-Democracy was formally identified, or almost completely identified, with Marxism.

Now, *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, when everybody has seen for himself to what Marxism leads and *what* its victory may signify, Social-Democracy is no longer able to flaunt the banner of Marxism, can no longer coquet with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain danger for capitalism. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it has found itself compelled to discard also the banner of Marxism; it has openly and unambiguously taken a stand against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world.

Now it has had to dissociate itself from Marxism, and has actually done so; for under present conditions one cannot call oneself a Marxist unless one openly and devotedly supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, unless one wages a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, unless one creates the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country.

A chasm has opened between Social-Democracy and Marxism. Henceforth, the *only* bearer and bulwark of Marxism is Leninism, communism.

But matters did not end there. The October Revolution went further than drawing a demarcation line between Social Democracy and Marxism; it relegated Social-Democracy to the camp of the direct defenders of capitalism *against* the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When Messieurs the Adlers and Bauers, the Welses and Levis, the Longuets and Blums abuse the “Soviet regime” and extol parliamentary “democracy,” these gentlemen mean that they are fighting and will continue to fight *for* the restoration of the capitalist order in the U.S.S.R., *for* the preservation of capitalist slavery in the “civilised” states.

Present-day Social-Democratism is an *ideological support* of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are “real *agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement*, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class,” that in the “civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie” they would inevitably range themselves “on the side of the ‘Versaillese’ against the ‘Communards.’”

It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism in the labour movement. That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labour movement.

The great significance of the October Revolution consists, among other things, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of Social-Democratism in the labour movement *has ended*.

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International *has begun*.



Lenin and Leninism

from the document on MLM of CPI (Maoist)

Lenin, following Marx and Engels, was a great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, the working people and the oppressed nations of the whole world. Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the flames of the proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin inherited, resolutely defended, scientifically applied and creatively developed the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

He creatively applied the basic tenets of Marxism to the concrete practice of the Russian revolution and to the World Proletarian Revolution in the early phase of the imperialist era. Comrade Stalin summed up Leninism as: *“Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.”*

Stalin mentioned two causes for the specific features of Lenin-ism. *“... firstly, to the fact that Leninism emerged from the proletarian revolution, the imprint of which it cannot but bear; secondly, to the fact that it grew and became strong in clashes with the opportunism of the Second International.”*

Com. Lenin made great contributions to enrich all the three component parts of Marxism and elevated our understanding of the proletarian Party, revolutionary violence, the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, imperialism, the peasant question, the women’s question, the national question, world war, and tactics of the proletariat in the class struggle to a higher stage of conception. The theoretical writings of Com. Lenin deal with almost every subject applying the dialectical method of Marx.

Lenin undertook the very serious task of generalizing, on the basis of materialist philosophy, the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as subjecting to comprehensive criticism the anti-materialistic trends among Marxists.

In particular, his criticism on empirio-criticism which came to the fore as a revisionist trend in philosophy is of fundamental importance. From then on until today it has served as Marxist critique of the modern bourgeois philosophical trends. He considered the attack on Marxism in name of “New” philosophical trends based on modern scientific discoveries as a manifestation of the class struggle in the philosophical front. He proved that all the “New” philosophical theories were no different from the old subjective idealism of Berkeley and Hume. Lenin thus defeated most ably this attack on Marxism in the philosophical front. In this process he creatively developed Marxist philosophy.

Lenin developed Marxist theory of reflection in a creative way. He explained on the basis of modern scientific discoveries that matter has the property of being reflected and consciousness is the highest form of reflection of matter in the brain.

The theory of reflection of matter developed by Lenin, the definition he gave to “*matter*” further strengthened the foundations of Marxist philosophical materialism, making them impregnable to any attacks from any form of idealism. The revolutionary dialectics was further carried ahead by Lenin who particularly made a deep study of contradictions. He called contradiction “*the essence of dialectics*” and stated that “*the division of the One and the knowledge of its contradictory parts is the essence of dialectics.*” He further asserted, “*In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites*”.

Lenin made some of his greatest contributions to political economy. While Marx and Engels revealed the various aspects of capitalism when it was at the stage of free-competition and pointed out its tendencies and future direction, it was not possible for them to analyse imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism which was yet to be unfolded. Lenin further developed the Marxist political economy and analysed the economic and political essences of imperialism.

In his brilliant analysis of imperialism, which is a great contribution to the theory of Marxism, comrade Lenin scientifically explained the transformation of capitalism from the pre-monopoly stage to monopoly stage and how this highest stage of capitalism bred war and revolution.

He pointed out that imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist politics. The imperialists because of their insatiable greed in scrambling for world markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment, and because of their struggle to re-divide the world start world wars. Hence, so long as imperialism exists in the world, the source and possibility of war will remain. He laid bare the myth of democracy and showed how *“politically imperialism is always a striving towards violence and reaction.”*

Lenin asserted that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic or decaying, moribund capitalism; that it is the highest and final stage in the development of capitalism and therefore is the eve of the proletarian revolution.

Another major contribution of Lenin was regarding the smashing of the State structure of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He explained how the State is an instrument of oppression of one class by another and how the exploitative State can be smashed only by means of revolutionary violence. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois state machine and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Drawing lessons from the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, he discovered that the Soviet form of government was the best form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of the class alliance between the proletariat, and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian classes, particularly the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class; and explained how the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest type of democracy, the form of proletarian democracy, which expresses the interests of the majority of the masses. Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative - against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Lenin's thinking could be gauged from his famous observation: **“Only**

he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin also warned of the danger of the restoration of capitalism if the working class does not completely transform the small commodity production. Lenin said: *"small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale."* That is why Lenin considered that the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential to check the rise of the new bourgeoisie. Moreover, basing on the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that, because capitalism developed extremely unevenly in different countries, socialism would achieve victory first in one or several countries but could not achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, in spite of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, other capitalist countries still exist, and this gives rise to imperialist subversive activities against the socialist states. Hence the struggle will be protracted. This was very lucidly brought out by the CPC in its famous June 14 Letter of 1963:

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

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

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

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

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

This thesis of Lenin that the struggle between socialism and capitalism will embrace a whole historical epoch is a tremendous contribution to the theory of building socialism and communism.

Lenin made a path-breaking leap in the concept and practice of Party building, which is a great addition to the arsenal of Marxism. Lenin considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish its own genuinely revolutionary political party, which completely breaks with opportunism, that is, a Communist Party, if the proletarian revolution is to be carried through, and the dictatorship of the proletariat established and consolidated. He brilliantly summed up the need for the party in the famous phrase "*The Proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organization*". He postulated that the Party is the highest form of class organization that directs all other forms of organization of the masses, that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only through the proletarian Party, and that the Party should consist of a stable nucleus of professional revolutionaries with an extensive network of Party membership. This political party must identify itself with the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution as well as in building Socialism and Communism.

The Leninist understanding on the national question is qualitatively of a higher level. He fought both the chauvinism of the oppressor nation and the narrow nationalism of the oppressed nation and laid out a correct policy for the Party of the proletariat on the national question i.e. complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination, including the right of secession, and the amalgamation of all nations. He showed how the national and colonial question is a component part of the general question of the world proletarian revolution and how it can be resolved only by the complete elimination of imperialism worldwide. According to the National and Colonial Thesis of Com. Lenin, the proletarian revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries should ally themselves with the national liberation movements in

the colonies and dependent countries; this alliance can smash the alliance of the imperialists with the feudal and comprador reactionary forces in the colonies all dependent countries, and will therefore inevitably put a final end to the imperialist system throughout the world.

Lenin creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry into an integral doctrine. Refuting the line of the Mensheviks like Plekhanov who argued that the proletariat should only play the role of extreme left opposition and leave the leadership role of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia to the bourgeoisie and that the peasantry should be left under the latter's tutelage, Lenin formulated the strategic plans for both the stages of revolution in Russia as: *"The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to the completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the Socialist revolution, allying to itself the masses of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie."*

Analysing the international and the internal conditions in Russia in the era of imperialism Lenin thus developed a completely new theory of two stages of revolution-bourgeois democratic and proletarian socialist-both of which are indivisible and should be led by the proletariat.

Leninism developed through relentless fight against the various shades of opportunists such as the Bernsteinian revisionists, Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks, Legal Marxists, Liquidators, Kautskyites, Trotskyites, etc. Lenin drew up the tactics by taking Marxism not as a dogma but a guide to action. The amazing clarity of the tactical slogans and the astounding boldness of the revolutionary plans of Lenin won over all the Left forces in the Second International and the revolutionary masses to the side of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin considered revisionists as agents of imperialism hiding among the ranks of the working class movement and said: *"...the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."*

With the collapse of the Second International during the First World War due to the betrayal by most of the Social-Democratic Parties that pursued a national chauvinist policy of *"Defence of the Fatherland"*, Com. Lenin formed the Third International immediately following the War and made it a powerful instrument of the international proletariat in its fight against imperialism.

While Marxism is the doctrine of the era of relative peaceful development of capitalism and Leninism is the doctrine of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Describing the conditions under which Leninism arose, Com. Stalin said: *"Leninism grew up and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had reached an extreme point, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution had come up and passed over to a new period, that of direct assault on capitalism".* And that *"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."*

Lenin's teachings on imperialism, on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on war and peace, and on the building of socialism and communism still retain their full vitality. The science of Marxism thus took a qualitative leap into the second and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism in the course of the proletarian revolution and the struggle against the opportunists of the Second international in the imperialist stage of capitalism.



CPI (Maoist) on October Revolution

**Hail the essence of the universal truth inherent of the
Russian Revolution on the occasion of the centenary
of the Great Russian Socialist Revolution!
Implement it in practice to the specificity of our
country!**

**- Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)
September 21, 2017**

1917 November 7th is the day of the success of Russian Revolution. It is a day on which the worker-peasant and other toiling masses over the world express their happiness and enthusiasm and celebrate as a step forward in the direction of achieving liberation from class exploitation and oppression and take a pledge. To put it more clearly they see Russian revolution as a success that stands like a milestone in the path of liberation from the boundless exploitation and severe oppression of Capitalism. It is a well-known fact that since classes were formed in the society and class struggle ensued, there were slave rebellions against the slave owners and bourgeois revolutions against landlords in the feudal society. However though the slave rebellions, peasant rebellions and bourgeois revolutions led to change in the social systems, they brought forth an exploitive system in the place of another. So in spite of any amount of revolutionary changes in the form all these were in essence exploitive systems and there was no fundamental qualitative change. It means we can say that the Russian November revolution is the foremost revolution in the world that brought down

the old exploitive ruling classes and established a state of the proletariat, worker-peasant and other toiling masses. That is why it is also described as a milestone, as a standard symbol and also as a special incident with utmost qualitative distinction in the history of class struggle. Comrade Mao said, 'October Socialist revolution started a new era not only in the history of Russia but in the history of the world' (Comrade Mao 'On Contradictions'). On the 40th anniversary of the Great Russian October revolution in 1957 November 6th Mao also said in a speech in the Russian Supreme Soviet (there were Soviets of all the nationalities along with Soviet Union), 'The Great Russian Revolution that our great revolutionary teacher Comrade Lenin started and the Soviet people took forward started a new era in the history of the world. There were many kinds of revolutions in history. Anyhow there is none that could be compared with October Socialist Revolution. All the toiling masses and progressive forces of the world have been dreaming for the past thousands of years about establishing a society where one cannot exploit another. These dreams came true only when for the first time October Revolution was successful in the one fourth part of the world'.

The great Marx-Engels said in 'Communist Manifesto' that it is inevitable for capitalism to die and Socialism to be established.

It is known to all the worker-peasant toiling masses and the ordinary people of the world that for the first time the great Marx brought forth the theory that capitalism would die and Socialism would be established. Communist Manifesto says, 'Capitalist class gives birth to those who would bury it. Their collapse and the success of proletariat are inevitable'. It taught us that 'the immediate aim of the Communists is the aim of all the other proletarian parties. It means the proletariat organizes as a class, brings down the capitalist class domination and achieves political power through the proletariat ' (Communist Manifesto, Marx-Engels).

So Marx-Engels brought forth this historic theory into the world. Anyhow it took time until 1917 to implement this theory, meaning bringing down the domination of capitalist class and establishing political power through proletariat. The proletariat made heroic struggle

for the first time in 1871 in Paris Commune to seize political power. But this faced defeat due to the capitalist armed oppression.

Indeed, the historic theory of Marx-Engels can be popularly said to be proletarian theory. Proletarian revolution establishes collective ownership in the place of individual ownership. It eliminates all the exploitive systems and exploitive classes. It is a very natural thing that such an earth-shaking revolution would travel through severe, fierce class struggles, inevitably in a path that is protracted, with twists and turns and that it faces defeats in every step.

Comrade Lenin too said thus – ‘If we think about this issue from its essence, did any new mode of production ever in the history sustain immediately without defeats one by one, without going wrong, without facing losses?’ (A great beginning, Lenin).

The history of Russian revolution too went through three revolutions with twists and turns and ups and downs!

Socialist revolution was successful on 7th November (according to the present Gregorian calendar and October 25th according to the old Julius calendar of Russia) 1917 in the leadership of Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevik) that was under the direct leadership of great Lenin and Stalin. Anyhow this Socialist Revolution did not become a success in a single step or attempt. On the contrary the Socialist Revolution of 1917 became successful only in the process of three revolutions. The three revolutions were – 1905 Capitalist Democratic Revolution, 1917 February Capitalist Democratic Revolution, 1917 October (presently November) Socialist Revolution.

The first 1905 Russian revolution ended in defeat. It is very much necessary for us to deeply understand the reasons that led to its defeat. It is because we too are facing ups and downs, setbacks, losses and other things in the present phase of Indian Revolution. Russian Bolshevik Party reviewed the basic reasons for the defeat of the first Russian revolution and brought forth these points –

1. Strong cooperation was not established between the workers and peasants against the monarchy of Czar in the revolution.
2. A large section of the peasantry was not prepared to extend cooperation to the workers to eliminate the monarchy of Czar.

This showed an impact on the practice of the Army too. Most of the soldiers in uniform were the sons of the peasants. There was discontent and rebellion in many units of the Czar Army. But majority soldiers extended support to Czar in suppressing worker's strikes and rebellions.

3. The actions of workers too were not much organized. They started taking more active part in the revolutionary struggle in 1906. But by that time the vanguard of the proletariat became very weak.
4. The working class was the important and main force in revolution. But there was no enough unity and strength among the cadres of the proletarian party. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) – Proletarian Party – was divided into two groups such as Bolshevik and Menshevik. Bolsheviks worked in the stable revolutionary path. They called upon the workers to eliminate the monarchy of Czar. Mensheviks created hurdles for revolution with their compromising tactics. They created doubts in a large section of the workers and disturbed the working class. So the workers did not constantly work in a united manner. There was no unity in its ranks too and so the proletariat could not become a genuine leader of revolution.
5. The dictator Czar's monarchy obtained support from the West Europe imperialists in suppressing the 1905 revolution.
6. With the peace accord with Japan in 1905 September Czar felt very relieved. This accord helped to strengthen the base of Czar.

Now let us see the second revolution – The second revolution took place in 1917 February. With this the monarchy of Czar collapsed. Soviets of the worker's, military representatives were formed. A temporary government was formed. Dual power came into existence. Thus the February Bourgeois Democratic Revolution became successful. The Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) stated thus - 'The Revolution was successful only because the proletariat led it. The proletariat led the struggle of lakhs of peasants in military uniform demanding 'peace', food and freedom. Success of the revolution was ensured only due to the strong proletariat leadership'.

In the initial days of the revolution Comrade Lenin said thus – ‘Workers made revolution. Workers demonstrated courage. They spilled their blood. They integrated the toiling masses and poor people with them’.

The first revolution, the 1905 revolution paved way for the success of the second revolution, the 1917 February revolution.

Comrade Lenin said thus – Soviets were formed only in three years - 1905-1907. The Soviets of worker and military representatives contributed for the success of the revolution. The workers and soldiers rebelled and formed Soviets of worker and military representatives. The 1905 revolution declared that Soviets were the instruments of armed rebellion and also the seeds of new revolutionary power. The Soviets gained the confidence of ordinary worker masses. Soviets came into practice immediately after the monarchy of Czar was destroyed. The difference is that while in 1905 only worker’s Soviets were formed, in the February 1917 revolution worker and military Soviets were formed with the initiative of the Bolsheviks.

However, the leaders of Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the Soviet Executive Council handed over the power to the capitalists. But the majority worker and military representatives though in fact the Bolsheviks opposed, accepted the efforts of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

Thus a new state power emerged in Russia. As per Lenin, there were representatives of ‘Capitalists and the landlords who were to become capitalists’ in this.

But along with the capitalist power, another power – the Soviet of workers and military representatives was in existence. Most of the military representatives in the Soviet were peasants recruited into the Army for the sake of war. The Soviet of worker and military representatives is the organization against the monarchy of Czar with the cooperation of workers and peasants, it is their organization of power and it is the organization of worker-peasant dictatorship.

Thus two powers and two dictatorships were strangely mutually entwined – the dictatorship of capitalists representing the temporary

government and the dictatorship of workers-peasants of the Soviet representing the workers and soldiers.

Dual power is the result of this.

Now let us see the third revolution, the Russian October Socialist revolution. We must first keep in mind that the First World War continued from 1914 to 1918 and the Russian Socialist Revolution was successful in 1917 October.

In his speech on the night of 1917 April 3rd Comrade Lenin gave a call to the vast masses to fight for the success of Socialist revolution and with this the process of November Russian revolution was successful. Comrade Lenin ended this speech with the slogan 'Long live Socialist revolution'. At the same time Comrade Lenin submitted a report on War-Revolution in the meeting of Bolsheviks. The Mensheviks and Bolsheviks reiterated the theoretical aspects (the theory) in this report in a meeting conducted together later. This is the prominent April thesis that Comrade Lenin formulated. This gave way to a clear revolutionary policy for the Party and the proletariat to advance the bourgeois revolution towards a Socialist revolution.

The spread of the Soviet revolution in the country was so fast from 1917 October to 1918 February that Comrade Lenin said it to be the 'success journey' of Soviet power.

The successful Great October Socialist Revolution

There were a lot of reasons for the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution more easily than expected. Here are the main reasons to be kept in mind –

1. The enemy of the October revolution, it means the Russian Capitalist class was much more weak, unorganized and lacked political experience than expected. The Russian Capitalist class was economically weak. It was totally dependent on the government contracts. It did not have the strength to politically make a decision on its own and the initiative to search for a way to overcome this situation. For example, it did not have the experience of the French capitalists to make large scale political

groups. It did not learn the art of making agreements comprehensively and the tactics like the British capitalists. February Revolution brought down Czar from power. Capitalists captured power. But they did not have another alternative but to implement the bad Czar policy. Like Czar they too supported the policy of 'do war until achieving a success'. In fact making war was beyond the strength of Russia. People and the Army were severely at loss due to war. On the whole like Czar they too were engaged in gaining vast lands. On the other hand peasants were dying out of scarcity of lands and due to the burden from the landlords. They went beyond Czar regarding the policy towards workers. They continued the cruel policy of the factory owners as it is and made it more severe. They announced large scale lock outs and made the situation intolerable.

It is not surprising that the people could not see any fundamental difference between the policy of Czar and the capitalists. They had as much hatred towards the temporary government of the capitalists as towards Czar.

As far as the impact of the Social revolutionary and the Menshevik parties sustained on the people the temporary government utilized it as a veil to sustain its power. But when the Mensheviks and Social revolutionaries clearly came out as imperialist capitalist agents, they lost their influence among the masses. The people no more supported the temporary government of the capitalists.

2. A Revolutionary class like the Russian working class led the October Revolution. It is a class that was tempered in struggles. It saw two revolutions in a short time. Before the beginning of the third revolution it gained the recognition as the leader of the people in the struggle for peace, land, freedom and Socialism. If the Russian working class that gained the confidence of the people did not lead the revolution, if it did not establish the alliance of the worker-peasants, if there was no such alliance, the October revolution would not have been a success.

3. In the revolution the Russian proletariat gained the strong alliance of the poor peasants that were the utmost majority. The alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasantry became strong. With the alliance of the working class and the poor peasantry the role of middle class peasantry became clear. This middle class peasantry was vacillating for a long time. By the time the October revolution started, it was totally on the side of revolution. It allied with the poor peasantry. Without this alliance the October Revolution would not have become a success.
4. A Party like the Bolshevik Party that was tempered in political struggles led the proletariat. The Bolshevik Party was a daring Party that could lead the people in decisive offensive. Ordinary democratic movement for peace, the democratic movement of the peasants for seizing the lands of the landlords, national freedom, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national equality, the proletariat Socialist movement to bring down the power of the capitalists and to establish proletarian dictatorship – only such a Party could integrate all these in the revolutionary stream.

When such streams of revolution were integrated into an ordinary, powerful revolutionary stream the future of Russian capitalist system was decided.

5. The capitalist world split into two enemy camps, engaged in mutual war and in rooting out the other's foundation and in the situation when the imperialist war reached its zenith, the October revolution began. They were not in a condition to interfere in 'Russian affairs' in a strong way or to oppose October revolution in an active manner.

The October Socialist Revolution established proletarian dictatorship. It handed over the power on the vast country to the proletariat. It made it the ruling class.

Thus the October Socialist Revolution began a new era in the history of human race, the era of proletarian revolutions.

The historic lessons of Russian Revolution

The historic lessons of the Russian Revolution are like this –

1. The success of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not possible without a proletarian revolutionary Party. Only a new kind of Party, the Marxist-Leninist Party (presently Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party), the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Party that can prepare the proletariat to take up a decisive war against the capitalists and can consolidate the success of the proletarian revolution can become such a kind of Party.
2. Proletarian Party cannot fulfill its role as the class leader unless it achieves hold on the advanced theory (now Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) of the proletarian movement. Marxist-Leninist theory is the science regarding social development. It is the science of worker-peasant, toiling masses. As a science it will not stop at a point. Moreover it constantly develops. Marxist-Leninist theory is not dogmatism but a guide to practice.
3. If the Party becomes proud of its successes, if it does not see mistakes in its work, if it fears to agree its mistakes and to sincerely rectify them in time without any hesitation, it cannot fulfill its role as a vanguard of the proletariat. If the Party does not fear criticism-self-criticism, if it learns lessons from its work and teaches the activists, if it rectifies its mistakes in time it will become invincible. If the proletarian Party does not make constant and severe struggle against the opportunists rising in its ranks, if it does not oppose the liquidationists rising from inside, it cannot sustain unity and discipline in its ranks. **In fact the history of internal development of the Bolshevik Party is the history of struggle against the opportunist cliques, economists, Mensheviks, Trotskyites and Bukharinists inside the Party.**
4. a. **The Paris Commune rebellion of 1871 that started with seizing the towns stood as an example for Comrade Lenin. Comrade Lenin learnt lesson from that experience and took up general insurrection as the path of Russian Revolution.**

b. So we can say that the Russian Revolution was successful through general insurrection. It means first seizing the towns that are enemy camps and then gain hold on villages. But Russian Socialism could not sustain after the demise of the great leaders of Russian Revolution, first Comrade Lenin and later Comrade Stalin. This is a very tragic event for the world proletariat. The reason can be understood thus –

The great Lenin died on 21st January 1924. After his death the responsibility of developing Socialism in Russia under the dictatorship of the proletariat fell on the shoulders of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin held this responsibility skillfully in his leadership. Anyhow Comrade Stalin did not have any experience regarding the efforts for Socialist construction. He not only advanced Socialist efforts in Russia but also led the proletariat of the world and the Communist movement. The Russian Red Army utterly defeated the leader of the most fascist forces Hitler in the Second World War through a daring counter offensive that was unprecedented. It broke the spines of all the fascist forces. But the most revisionist and renegade Khrushchev clique hidden inside the Party seized power after the demise of Comrade Stalin on 1st March 1953. It first restored capitalism and later transformed Russian Socialism into Social Imperialism. This gave a negative experience to the proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the people of the world. Mao took a lesson from this and advanced Socialism in China. He took lessons from the mistakes and shortcomings in the effort of Socialist construction in Russia and strengthened proletarian dictatorship by taking up the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Renegades, the revisionist-capitalist roaders were expelled from the Party. But the Deng clique that intended betrayal to Socialism seized the Party and power after the death of Comrade Mao on 9th September 1976. It first turned China into a capitalist country and presently into imperialism. Thus after the collapse of Russia the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world had one more negative experience with the collapse of China. At present there is no Socialist system in any country. It is the responsibility of genuine Communists to learn lessons from these two negative experiences and advance and strengthen Socialist revolutions. The world Communists will have to remold themselves to

conduct this important effort in a proper manner. So we have to deeply study the policies that the great Mao conceptualized to strengthen Socialism in China. They need to be applied to practice. All the necessary things must be prepared to take forward clearly the direction of the success of Socialism.

Imbibe the universal aim of the Russian Socialist Revolution!

The aim of the great Russian Socialist Revolution can be very briefly said thus –

- a. Since the emergence of class society the history of social development of the whole world had been that of class struggles. In this history Great Russian October Revolution is an event that ended the past exploitive eras. Why are we saying so? It is because Russian Socialist Revolution is clearly different from all the past rebellions and revolutions. For example there were many rebellions and revolutions in the human society before the Russian Revolution. According to the great Mao, all of them are part of the old Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. The main objective of these is to establish bourgeois society or capitalist society in the leadership of bourgeois class. The bourgeois class organized the worker-peasant masses, destroyed the feudal society through armed bourgeois revolution and established bourgeois or the capitalist society only in its class interest. But it saw that the worker-peasant masses are not sitting idle after the establishment of capitalist society. On the contrary they advanced to destroy the bourgeois or the capitalist class and established the proletarian state through the 1917 Russian Socialist Revolution. Nowhere the flag of bourgeois revolution was raised after 1917. The bourgeois class was afraid and never took up the responsibility of bourgeois revolution. So, since 1917 the proletariat had to shoulder the responsibility of overthrowing feudalism through bourgeois revolution. Comrade Mao theorized this as National or the Democratic Revolution, i.e., the New Democratic Revolution. All the revolutions that took place and are going on after the Great Russian Revolution have become part of the World Socialist Revolution in the leadership of the proletariat. There are two main streams in the World Proletarian

Revolution. The first is the Socialist Revolution. The second is the New Democratic Revolution. The main objective of Socialist Revolution is to establish Socialist society in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The main objective of New Democratic Revolution is to establish New Democratic society in the democratic dictatorship of ninety percent people in the leadership of the proletariat, later advancing the New Democratic society and establishing Socialist society in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- b. The fundamental task of revolution is to seize state power. This has a deep meaning in this. We must never forget this.

Chinese Revolution that took place in continuation to Russian Revolution and inseparable from it; Indian Revolution going on as the continuation of Russian and Chinese Revolutions

We know that Mao synthesized the experiences of proletarian revolutions in the era of imperialism and said about the specific conditions and the revolutionary war in China thus – ‘Seizing state power with armed strength and solving the problem through war would be the central task and the highest form in revolution’. This Marxist-Leninist concept regarding revolution would apply all over. It applies to China and all other countries.

Though the concept is the same proletarian Party applies it to various conditions in various methods. If the capitalist countries that do not take up fascism do not become part of war they would implement bourgeois democracy in their country. Regarding their foreign relations they would not fall in the oppression of other nationalities but on the contrary oppress other nationalities. Due to these specific conditions, the task of the proletarian Parties of the capitalist countries will be to – train the workers through protracted legal struggles, muster their strength and finally make preparations to bring down the capitalist state power. They will have the task to take up protracted legal struggles, utilize parliament as a forum, take up economic and political strikes, organize Trade Unions and train the workers in the above countries. The form of organization in these countries would be legal and the form of struggle would be without bloodshed (non-military). When

the problem of war arises, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars that their countries take up. Thus when there are wars the Communist Parties adopt the policy of supporting the defeat of the reactionary governments of their countries. The war they wish to make would be civil war and they would make preparations for it. But this rebellion-war should not be started until the capitalist class actually reaches a desperate situation, until the majority working class masses are prepared to make armed revolution and make war and until the peasant masses give support to the proletariat. When it is time for such rebellion and war the first step would be to seize the towns. Later it has to advance towards the rural areas. No other path should be adopted. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries did the same. The Russian October Revolution proved that this is correct.

‘But China is a different country. The specific character of China is such that it is not an independent country. On the contrary it is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country. There is no democracy in China. It is under feudal exploitation. There is no national independence in its foreign relations. It was under imperialist exploitation. Thus there was no parliament that could be used and there were no legal rights to organize the workers to strike. Fundamentally the Communist Party here need not take up protracted legal struggles before beginning rebellion-war and it need not first seize towns and then establish power in the rural areas. Its task shall be totally different’ (Mao in ‘Problems regarding war-strategy’). Thus the Chinese Revolution was successful through Protracted People’s War in 1949 in the leadership of the great Mao.

Our experience teaches us that the Great Russian October Socialist Revolution came forth as the inevitable result of the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat and the people and the great Chinese Revolution is the continuation of this process. Our present Indian Revolution is inseparable from the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat and the people. So the central task of Indian Revolution is to seize political power through armed strength. In India too it is very important for the proletarian Party, the Communist Party to study the experiences of World Socialist Revolution, especially the experiences of the two great revolutions of Russia and China.

India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. So we have to adopt this path for revolution – ‘If any country is directly or indirectly being ruled by one or more imperialist force or forces, if it is a semi-feudal country where the people do not have independence or democratic rights, the proletarian Party must from the beginning enlighten and organize the people for armed struggle. The main force of revolution is the peasantry. The backward areas shall be the main centre for their work. It shall build People’s Army and People’s Militia. It shall establish reliable, strong, self-reliant liberated areas and base areas in the vast rural land. It shall constantly expand them through Protracted People’s War. It shall encircle the towns through a decisive, destructive offensive on the reactionary state power and finally seize them. It shall establish countrywide people’s political power and state machinery’.

In the background of revisionist path and program going on in India in various forms, it is very much necessary that we have a correct perspective and program accordingly about the parliamentary elections. Regarding this we have to imbibe the essence of the point in our document Strategy-Tactics. We have to prepare the slogans and programs as per it. We must certainly keep in mind that participating in or boycotting elections is related to tactics. After the emergence of Khrushchev’s revisionism, parliamentary path and participation in elections became the strategy of modern revisionism. In this background we cannot see this problem only as the problem of tactics. Along with it, the arguments and opinions like – ‘Presently the Party is limited to a little area of mountains and forest’, ‘Capitalist mode of production gained impact in many places’, ‘People have illusions on parliamentary system or elections’ – and other such things do not make sense. They are no way related to the specific reality of India.

In our country, ‘the historic experience gained until now proves that most of those who participated in elections changed into revisionists or distorted the armed revolutionary movement to legal and peaceful path. So, though boycott of elections is a tactical problem it has strategic importance in the specific conditions of India. We can firmly say that participating in elections does not at all suit the strategy of Protracted People’s War’.

To put it in one word, we have to strictly adhere to Armed Agrarian Revolution and the path of Protracted People's War to make New Democratic Revolution a success in India.

On the occasion of the centenary celebrations of Russian Revolution let us pledge to make Indian New Democratic Revolution successful and firmly stand for our immediate, main and central task!

There are two methods to celebrate the centenary of Russian Revolution – one is the petty bourgeois revisionist method. The second is the revolutionary method. Revisionist method means, praising the Russian revolution, Comrade Lenin and Stalin in a superficial manner, giving big lectures and not at all implementing them in practice. Revolutionary method is not for superficial improvement but taking pledge to advance the task of the aim of Russian Revolution, that is seizing state power through revolution, according to the specific condition of their countries. Therefore we must certainly severely oppose the revisionist methods. We have to conduct the centenary celebrations of Russian Revolution according to revolutionary methods.

On the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the Russian Revolution let us pledge to daringly face the challenges before the Indian Revolution, the each and every fascist policy and actions of Modi government and to build a New Democratic India and work to the best of our strength to establish Socialism-Communism.

It is three years since Brahmanical Hindu fascist RSS-BJP Narendra Modi came to power. The propaganda machinery in the control of the government and corporates – Radio, TV, Magazines and others are relentlessly propagating that the Modi government achieved successes. They say that there is no poverty in the country, that there is no unemployment and no scarcity of anything and there is equality of all kinds. They are heavily increasing the Gross Domestic Product of the country with a numerical game. They say that presently India rose to be an utmost speedily developing economy in the world. They say there is no corruption in the country. They say that demonetization abolished black money. They say that everyone developed and good days have come. They claim that harassment, atrocities, sexual exploitation and

other such things on women have come down to a large extent. They say that there is no casteism and discrimination and the religious minorities are able to access all rights. 'Make in India', 'Manufacturing hub', 'Start up India' and other such slogans are claimed to have been contributing for the development of the country. Digital India and cashless economy are being imposed on the people. In their view the only thing left is Maoism or the Maoists are the utmost danger for the internal security of the country.

But in fact the actual picture of all over India is totally different from this. The poor are becoming poorer and the rich richer. The difference between the poor and the rich has grown in a big way. Especially, since the Modi government came to power in 2014 the property of one percent rich increased 49 per cent and reached 58.4 per cent in 2016. In 2016 the ten per cent utmost rich in the country had a share of 80.7 per cent of the total property of the country. It means the rest of the ninety per cent population had only 19.3 per cent (from Credit Source Global Wealth Data Base). Modi claimed to bring the black money hidden in the foreign countries within 100 days but did not go one step further even after 1050 days. His statement proved to be nothing.

The opportunities for employment in the country have absolutely become scarce. There is a rise in the rate of inflation. The prices are increasing every day. Modi's slogans of 'Make in India', 'Manufacturing hub' are in fact meant to encourage Foreign Direct Investments and the slogan of 'Digital India' too is to digitalise the whole administration. He is thus trying to strengthen his control on administration. Modi government made many anti-worker, anti-peasant laws. With this lakhs of workers lost jobs. The suicides of farmers rose.

The policy of indirect taxes was amended to transform the whole country into a uniform market and Goods Services Tax (GST) was brought forth in the interests of the Imperialists and Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists. With the deceiving propaganda to eliminate corruption they abolished big notes and accumulated all the cash of the people in banks. This affected the farmers, small traders and small capitalists. Agriculture, Industries and Service sectors were affected. They are depriving the

people of utilizing the money they stored independently and accumulated all their money in the banks fulfilling the interest of the imperialists and comprador capitalists and are attempting to establish digitalization and cashless economy. With this the offensive of the financial capital of the world and the comprador bureaucratic capital might increase much more on the middle class and all the sections in the coming days.

Though the Modi government boasts that there is economic growth in the country, due to inflation in the industrial sector and production sector, there is a rise in unemployment, in the prices of daily necessities and agrarian crisis which reveal the shallowness of this 'development'.

The Modi government might bring any level of fascist laws to eliminate the social movement rising from the intensifying contradictions in the country. It might also intensify anti-legal, fascist offensives on the people by forming Hindu fascist gangs under different names.

In Kashmir all kinds of rights have been violated and the people are forced to live in concentration camps and at trigger point. The atrocities are so cruel that the Army tied a Kashmiri youth to a jeep and took him along. There is inhuman repressive campaign on the movements of all the nationalities of North East going on for right to self-determination. These movements are repressed with iron heel. The media too is not allowed to protest. They are threatening them to suppress their voices of resistance. They are foisting cases on them.

There are indiscriminate beatings and murders of Muslims in the name of protection of cow, that they had cow meat or ate it. There is a rise in many forms of atrocities and pressure on religious minority Muslim people in Uttar Pradesh since anti-Muslim diehard Yogi Adityanadh came to power. There are many kinds of sanctions on them. Meat shops are closed and the sales of cow meat and all kinds of meat are being banned. Cruel laws are being made to control the purchase and sale of the animals. People's food and culture are in control. There are many kinds of pressure and sanctions on the other religious minorities. With this a section of the poor are deprived of employment.

The atrocities on the Dalits have increased many-fold. The atrocities on the Dalits in Saharanpur are a fresh example.

Since the Modi government came to power Indian expansionism increased much more. Mutual relations with the neighboring countries are severely affected. Modi government took up various kinds of schemes and programs only to highlight the policy of US imperialist super power to encircle China. The recent inauguration of a 9 km long bridge on River Brahmaputra in Assam by Modi is in fact to increase the speed in connectivity with Arunachal Pradesh and thus take forward the US scheme to 'encircle China'. In fact the political, economic, cultural, military, foreign policy and administration policy of India – fascist policies and methods are implemented in all spheres. The fact is that there is a police-armed state all over the country.

Our tasks

Comrades!

We must understand that elimination of the Maoist Party and Maoist movement is one important task of the Modi government. But some or the other party of the country did not make this decision as per its wish. There is no chance for this. It is because the Indian ruling class parties are feudal, imperialist comprador parties. Therefore any party or government of any color is totally implementing the various aspects of the LIC policy according to the dictates of imperialism, especially US imperialism. This happened in the UPA rule. In the present NDA rule this is happening much more aggressively. So this has not become an important work only after Modi government came to power. If we see the UPA-1 and UPA-2 governments, both these described the Maoist Party and Maoist movement as 'the utmost danger to the internal security of the country' and took up the elimination of our Party and the movement utmost important. The first two phases of 'Operation Green Hunt' was unleashed by those governments. But what was the result? History is the evidence that they failed to a large extent in achieving their objectives. On the contrary the Maoist party and the movement rooted among the masses. Though the Party faced heavy loss with the martyrdom of thousands of comrades it gained many experiences, took lessons and strengthened.

Presently the Brahmanical Hindu fascist Modi government is unleashing the third phase of 'Operation Green Hunt' with all kinds of support from the US imperialism and all the imperialists and reactionaries to totally eliminate the revolutionary movement. Modi government brought a total change in 'encircle-destroy' campaign and other such repressive campaigns, surrender policy, the policy of ill propaganda like psychological war, in the various kinds of so called reform activities or in the activities of boasting development. As soon as coming to power the Modi government announced it would eliminate the Maoists. It is forming many more battalions of Para-military forces and is deploying in the Maoist areas. It is also forming 'Bastariya battalion', 'Pahadiya battalion' or the 'Local Adivasi battalion' as a part of their utmost reactionary policy of 'plucking one's eye with their own finger' aggressively implementing the reactionary LIC policy of making 'adivasis fight adivasis'.

One more heinous policy is that it is raising the greed that they can get lots of money more than the earlier, to make the surrender policy of the UPA government 'much more attractive'. It is pressurizing the families of our comrades and activists to make them surrender. If they do not do so they are threatened to be tortured or be put in jail. It is seizing their properties until the last penny.

Our foremost and main work in fighting back all these abovementioned anti-revolutionary policies is to protect the leadership from the CC to the AC and the Mass Organisations, to much more bolsheivise the Party, train the whole party cadres and revolutionary masses in many forms to fight back the multipronged offensive of the enemy with multipronged counter offensive and mold them efficiently. We must drive them for better actions of resistance. So we have to enhance military training. We have to make them so that they can mold the counter offensive into People's War in a proper manner. We must definitely conduct the political, organizational and military preparations as a campaign. We have to strive in our efforts of military counter offensive actions, in conducting propaganda campaigns to fight back ill propaganda, to build mass movements by taking up people's serious problems and other such things. Along with this we have to make efforts to build a movement together with all the progressive, democratic

forces and all friendly forces against the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces. It is imperative to bring forth a United Front, a broad forum in the All India level as soon as possible.

Comrades!

We can advance Indian Revolution only if we successfully fight back severe challenges. Therefore we have to finish all kinds of preparations to face all kinds of challenges. It means it is our immediate and important task to totally implement all the above mentioned tasks.

Only thus we can strengthen the three magic weapons of revolution – the Party, People’s Army and United Fronts and constantly strengthen them. We must remember that we cannot go one step forward without bolshevizing the Party in the right sense. Come, let us work with firm will to overcome all kinds of weaknesses and shortcomings not in words but in deeds, protect the internal unity of the Party carefully and strengthen it much more, defeat ‘left’ and right revisionisms and all kinds of revisionism and firmly practice the correct line, policies and work style of the Party.

There is no doubt that the path has twists and turns, difficult and complex. But if we adhere to MLM and the Party line we can overcome all kinds of hurdles. We can fulfill the immediate and the main task of ‘transforming the guerilla war to mobile war’, ‘develop PLGA to PLA’ and the building of base areas and thus accomplish Indian New Democratic Revolution.

Come, let us jump into the arena of class war daringly to fulfill the incomplete tasks and the dreams of our great martyrs.

History is the evidence to say that the final victory is of the people. Early morning sunrays break the darkness of the night. Indian Revolutions will definitely be a success. It means first New Democratic Revolution and soon the Socialist Revolution too will be successful.

We can celebrate the objective of the centenary celebrations of the Russian Revolution in the correct manner only by speeding up the Indian New Democratic Revolution, by making it successful and later advancing it towards the establishment of Socialist society. This is the message of the Party. ☆

Bolshevik Revolution – Its importance in contemporary history

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Bolshevik Revolution took place in Russia on the 25th of October 1917. Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, proletariat and revolutionary people all over the world are celebrating the centenary of October Revolution highlighting its spirit to destroy the world capitalist imperialism with the aim of establishing Socialism. The great Marxist teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, party leaders, activists and crores of revolutionary worker-peasant people laid their lives to achieve Socialism-Communism. Let us on this occasion pay humble revolutionary homage to all the martyrs. Let us continue the struggle until the end to achieve their ideal.

Modern revisionists [CPI, CPI(M), CPI (M-L) Liberation], opportunist reformists, Kautskyists, Mensheviks, Trotskyites and reactionaries are making a large scale worldwide propaganda that revolutions and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory is out-dated. It is the need of the day to defeat all such arguments. Revolution is a constant, intense struggle. 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' developed and will develop through this struggle. The scientific fundamental principles that 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' provides shall continue to be the guidelines for each and every new change in the human society. Basing on the principles and knowledge of MLM we have to realize new aspects time to time with new social experiments, develop our theoretical knowledge and formulate new aspects necessary for the respective period. There shall be no foundation for new experiments without the earlier theories and principles. Without new experiments there shall be no theoretical development. Paris Commune, October Revolution in Russia, first New Democratic Revolution and later Socialist Revolution in China and many other revolutions took birth in this way.

Let us hold aloft the spirit of 1917 October Revolution! Let us destroy the world capitalist imperialism with the aim of establishing Socialism!

Comrades Lenin and Stalin briefly said thus about the importance of October Revolution in their writings – In Russia the proletarian party led the October Revolution in such a way that it did not accept Marxism in a superficial manner but gave primary importance to actually apply it to practice. It mainly concentrated on confirming the ways and methods to implement Marxism practically and on changing these ways and methods according to the change in the condition. It did not formulate its instructions and suggestions from historical comparisons or inequalities but from the study of the surrounding social, economic and political conditions. Its activities based not on quotations and proverbs but on practical experience, on examining each step in practice, on learning from its mistakes, on building new life and on teaching others. This is the reason why it does not have any variation between its words and deeds and why it could embed Marx's teachings absolutely as its lively revolutionary strength. As the great teacher Marx said, 'Marxists do not satisfy with explaining the essence of the world but they go forth and change it'. The name of this party is Bolshevik Party, the Communist Party. Lenin and Stalin are the leaders of this Party.

The distinct conditions in which the proletariat Party was formed in Russia are – those conditions are different from that of the conditions when worker's party was being formed in European (Western) countries. In European countries of France and Germany worker's party was formed when – Trade Unions and Parties were legal, bourgeois parliaments existed after the success of bourgeois revolution and when bourgeois power was fighting with the proletariat. On the contrary in Russia proletariat party was formed in a situation of cruel dictatorship of Czar and upcoming bourgeois democratic revolution. On one hand party organizations were full of bourgeois 'legal Marxists'. They were pushing the proletariat forward for bourgeois revolution. On the other hand with the spontaneously developing revolutionary movement, when there was the need for a firm, strong, enough secret struggle core of revolutionaries to direct the movement efficiently to bring down the dictatorship, the Czarist gangs stole away the party ranks out of the best workers.

In such conditions the task of the Bolsheviks is to differentiate the genuine Marxists and the fake Marxists, differentiate the true and the false in the practice of struggle, to organize experienced revolutionary cadres in specific places, provide them a clear program and firm tactics, finally organize these cadres in a militant organization constituting professional revolutionaries that is enough secret to sustain the police attacks and having enough relation with the people able to lead them in struggle at the needy moment.

Dissociated from Marxist perspective the Mensheviks finalized the problem in a very simple manner. They said that in the European countries worker's party emerged from the non-Party Trade Unions in the process of fight to better the economic conditions of the proletariat and the same would happen in Russia too, that it is enough for 'the workers to make economic struggle against the capitalists and the government', that it is not necessary to build an all Russia militant organization and that if the Trade Unions are not enlightened non-Party labor Congress can be conducted and formed into a Party. This anti-Marxist scheme of the Mensheviks is utopian even in Russian conditions ('Lenin as organizer and leader of RCP'-J.Stalin, Pravda, No-86, 1920 April 23rd or Stalin works-4-6).

The great contribution of Lenin to the Russian proletariat and the Bolshevik Party is that he exposed the possible danger of the 'scheme' of the Menshevik's organization in the beginning itself. He made a severe attack on the exemption the Mensheviks spoke regarding organizational matters. He absolutely concentrated the practical workers on this issue. The existence of the Party fell in danger. This is a life and death problem for the Party.

In such conditions, bringing out an all Russia political news magazine as the only centre of organizing the firm Party cadres in the respective places as Party regular units and as an entity, through the medium of news magazine. It means making them part of the all Russia militant party in clearly defined limits, with a clear program, firm tactics and single objective – this is the scheme that Lenin developed in his prominent texts – 'What is to be done', 'One step forward and two steps backward'. The greatness of this scheme is that it is totally according to the objective conditions of Russia. They took the

organizational experience of the good practical workers and efficiently generalized in it. In the struggle for this scheme the majority of the Russian activists followed Lenin. They stood invincibly without a way to any kind of split. The success of this scheme laid the foundation for a tempered, unparalleled Communist Party constituted with mutual cooperation.

If the Bolshevik Party does not expel non-proletarian, opportunist forces it would not have overcome its internal weaknesses and despair. It would not have regained its spirit and strength. The history of Bolshevik Party proved that the proletariat grows and strengthens to the extent to which it fights against the opportunist, anti-revolutionary, anti-Party elements inside the Party and the proletariat during the rule of bourgeoisie. Lenin led the Party in the path of non-compromising struggle against the anti-Party, anti-revolutionary forces and it is thousand times correct. The Bolshevik Party achieved internal unity and correct composition only through such path of organization. It could come out of the July crisis during the Kerensky rule easily. It could withstand as the main force in the October Revolution. It could also come out of the crisis during the Brest-Litovsk treaty period without any hesitation. It could gain victory on entente. Ultimately it achieved unique flexibility to reorganize its ranks at any-time. The Bolshevik Party could concentrate its hundreds and thousands of members to achieve any sort of big task without any confusion.

If the Bolshevik Party was not in accord to the objective conditions of Russia in its efforts, in its program (strategy), tactics and political essence, if its slogans did not enlighten the worker-peasant people, if it did not progress the revolutionary movement it would not have grown and strengthened in a speedy manner. Now let us see this angle.

The Russian bourgeois democratic revolution (1905) occurred in conditions different from those of the spate of revolutions in the European countries like France and Germany. Revolutions in European countries took place in the stage of capitalist production of goods, in a condition when class struggle was not developed, when the proletariat was weak, when it was less in number, without a Party of its own, in a situation where it cannot formulate its demands, when the bourgeois class was enough revolutionary and could gain the confidence of the worker-peasant people and could lead them in the struggle against

monarchy. On the contrary the Russian Revolution (1905) took place in the period of capitalist mechanization when class struggle was developed, the Russian proletariat relatively increased quantitatively, when it was organized through capitalism, when it had already took up many battles with the bourgeoisie, when it had its own Party, when it was more united than the bourgeois Party, when it had its own class demands, when the Russian bourgeois class was mostly dependent on the government contracts, when the bourgeois class was enough afraid of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and united with the government and the landlords against the worker-peasants.

In such conditions, the Bolshevik party decided that the proletariat must lead the Russian revolution, that it must organize the peasantry and make a decisive struggle simultaneously against Czarism and bourgeoisie with the aim to establish total democracy in the country, assuring its class interests.

On the contrary the Mensheviks who divorced from Marxism and tailed the bourgeoisie solved the problem of revolution in their own way – Since Russian revolution is a bourgeois revolution only bourgeoisie must lead it (see the ‘history’ of French and German revolutions). Proletariat cannot lead that revolution. It must leave the leadership to the Russian bourgeoisie (to the bourgeoisie that is betraying revolution). The peasantry too must be left to the supervision of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must remain to be an ultra-left opposition.

The great service that Lenin did to the Russian revolution is that he exposed the ineffectiveness of the historical comparisons of the Mensheviks and the danger of Menshevik ‘revolutionary scheme’ that throws away the objective of the workers to the mercy of the bourgeoisie. In his famous pamphlets, ‘Two tactics of Social-democracy in the Democratic Revolution’, ‘Victory of cadets’ and ‘Tasks of the worker’s party’ Lenin developed the following issues – not bourgeois dictatorship but the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers-peasants; not participating in the Bulygin (*The Bulygin Commission* — created by a decree of the tsar in February 1905 and headed by the Minister of the Interior, A. G. Bulygin. The commission drafted a bill for the institution of a State Duma with advisory powers, and the regulations on the Duma elections. The bill and the regulations

were made public together with the tsar's manifesto of August 6 (19), 1905. The Bolsheviks proclaimed an active boycott of the Bulygin Duma. The government's attempt to convene the Duma failed and it was swept away by the force of the revolution. On the boycott of the Bulygin Duma, see V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. IX, pp. 156-64-Footnote no. 8 of the article 'Two tactics...') duma but boycotting it and making armed rebellion; continuing efforts of organization in this framework; the concept of 'left alliance' after the initiation of duma; not taking up the post of cadet minister or 'highlighting' the reactionary duma but utilizing the forum of duma to fight outside the duma; not forming 'alliance' with the cadet party but fighting against that counter revolutionary party – and other such tactical schemes.

The merit of this scheme is that it sharpened and strengthened the class demands of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois democratic revolution. It paved the way for Socialist revolution. It bore the concept of proletarian dictatorship in its embryonic form. The majority of the Russian activists followed Lenin in the struggle to implement this tactical scheme firmly, stably without any alteration. Since the Bolshevik party laid the basis for that revolutionary tactics this scheme was successful and is presently shaking the foundations of the world capitalist imperialism.

The later developments; the destruction of the economic system of the whole country (Russia) by the four years of imperialist war; February revolution and the formation of dual power; the temporary government that became a centre of bourgeois counter revolutionary activities; the Petrograd Soviet Deputies as the initial form of proletariat dictatorship; October Revolution and the fading out of the Constitutional Assembly; the dissolution of bourgeois parliamentary policy and the declaration of Republic of Soviets; the transformation of imperialist war into civil war; world imperialism making attacks together with the Marxist betrayers against the proletarian revolution; the pathetic situation of the Mensheviks stuck to the Constitutional Assembly – all these prove that the revolutionary tactical principles Lenin formulated in his 'Two tactics...' are correct. The Bolshevik party with such heredity advanced with the courage of swimming without the fear of stones submerged under the water. October Revolution developed a clear objective (a program), a firm path (tactics) and a

correct leadership role for the success of proletarian revolution. It also defeated and rejected the revisionist leadership role of the Second International and the Mensheviks who advocated for the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. In order to sustain the leadership role in the proletarian revolution and the proletarian party it needs theoretical strength and also to blend it with the practical experience of the organization of the worker's movement. In addition to this the courageous proletarian characteristics tempered in practice, making firm sacrifices during struggle have been tested.

That is the reason why the October Revolution that took place in Russia in 1917 became the leader of revolutions. It was quantitatively and qualitatively more ideal than all the revolutions that took place in history. Bolshevism provided specific and correct guidelines to not only the Russian revolution but to all the revolutions of the world. So Lenin said – 'Bolshevism has not only become world bolshevism but it created an idea, a theory, a program and tactics different from the Social national chauvinism and social pacifism'. 'Bolshevism became the Third International and created the theoretical and tactical foundations as the genuine proletarian Communist International' (in 'The Proletarian revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, 1918). In the same article he also said, 'Bolshevism suggested the correct path of liberation from the terror of imperialist war'.

'The Bolsheviks realized definitely the difference between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, took the first revolution until the end and opened the doors of the second revolution. This is revolutionary Marxism'. (- in the same article).

After the demise of Marx and Engels, Lenin was the great leader of the International Communist Movement and the great teacher of the world proletariat and the oppressed people. When Lenin started his revolutionary activities in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the world was entering the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin took up struggles against imperialism, against all kinds of opportunism, especially the revisionism of the Second International and maintained and preserved the heredity of Marxism and developed it to a new higher stage of Leninism. 'Leninism is Marxism of the imperialist, the proletarian revolutionary era' said

Stalin ('Foundations of Leninism'). Lenin analysed the contradictions in imperialism and exposed the principle leading it. He solved many important problems related to proletarian revolution in the imperialist era. He solved the problem of Socialism through 'achieving success in one or more than one country'. He started a new era in the history of humankind. The theoretical and practical contributions of Lenin for the objective of proletarian revolution are very great.

After the demise of Lenin, Stalin took up struggles against the class enemies in the country and abroad and against the right and left opportunists inside the party thus holding aloft the heredity of Leninism and preserved it. He took the Soviet people forward in the Socialist path and achieved great victories. During the Second World War the Soviet people in the leadership of Stalin became the main force in defeating the fascist occupation. They made marvelous efforts that found an everlasting place in the history of humankind.

Mao Tse Tung applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism and creatively solved the main problems of Chinese Revolution. He led the people in very prolonged, severe, difficult and complex revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars. Unprecedented in the history of world proletarian revolution they achieved victory in the New Democratic Revolution in China, a vast country of East Asia in a manner unprecedented. Depending on the unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the specific practice of Chinese Revolution Mao analysed Chinese history, the objective conditions and the fundamental contradictions of contemporary Chinese society. He gave the correct answer to the objectives of the Chinese revolution, its tasks, its motive forces, its character, its future and the consequence in future and such other things. Mao said that the Chinese revolution is the continuation of the 1917 October Revolution and that it is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Mao made great efforts in organizing socialism in the period of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (now Maoism), fighting against modern revisionism and the call for Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to avoid restoration of capitalism. He thus paved the way to reach Communism from Socialism through many cultural revolutions (class struggles) in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There were a lot of changes in the conditions of the world after World War II. The economic systems of very big imperialist forces (except US) were heavily destroyed in this war. They recovered in mid-1950 depending on the US imperialist economic order. During the period of 1955-1970 there was partial stability in world capitalist system. US imperialism became a super power. Socialist camp came into existence. In the background of revolutionary crisis that continued for a decade after WW II, there was a great spate of people in the colonies and semi-colonies and so imperialism got suffocated and had to withdraw. It took up neo-colonial policies of indirect rule, exploitation and control in the place of direct colonial rule and brigand exploitation to loot the wealth of the oppressed countries. Imperialism shifted the burden of its crisis on to the shoulders of the vast oppressed people through its agents, the comprador ruling classes of these oppressed countries and intensified absolute exploitation of the countries.

But history has ups and down, defeats and victories, twists and turns, retreats and advances, setbacks and advances. The emergence of revisionism of renegades Bernstein-Kautsky who divorced from Marxism after the demise of the great Marxist teacher Engels and the revisionism and restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union of the renegades Khrushchev-Brezhnev who divorced from Marxism-Leninism after the demise of Stalin are a part of it. In the name of Lenin they brought forth imperialism 'bearing the name of Socialism', social-fascism and social-militarism. It became a super power and continued neo-colonial type of exploitation with absolute hegemony. After the demise of Mao renegades Hua-Deng denied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought, became revisionists, and restored capitalism in China. Now sermonizing Jin Ping Thought China became a new social-imperialist country and became an enemy of the worker-peasant and oppressed people and nationalities of the world.

The general crisis of capitalism intensified from 1973 and there are major changes in world politics. As a part of it the last socialist camp China deteriorated and there is no socialist base in the world. Soviet Union collapsed as a super power and degenerated politically. US weakened as super power. Russian imperialism witnessed a slight economic and political revival. China came forth as new social-imperialism. Protectionism in the economic sphere and racism and

fascism in the political sphere are growing in the imperialist and capitalist countries. Competition among the imperialist countries for the loot of resources and markets in the backward countries is on the rise. There is increasing competition between US and China-Russia for re-division of the world. There is increasing competition between Germany and France for hegemony on Europe. A rise in fascism is seen all over the world. Imperialist occupational wars and cold wars are going on in the leadership of US for exclusive hegemony on the world market and resources. Consequently favorable conditions for the worldwide revolutionary struggles are increasing day by day. After WW II at the time when countries wanted independence, nationalities liberation and people revolution, the imperialists, their agents and a few intellectuals striving for their interests brought forth fake reformist paths in the name of 'welfare state', 'society with riches', 'people's capitalism', 'special welfare' and other such things. All these were exposed and failed through people's struggles.

Thus after WW II until now there were many changes and imperialism weakened, but the imperialist stage did not ruin. It did not turn into 'ultra-imperialism' as Kautsky said or into imperialism without wars. It has become a trend for Kautskyites, modern revisionists, reformers, a few bourgeois, petty-bourgeois intellectuals to stay in illusions. Imperialism shall not be destroyed until world capitalist imperialism is destroyed from this earth. The character of imperialism shall not change as long as it exists. Let us remember what Mao said – 'We are yet in the imperialist stage, the proletarian revolutionary stage. The scientific analysis of imperialism Lenin made depending on the basic principles of Marxism is totally correct. The basic principle of Leninism is not out-dated'. This principle that the great Marxist teachers Lenin and Mao taught us shall be the basis for our theory and practice.

Let us defeat the present wrong revisionist theory in our country that denies Leninism

The theory that the old and the new revisionists of India bring forth in the name of Marxism-Leninism proposes the following points – 1. It makes imperialist war a necessary condition for the onset of revolution and says that it is the basis of Leninist theory 2. It says that Leninism has become outdated in the present situation where there

are no imperialist world wars and revolution has not yet set. 3. It says that in the present situation we have to take up the reformist line on the basis of alliances of the Indian left, Maoists, opportunists and non-revolutionaries.

This reformist line is nothing but like the traitorous 'ultra-imperialist' theory that Kautsky brought forth in the period of WW I. It argues that since finance capital is controlling the whole world there is a world without wars and so there is no need for revolution and argues to postpone revolution unendingly. This revisionist line is a model of reformist thoughts and opportunist practice. A revisionist intellectual of India, Prabhat Patnaik proposed this theory in his article 'A theory of imperialism' in 2016. It is important for us to analyse and expose the various attitudes and suggestions of this theory with a proletarian revolutionary perspective. Let us deeply see and analyse the arguments this theory puts forth. Let us expose its hollowness with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding.

1. In its argument that imperialist war is a necessary condition for the onset of revolution it stealthily introduces phase wise theory into the proletarian movement

By saying that imminence of revolution is the basis of Leninist theory this theory exposes its classical, fake Marxist, reformist perspective. The basic argument of Leninist theory says that revolution is imminent. But in India it says that no revolutionary spate is seen and so a proletarian party should not take up revolutionary activities until there is an imminence of revolution and this is nothing but stealthily bringing the phase theory into the proletarian movement. It expects thus – "Until revolution is set, revolutionaries must leave the path of revolution and keep practical parliamentary politics in command. They must unite with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties 'in struggles, forums and even in the government'. To wait for the imminence of revolution shall be the basis of genuine revolutionary practice. As soon as there is an imminence of revolution the movement must change into revolutionary 'mode'. It means revolutionary party that is immersed in opportunist compromises and welfare programs in the stage earlier to the imminence of revolution must suddenly go into movement. After revolution is served it must 'push all aside to have the meal'". It must be emphasised that this phase wise theory about

imminence of revolution is a certain strategy that confirms revolution shall never be imminent. In order to actually understand the Leninist theoretical basis we have to understand not about the imminence of revolution but the actual essence of Leninist Thought about the reality of revolution.

Imminence of revolution is a stable concept. It suggests that revolution shall come irrespective of any historical processes. The reality of revolution is a dynamic concept. It shall be a part of a stable change in history. It suggests the gradual and stable maturation of the contradictions in capitalism, the development of proletarian historical party and the proletarian consciousness as its subjective force of this reality. In order to understand the reality of revolutionary we have to specifically study each and every problem that comes forth in the process of social history as a part of liberation of the proletariat. On the contrary the theory of imminence of revolution does not view the revolutionary movement as a complete whole but divides the conditions before the imminence of revolution and those after it. It does not speak about the continuation of these conditions. It says that the movement between these two conditions turns from reformism to revolutionary mode by switching a button. Reality sees the revolutionary movement as a comprehensive whole whereas imminence divides it into pieces and makes it defunct. The theory of imminence of revolution sees every political problem in the phase before the situation only as a problem of reform. On the contrary, reality does not see the problem that comes forth on a day as that particular of the day but also as a fundamental problem related to revolution. Leninism explains the dialectical unity between 'the problem that comes forth that day' and 'the fundamental problem related to revolution'. Leninism is the study of dialectical unity between the immediate political problems and the ultimate revolutionary movement.

Lenin clarifies thus – An objective historical process revolves in the silent circles of the bourgeois society, prepares the ground for its destruction and understands the necessity to develop the subjective force conscious towards this reality and enough tempered through revolutionary political struggles to fulfill this reality. More than this, especially revolutionary reality combines the daily political effort of

the revolutionary proletarian party with its ultimate aim of proletarian revolution. The deceptive theory of the (revolutionary) situation lacks confidence towards such kind of effort.

The stability in the political strategy of Lenin gives place to two factors – one is that, the political strategy of Lenin always depended on extensive class analysis of contemporary economic relations. The second is that, every strategy that Lenin formulated is seen in the reality of its ultimate objective, it means the reality of proletarian revolution. As per Lenin, the main responsibilities of the vanguard proletariat are – assessing the opportunities coming forth in each and every political situation depending on the class analysis regarding the socio-economic reality, molding the proletarian movement towards fulfilling the most fundamental development and aiming it against the attempts of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie to see that it does not undergo a fundamental change.

Lenin explained the revolutionary duty of the communists at times when revolution is not yet imminent exactly like this – ‘It must stand like a hero fulfilling revolutionary interests (through propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary organisations.....it must be able to search, find and correctly confirm the specific line to lead the people in realistic, decisive and ultimate revolutionary struggle or the specific process in which incidents take turn’ (Left-wing Communism-an infantile disorder). While the Communists attempt ‘to search and find the specific line that leads the people towards the real, decisive and ultimate revolutionary struggle’ and to formulate specific strategy for the movement, the reformist social democrats due to their petty-bourgeois class perspective, due to searching in the darkness, since they see only the present, due to their vacillation, since they choose various compromising alternatives and so lose any good opinions on the reality of ‘ultimate revolutionary struggle’, ultimately reach an easy, reactionary alternative to lessen the intensity of the present crisis possibly soon and without any extra-ordinary incidents.

2. In the present situation where there are no imperialist world wars and when there is no imminence of revolution saying that Leninism is outdated is only to indefinitely postpone revolution

Another argument of the revisionist theoreticians is that 'after WW II capitalism announced three main subsidizations to overcome the danger of communism. They are - putting an end to colonial policy, structuralizing democracy depending upon the general adult voting policy and the intervention of the state in 'demand management' for utmost employment opportunities. Thus 'the era ending enmities between the imperialists' emerged. Finance capital came forth in the era of 'warless imperialism'. The divided world is in the way of its free movement. The era that took up struggles to re-divide the world between the monopoly organisations that was the centre of the opponent countries ended when the organisations no more were in the centre. The present accord between the imperialist forces is permanent. The present wars do not reflect the imperialist contradictions. They are not even cold wars. 'Imminence of revolution is the basis for Leninist theory. The reason for this situation is the war between the imperialists. At present finance capital totally destroyed the opportunity for imperialist enmities and imperialist wars. There is no chance for imminence of revolution. So the Leninist theory is outdated'.

This argument is a wrong description of the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and nakedly distorting Marx's ideas on revolutionary change. Let us see a few historical illustrations through which we can understand the class basis of this argument. In 1915 Karl Kautsky brought forth his 'ultra-imperialist' theory to justify his 'centrist' line that did not oppose WW I in a revolutionary way and his ridiculous wrong neutral policy at the time of war.

The theory of ultra-imperialism' opposes Leninism. It dreams of world peace in capitalism. Any agreement between the imperialist forces shall be only to loot the world jointly because of the unequal development in capitalism. This depends relatively on their strengths. It deteriorates with time. Another agreement comes forth by force. Conflicts-Wars between the imperialist forces are a permanent characteristic. Though they stopped at times of agreement to ceasefire they are only temporary intervals. Permanent peace is impossible in capitalism.

A marked change seen after the WW II is that the impact of finance capital increased manifold on the whole world. This led to the

intensification of antagonisms between the imperialist forces and other countries. After 2000 imperialist forces made serial wars in many places of the world for very small reasons. However these revisionist theoreticians say that these wars are not related with imperialism. When there are conflicts for a long time in Syria with the various imperialist blocks adopting different tactics and fighting for various interests and supporting mutually antagonistic parties it is ridiculous on their part to say so.

They support the 'ultra-imperialist' theory of Kautsky and deliberately forget two aspects. One is that the united wars of imperialism against the backward countries are an expression of the deeply entrenched contradictions of monopoly capitalism. The second is that with their reformist view these revisionist theoreticians reject the real spirit in Lenin's concept that 'it is not possible to avoid the conflicts between the imperialists in monopoly stage of capitalism'.

For example let us think that all the imperialist countries formed an alliance to 'divide' the Asian regions in a peaceful manner. Can we 'believe' that this shall be an alliance of 'international integral finance capital'? Will it avoid pressures, conflicts and struggles? It is impossible. It is because in capitalism the reliable basis to divide the influence, interests, colonies and other such things of the capitalists depends only on their economic, financial and military strength. In capitalism the strength of these partners in this division will not be equal. Equal development of countries is impossible in capitalism. If there is a change in the relative strength of the partner countries re-division is certain. This will definitely lead to conflicts. This is the reason Lenin attributed to the unstable character of the agreements between the imperialists.

A routine argument that comes forth against the opportunities for war is that classification of the present imperialism as that where foreign lands are not directly ruled by the imperialist forces and that dependent on finance capital spread all over. It means internationally it is neither imperialism nor post imperialism. This is global capitalism. Those that play role in this (the giant corporations) do not belong to any one country but are active all over the world and so individual countries do not take up struggles between these corporations. They

pay attention only to pave the way to take up activities freely and to 'right to exploit' across the world. This is confirmed through 'integral' imperialist block. This attitude arises due to lack of proper study of the situation. Such trends exist in our country and internationally. We have to strongly condemn these.

As far as capitalist ruling class is concerned war is an effective way to bring others on their side. The Multi-National giant companies that are eating away the world gradually are still rooted strongly in the specific state. It is very closely related with the political higher classes. So, stating that finance capital reached international level in order to end the antagonisms between the imperialists is only discarding this fact.

As Lenin pointed out, '....whatever form the alliances 'between imperialists' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances take, whether it takes the form of one imperialist alliance against another or whether it is a general alliance combining all the imperialist forces, all of them inevitably reach 'ceasefire agreement' in the period between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the basis for wars and they emerge from wars again. One controls the other. They give birth once to peaceful struggle and once to violent struggle alternatively on the basis of imperialist relations in the world economic and political affairs....But Kautsky over intelligently separates the links of a chain. He separates the future violent conflict....from the peaceful alliance of all the present forces..... Instead of showing the lively relation between the peace period of imperialism and the war period of imperialism he created lifeless despair among the workers. Thus he made their lifeless leaders compromise' (Lenin in 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism').

The critical perspective of Lenin towards imperialism mainly depends on three important aspects. One is the inevitability of wars. The revisionist theoreticians do not make any attempt to touch the rest two aspects. It is because the readers clearly understand the greatness of Lenin's analysis. The first is - what is the primary aspect of Lenin's criticism on imperialism? Is it that it brings war? No. It is an important aspect but not the primary one. As per Lenin's understanding the primary aspect is that the only way to come out of imperialist phase is social revolution. Lenin said, 'If we wish to give the shortest definition for imperialism we must say it is the monopoly phase of capitalism'

(Lenin in 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism'). In this book he also says, 'the striving of the monopoly organisations and the oligarchy crave not for freedom but for domination; the exploitation of small or weak nationalities more and more by a few very rich or very powerful countries – all these brought forth such distinct characters to imperialism that we are forced to describe imperialism as parasitic or moribund capitalism'. This understanding clearly explains the present imperialist situation. The definition that Lenin gave to imperialism as 'capitalism on the death bed' correctly represents its written meaning in the present time.

Capitalism lost all its progressive characteristics in its imperialist phase. Presently it is 'apparently alive'. There is nothing it can give to humankind. This is in fact that encouraged Lenin to give the call that the era of social revolution has begun. Lenin said, 'When a big business organization reaches a spectacular level, if collective information is correctly calculated and depending on it if the supply of primary raw material is arranged in a planned manner two thirds or three fourths of the necessary for crores of people; when the raw material is transported in a regular and planned manner to the most favorable places of production and at times to those mutually hundreds and thousands of miles away; when a single center directs all the phases of work on goods until the production of various kinds of complete articles; when these complete articles are distributed among the crores of consumers in a planned manner (US oil trust selling oil in the US and Germany) – then it will be clear that – it is not 'mutual bond' but production is socialized; that the upper layer of private economic relations and private property relations is no more according to its internal matter, that it inevitably decays, if its removal is artificially delayed (if there is severe harm and the treatment for this opportunist abscess continues for a long time), this upper layer can stay in a weakened situation for a long time but shall inevitably be removed' (in the same book). Lenin wrote this point hundred years back when computer was not yet invented. At present the above processes are taking place in a vast, speedy and very effective level.

The revisionist theoreticians are trying to hide this revolutionary conclusion by keeping silent about this angle of Lenin's criticism on

imperialism. On the contrary they are shamelessly distorting Leninism. They say that there are no imperialist wars now and deny revolution. They say Leninism ended. They postpone revolution unendingly and say that it is important we go back 'towards strengthening democracy'! Such people that permanently postpone revolution do not see the visual facts but unendingly search as to when the objective conditions mature. They describe the future of socialism as something very distant, unwarranted and vague.

The vital aspect of Leninist argument on imperialism is this – Imperialism is capitalism on death bed. It makes socialist revolution a certain necessity. The objective conditions that mature through imperialism make socialist revolution possible. Imperialist wars that break through the contradictions in monopoly capitalism make socialist revolution unavoidable.

Does Marxism-Leninism agree with the theory of the revisionist theoreticians that conflict between the imperialists is a necessary pre-condition for revolution situation? It absolutely does not. Imperialist wars make revolution unavoidable does not mean that in any way only wars make it inevitable. In Russia imperialist war worked as an immediate reason for revolution. But they say the opposite.

'For example, Lenin opines about England that we cannot say how soon genuine proletarian revolution begins and which immediate reason works more to instigate, ignite and bring the vast people still in sleepy state into struggle – no one can tell beforehand.breach or the melting of snow is possible due to parliamentary crisis, crisis that emanates from colonial, imperialist contradictions that are helplessly knit and become more and more painful and severe, or out of any third reason or anything else' (Leftwing Communism-an infantile disorder, Vol VIII, Lenin works). It is very clear that Lenin considered imperialist crisis as one of the reasons that triggered revolution.

3. The liquidate argument to take up reformist line on the basis of alliances including Indian left and Maoists with opportunists and non-revolutionaries

The revisionist theoreticians argue that 'though various ranks of movements are emerging spontaneously in the world they do not demonstrate a stable attitude against capitalism. They lack the

consciousness to see that proletarian liberation is the only practical solution for the present contradictions. They still have 'economistic' character. They mostly demand not to change the mode of production but to re-distribute wealth in a just way. The reason is the lack of a proletarian vanguard team that is enough class conscious to expose the social and political origins of this economic problem and to unite these spontaneous struggles into a broad social struggle more committed to the objective'.

They went to the extent of saying 'there are no imperialist wars, there is no imminence of revolution and so there is no need for a revolutionary left'. In this condition 'if communism is to be practical new ways must be found basing on the conditions imposed by the era after Leninism and it must restructure itself. This is a difficult work. This is more difficult since there is an ordinary, unwanted trend in the revolutionaries to keep aside the practical politics and keep moral cleanliness in command and reject the aspect that there is no imminence of revolution'.

The origins of the decline of left in the world lie in its inefficiency in knowing and preserving the relevance of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory in fulfilling the contemporary interests basing on revolutionary reality, in discarding the question of revolution, in changing its character into Social democracy and in its decline into 'reformist' ranks. It means 'revolutionary left' became 'social democratization in a regular method'. It took up political strategy of social democracy. Its political perspective changed in such a manner not to make great transformations in crisis but to manage it. The left parties behaved like the social democratic parties of the Second International. Non-revolutionary routine activities became absolute for them. They are forming alliances with capitalists and middle class liberals for the preservation of democratic capitalist state organisations. They demand reforms not through collective, militant movements but through parliamentary activities and routine collective bargaining.

There are clear political and economic reasons for this 'social democratisation'. After WW II, in 1955-1970 there was partial stability with a boom in capitalism. They called it 'the golden era of capitalism'. It aroused illusions among many intellectuals. They argued that the contradictions Marx found in capitalism were overcome. The theory of

John Maynard Keynes that governments must intervene in the economic system to solve crisis came forth. With this they forgot the revolutionary reality and discarded Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory. They fell flat for the logic of capital and turned reformers. But in the process when crisis was considered to have been thrown into the waste basket of history it broke open the door and returned in the end of 1960s-beginning of the 1970s. Reformers lacked sleep.

According to the Leninist perspective though the objective conditions are not matured the proletarian vanguard must make stable efforts to enhance class consciousness in the proletariat and influence them by explaining revolutionary necessity and possibility. As Lenin patiently repeatedly taught, the revolutionary task of the vanguard is to enlighten the oppressed class about ‘...the necessity of revolution, the necessity to immediately take it up and its inevitability’. While the revisionist theoreticians strongly tell the proletariat that revolution is not at all in the agenda and ‘show’ ‘incidents’ to prove it Lenin was firmly taking forth the inevitability of revolution. While the revisionist theoreticians were singing lullabies for them Lenin was enlightening them with hard facts. We can see this difference in what Lenin said – Though there is no imminence of revolution and there is only a chance for it ‘revolutionary Marxist is different from the idle and petty-bourgeois with the efficiency to teach maturing revolutionary necessity to the uneducated people, to prove it inevitable, to explain the benefits of it to the people and to prepare the laboring, toiling, exploited people for it’. (Lenin works-Vol VII). It is clear from the call of the revisionist theoreticians to the left not to be revolutionary that, according to Lenin telling the left to be idle like the first rank petty-bourgeoisie. Thus they are bringing forth right trend amidst deepest imperialist crisis. They present parliamentary path before the oppressed people that strengthens liberal democracy depending on general adult voting method. In the situation where there is a centralized state and a very powerful modern army in India, where it is totally exposed that parliamentary democracy is nothing but bourgeoisie’s deception, it is clear that it is impossible that a proletarian revolutionary party gains majority seats in parliament and comes to power, that it introduces socialist constitution, neutralizes the repressive instruments of the state and finally destroys that state and establishes proletarian

dictatorship. Unless the worker-peasant and other oppressed people in the leadership of proletariat destroy the Indian comprador ruling classes supported by the imperialists, they will never part with their property and power. We have the experiences of Chile and Nicaragua of 1970s and 1980s. So we have to outright reject and defeat the arguments of the revisionist theoreticians.

Let us be firm on the line of seizing political power through armed strength!

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism says that the main question in revolution is the seizure of political power. The central task and the highest form of revolution are to seize political power through armed strength. This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Those who do not agree this truth or nominally agree and do not agree in reality, they are not genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. What is the specific condition of India that makes revolution successful? How did revolutions become successful in various countries according to the specific conditions? Addressing the communists of various countries of the East 'in the speech in the second all Russia Congress of the Communist parties of the Eastern countries' in 1919 November Lenin said basing on the great practice of October Revolution – 'They must necessarily see the special conditions in their areas. They must confide in the normal Communist principles and practice and mold themselves according to their distinct conditions that are not seen in the European countries'. He emphatically added, 'the Communists in the world never faced such a task'. If the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not combined with the specific revolutionary practice of the respective country the seizure of political power and the question of making the revolution successful does not arise. The CPC in the leadership of Mao creatively implemented this principle in China and made the New Democratic Revolution successful and took up the process of consolidating Socialism to reach the objective of Communism.

In India many revolutionaries in the leadership of the founders of CPI (Maoist) Comrade CM and Comrade KC defeated the revisionism of the CPI and CPI(M) and took up the path of Naxalbari and the path of Protracted Armed struggle as the form of continuation of Paris Commune, October Revolution and Chinese Revolution. This is the

ongoing New Democratic Revolution in the leadership of CPI (Maoist) in India. This is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Revolution in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India inevitably takes place in two stages. The first stage is the New Democratic Revolution and the second is the Socialist Revolution. Different forms of these revolutionary processes are mutually related. Our Party in the document on 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' analysed the four characteristics of semi-colonial, semi-feudal India, its distinctness of division into various castes, the special social sections, the actual conditions of the nationalities, the major contradictions in the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal India, the two fundamental contradictions and the main contradiction among them. It formulated special policies for solving the various special problems. The strategy and tactics were formulated with an explanation of the targets of Indian Revolution as imperialism, comprador bourgeois capitalism and feudalism and to destroy them, about the motive forces of Indian Revolution, the fundamental tasks of revolution, seizure of political power through Protracted People's War, Agrarian Revolution to be the axle of New Democratic Revolution, People's Army-Base areas, three magic weapons (Party, People's Army and United Front), the structure of revolution-its future, its future consequence and other such things. In the past fifty years CPI (Maoist) came to be the correct path by applying and practicing the theory of MLM to the specific conditions of India. This correct path developed only by defeating the right and the left opportunist wrong lines in this revolutionary practice. Genuine Communists united in the process of this struggle and CPI (Maoist) was formed, held Unity Congress that took up the correct path. The Party did not quiver many massacres. It did not leave arms. It took lessons from a few negative teachers, stated the truth that it is impossible to make revolution successful without armed struggle and is advancing the Indian Revolution. During the people's war against Chiang-Kai Sheik for liberation Mao said, 'the people's armed forces must preserve every weapon, every bullet and everything. They must not be made to surrender' (taken from the reference in the 10th chapter-'*Imperialism is the dawn of proletarian socialist revolution*' of the Shanghai Text - '*The basic principles of political economy*')

In the intensifying revolutionary crisis in the international and domestic spheres for the past fifty years, our party has been developing

proper tactics according to the changing conditions in the revolutionary movement and is going forward. It was possible only in the process of participating in severe class struggles and in People's War and People's struggles. It means that correct, firm tactics of struggle were formulated only through practical experience and with relatively correct assessment of class forces. They shall assure the future victory of revolution. To that extent we have to understand the conditions in society time to time. We need to conduct direct study of the objective situation. This is the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist style of combining theory with practice and the method of bringing out truth from reality.

The basis of People's War lies in the economic system of India. In the process of a small force facing the enemy that is many times stronger today CPI (Maoist) might be experiencing many ups and downs. Despite many ebbs and flows this is a non-compromising fundamental struggle. It is taking lessons from the right and wrongs of the practice, taking up rectification campaigns to rectify shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations and is advancing the movement with the world outlook of class struggle, with commitment and sacrifice.

We have to strengthen against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries (feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism) of the country and develop our activities both in a quantitative and a qualitative manner. Neo liberalism, increasing state terrorism, the prolonged and unprecedented intensification of the world capitalist imperialist economic crisis that is categorised through unlimited greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy in the background of the imperialist occupational wars and cold-wars demand us to fight more firm and militant, to accomplish New Democratic Revolution and advance towards Socialist Revolution.

11th November 2017



About changing the Immediate, Main and Central Task According to the Changes in the Strength of the Movement

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A look at the history of the last forty-five years of the revolutionary movement after the Naxalbari and Srikakulam and other struggles show that our Party had been analyzing the domestic and international political situation, formulating immediate and main tasks as per the strength of the movement and firmly practicing them. The present development of the Indian revolutionary movement is a result of it.

After the martyrdom of founder of Indian revolutionary movement and one of the founder leaders of our Party Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the setback of Naxalbari uprising, there were doubts about the Party line among a section of the erstwhile CPI (ML) all over the country; there was a failure in analyzing the practice and segregating the successes and failures and to formulate plans to advance depending on the successes; there was a state of disappointment, despair and disbelief. In this situation, the Andhra Pradesh State Committee (APSC) of the erstwhile CPI (ML) worked with the main task of clearing the theoretical, political confusion among the Party cadres and mobilizing them in the correct revolutionary line from 1972 until the Telangana Regional Conference in 1977. Our leadership highlighted the correct line that the Eighth Congress of our Party adopted and the positive factors of the revolutionary movements in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other places and also explained the loss to the Indian revolutionary movement out of the left tactics that we adopted. It not only wrote articles in the magazine 'Pilupu' (the official organ of the then APSC, meaning 'call') but also formulated a Self-Critical Report (a document, known as SCR) - 'Let us review the past and successfully advance in the path of Armed Struggle'. This document was vital in the mobilization of genuine, sincere revolutionary elements of that time, in formulating correct tactics and start class struggles among the people. In 1977 August the document of APSC on tactics ('Present political situation-Our tactics') rectified the sectarian mistake of elimination of class enemy

and took the Party into mass line. As a result there was an uprising of peasant struggles in Karimnagar-Adilabad and an expansion of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggles in Andhra Pradesh. Our Party formulated the guerilla zone document in 1980 depending on the peasant uprisings of Karimnagar and Adilabad and took up the main task of developing the peasant struggles of North Telangana to the level of guerilla zone. As a part of it the movement extended to Dandakaranya. By 1985 when the central and the state governments intensified counter revolutionary offensive on the Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya movements it released a circular - 'Let us defeat the government offensive' through which it formulated the main task of taking up guerilla war on the armed forces of the enemy. Later the Conferences, Plenums of AP and DK, the All India Special Conference in 1995 reviewed the movement and articulated immediate and main tasks.

Erstwhile CPI (ML) Party Unity was formed in November 1978 after a review of the Marxist-Leninist movement (1967-72) since the Naxalbari upsurge, holding high the positives that were the main aspect and showing the negatives that were the secondary aspect and with the aim of uniting the revolutionary forces on this basis and to build the movement. The Central Conferences of the erstwhile PU Party in 1983, 1987 and 1997 were very important in its history. The Conferences reviewed the theoretical, political, military, organizational and tactical issues. They highlighted the positive aspects, pointed out the mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses and formulated the immediate and the main tasks. The first conference stabilized the PU Party. The Second Conference fought back the bankrupt line through internal struggle and protected the Party line. The Third Conference enriched the Party line through internal struggle and helped to identify and rectify the theoretical, political and organizational weaknesses. Thus the leadership successfully conducted the Third Conference and formed the correct basis for the merger of the erstwhile People's War Party and the PU. Soon (in September 1998), the two parties merged. With this merger the All India structure of the united People's War Party widened. The Ninth Congress of the CPI (ML) [People's War] in the beginning of 2001 reviewed the movement and formulated immediate

and main tasks. Our revolutionary movement advanced in the light of those tasks.

Peasant struggle began first in Dihi-Sonarpur in the 24 Paragana district in West Bengal in the leadership of the erstwhile MCC depending on the document 'Strategy-Tactics' that founder of Indian Revolution and one of the founder leaders of our Party Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee wrote by 1969 May itself and another valuable article 'Continue Agrarian Revolution and speed up the work of building Army and Base Areas' that he wrote in 1970. Due to severe enemy offensive this struggle could not reach a qualitative stage. Anyhow this struggle gave us few good experiences regarding work in the rural areas. We analysed these experiences and accordingly started anti-feudal peasant struggles in the purview of a few police stations in the 24 paragana district and Kanksha-BudBud-Avusgram of Burdwan district in West Bengal. A new spate came forth in a form much developed than earlier. While Gaya-Hazaribagh struggles began in 1968, Kanksha struggle began in 1970. Since our political organizational (subjective) preparations were not on par with the heavy offensives of the enemy and since the area was not broad enough for guerilla war maneuvers, Kanksha struggle inevitably setback. Anyhow the experiences of Kanksha struggle laid the foundation for the later agrarian revolutionary guerilla struggle that developed in Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal Special Area. By 1978-1980 these struggles extended to broad areas and were organized. Basing on this organized mass base we took up the task of developing these struggles so as to face the private armies of the landlords and the armed forces of the central and the state governments as the main task. In this process these struggles developed to the level of guerilla zone by the beginning of 1990s. We have been formulating immediate and main tasks time to time depending on the situation of the movement in Bihar-Jharkhand area from 1990 to 2004.

After the formation of CPI (Maoist) the first meeting of the Central Committee (CC) took up four major tasks for the next two years. The first of it is the **main task** – 'The **main task** is to develop and intensify People's War all over the country, formulate specific time bound plans to transform the guerilla zones into base areas, forming the organs of political power and revolutionary United Front and strengthening them, molding the people's movement, the mass organisations and all the

activities in the direction of fulfilling the central task, strengthening Party, PLGA and United Fronts and developing the areas step by step with the aim of establishing a liberated area’.

We reviewed the practice of two years and three months of the four major tasks formulated after the formation of the United Party in the Ninth Congress-Unity Congress in 2007 January. We formulated immediate tasks until the next Congress (normally five years). We formulated **main and central task** as a part of those immediate tasks as following.

‘The **main and the central task** shall be to strengthen the three weapons of revolution and advance the guerilla war to the higher phase of mobile war, PLGA into PLA in order to establish base areas in the strategic areas of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand. In addition to this, guerilla war must be intensified in the other guerilla zones. Red resistance areas must be developed in the perspective areas. Preparations to build guerilla zones in these areas and other areas must be accomplished. The whole party, PLGA and the people must be lead towards achieving this task’ (from the post-merger POR of our Party).

We formulated 11 political tasks, 6 military tasks, 9 tasks of the UF, 4 organisational tasks and 4 tasks in the urban movement to achieve this main and central task.

In addition to the main and the central task that the Unity Congress formulated and to achieve the other immediate tasks we worked to advance the revolutionary movement in the rural, forest and urban areas all over the country. As a result the Indian revolutionary movement gradually developed from 2007 to 2011. In this situation due to the intensity of the counter revolutionary offensive on the revolutionary movement that the central and the state governments started all over the country immediately after the formation of the United Party and due to the weaknesses that have been continuing in our party for a long time, the Indian revolutionary movement fell into a difficult situation by 2013. The two areas that were the main bases to formulate the main and the central task - the Dandakaranya movement entered a difficult situation by the end of 2011 and the Bihar-Jharkhand movement temporarily setback by the beginning of 2013. In this

situation few party cadres raised the question whether the central task of developing PLGA into PLA and guerilla war into mobile war to establish liberated areas in DK and BJ shall be an immediate task or not. Our CC had been clarifying this time to time. Now let us discuss the immediate, main and the central tasks in detail for a clear understanding in the party. Let us try to understand this problem in a detailed manner through a few questions –

1. On which basis do we decide immediate, main and central task. Is it a strategic aspect or a tactical aspect?
2. Is it correct to change immediate, main and central task according to the changes in the balance of strength of the movement though the Party Congress formulated the central task?
3. Is the central task same for the whole country? Or can the State/Special Area/Special Zonal Committees formulate central task? What is the basis and method for these committees to formulate immediate tasks?

1. What is the basis to decide immediate, main and central task. Is it a strategic aspect or a tactical aspect?

The formulation of immediate, main and central tasks is a tactical issue. We formulate immediate tasks related to Party, military and the United Front depending upon the situation of the revolutionary movement and upon the balance of forces in a specific time and a specific area. One of these immediate tasks shall be the main task. The most important task formulated depending on the countrywide movement shall be the central task.

The great Marxist teacher Stalin explained nicely in his text ‘Foundations of Leninism’ about the basis to formulate immediate and main tasks. Stalin said that it is the **main task** of the tactical leadership to formulate immediate and main tasks. The **main tasks** of the tactical leadership are – ‘.....*Firstly*, To put in the forefront precisely those forms of struggle and organization which are best suited to the conditions prevailing during the flow or ebb of the movement at a given moment, and which therefore can facilitate and ensure the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions, the bringing of the millions to the revolutionary front, and their disposition at the

revolutionary front' (– J.V.Stalin in 'Foundations of Leninism', Chapter on Strategy and Tactics -5. *tactical leadership*).

'.....Secondly, To locate at any given moment the particular link in the chain of processes which, if grasped, will enable us to keep hold of the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success.

The point here is to single out from all the tasks confronting the Party the particular immediate task, the fulfillment of which constitutes the central point, and the accomplishment of which ensures the successful fulfillment of the other immediate tasks'.

'The importance of this thesis may be illustrated by two examples, one of which could be taken from the remote past (the period of the formation of the Party) and the other from the immediate present (the period of the NEP-New Economic Policy)' (– J.V.Stalin in 'Foundations of Leninism', Chapter on Strategy and Tactics -5. *tactical leadership*).

After explaining the theoretical basis to formulate the immediate and the main tasks Stalin gives two examples from the Russian Communist movement and the experiences of that Party. The first is – He said that in the situation before the formation of All Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), running Iskra the All Russian secret newspaper is the **main link and the main task**. It is so '....Because, under the conditions then prevailing, only by means of an all-Russian illegal newspaper was it possible to create a solid core of the Party capable of uniting the innumerable circles and organizations into one whole, to prepare the conditions for ideological and tactical unity, and thus to build the foundations for the formation of a real party'. He said that, after the success of the 1917 October Socialist Revolution, when the economic system of the country was affected due to war the Socialist state took up many tasks and the **main link** in the chain of the process of development in that phase and the **main task** among the many tasks is to develop trade. It is 'because industry can be expanded only by the expansion of sales as a result of developing trade; because only after we have consolidated our position in the sphere of trade, only after we have secured control of trade, only after we have secured this link can there be any hope of linking industry with the peasant market and

successfully fulfilling the other immediate tasks in order to create the conditions for building the foundations of socialist economy’.

- (From the same book of J.V.Stalin)

According to the above mentioned, in a specific time and specific area (a state or a country), the link of the chain in the processes of development through which the whole chain comes under control and prepares the conditions to achieve strategic successes, that kind of link is the **main task**. That which creates/provides the possible conditions to successfully fulfill other immediate tasks is the **main task**. It means that in a Zone/ District/Division, or a Special Area/Special Zone/ State, all those tasks regarding Party, Military and United Front immediately necessary to implement in a specific time are **immediate tasks** and that which needs utmost importance, that on which all the leadership cadres need to pay united attention for its implementation through which conditions to successfully fulfill the other immediate tasks shall be created, is the **main task**.

So on what basis do we decide central task in the central level (countrywide)?

Though the central task is a part of the immediate tasks it is much more important than the main task. **Central task** is the immediate, main task through the implementation of which the strategic interests are fulfilled. Taking into view the movement in the whole of the country, there shall be only one central task all through a specific period. There will not be many central tasks at a time. So in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress we decided the main, central task of developing guerilla war into mobile war and PLGA into PLA to develop Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand as liberated areas. The advances-retreats we gain in the implementation of this task leads to considerable, important changes in the implementation of the other immediate tasks that the Congress formulated. If we achieve progress in the implementation of this task it leads to a spate of people’s struggles in many parts of the country and helps to revive the areas that set back. There will be a strong basis to strengthen tactical United Front and strategic United Front. It leads to strengthen the urban movement. With this there shall be positive results (strategic benefits) that have a protracted affect in the spheres of Party, Military and United Front. The retreat and set back in achieving

this central task show as much negative affect as the advance and success affect in a positive manner on the other tasks that the Congress decided (political, military United Front, organizational and urban tasks). It means the Indian revolutionary movement and our Party will have to face many unfavorable conditions. The central task and the other immediate tasks are mutually dependent and mutually affect able. So just like the advance and setback of the central task affect the other tasks the advance and the setbacks of the other tasks affect the central task.

Our document on ‘Strategy-Tactics’ said – ‘The very general line of the Protracted People’s War points out that the basic, principal and the immediate task of the present stage of the revolution is to arouse and organize the people, in a planned way, for agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside - specially in the remote countryside (which is most favourable for the building up of the guerrilla war, the people’s army and the base areas), and to build up the people’s army and the rural red base areas through guerilla warfare’ (Chapter 7 – First paragraph under the Sub-heading – People’s Army and Base Areas as the Basic, Principal and Immediate task). How do we understand this?

A question arises - When the immediate, main and central tasks are a tactical aspect and the above mentioned applies **all through the present phase** will it not be a strategic aspect?

We formulated our political strategy and military strategy depending on the objective analysis of the classes in Indian society, on the nature of Indian state, on the fundamental contradictions and the main contradiction and taking into view the distinct characteristics and special characters of India. Basing on all these we decided the present revolutionary phase of India as the New Democratic Revolutionary phase. In order to make the New Democratic Revolution in India successful, taking into view the whole of this phase, the formation of People’s Army through agrarian revolutionary guerilla war in the rural areas and establishing base areas shall be the fundamental, immediate and main task. This point applies **to the whole of New Democratic Revolution in India**. We say this is a strategic aspect. We said so to provide a strategic direction to avoid deviations in our political, military and organizational efforts all through the phase of NDR. We said it is the immediate task to tell that we have to make efforts immediately

to achieve this task without making inordinate delay in the name of preparations. We need to understand that the fundamental and general task of Indian Revolution to build People's Army and Base Areas is a **strategic task** and formulating immediate tasks, main and the central task basing on the strength of the movement time to time in the process of implementing it is a **tactical aspect**. Since the tactical leadership is a part of the strategic leadership, it abides the tasks and necessities of the strategic leadership. So it is the responsibility of the Central Committee to formulate such vital tasks.

2. Is it correct to change immediate, main and central task according to the changes in the strength of the movement though the Party Congress formulated the central task?

In order to understand this point let us first see philosophical/theoretical aspects.

Dialectical materialism says that every entity is in **constant motion** (change) because of the contradictions of the opposite aspects in it. So when we study a problem or an aspect, we must not be subjective, unilateral and narrow sighted. If so we shall make mistakes in studying the changes in the objective conditions. If this subjectivity becomes a trend it is politically expressed as right or left. Then our guidance in solving the problems of revolutionary movement leads to losses.

“We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society...”

“We are also opposed to “Left” phrase-mongering. The thinking of “Leftists” outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves

adventurist in their actions” (On Practice, July 1937, From Selected Works of Mao, Vol-1).

Mao meant that we have to see an entity as that which undergoes changes as a part of motion, that we have to analyse the class struggle, people’s war and the revolutionary movement accordingly, assess the movements of the specific place and time in a realistic way, give guidance and that, if we analyse the motion in the revolutionary movement of a specific place and time subjectively, we cannot realize the change in it and also the guidance non-coincidental with the actual situation leads to right and left mistakes politically.

In the period of revolution the situation changes very rapidly. So, Mao said, when an objective process already rises and the development changes from one phase to another phase, the revolutionary leaders of the social movements must be efficient in developing and changing themselves and all their co-revolutionaries according to it with their subjective knowledge. It means that they must take care to work according to the proposed new revolutionary tasks, new programs and the new changes in the conditions.

If we do not study the changing conditions of revolution in a dialectical materialist method we will become subjective. If it becomes a trend we shall make politically left or right mistakes. So we must not be hasty and subjective but study the changes in a dialectical materialist method and formulate appropriate political tasks and tactics.

In 2007 the Indian revolutionary movement was in an advancing stage and it entered a difficult situation by 2013. It is still in a general difficult situation. We can lead the revolutionary movement properly only if we change the immediate, main and the central task formulated in an advancing stage of the Indian revolutionary movement according to the changes in the objective condition. But since these changes are only quantitative we must make only tactical change.

Indian revolutionary movement/People’s War is facing counter revolutionary war. In order not to be subjective and not to make a right or a left assessment on the situation of the objective process that arises from the conflict between these two opposites, we hold State/Special Area/Special Zonal plenums, meetings and extended meetings of the

Regional Bureaus once in two to four years and the CC meetings once in nearly three to four years and assess the situation of the movement. Following the resolution of the third meeting of the CC in 2010, a plenum was held in Dandakaranya in October 2011, the CRB met in 2012 and a plenum of Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area was held in 2012. The fourth meeting of the CC was held in 2013. Following the resolution of this meeting the East Regional Bureau held a meeting in 2014, the CRB held an extended meeting in 2014, the East Regional Bureau held an extended meeting in 2015, the plenum of East Bihar-North East Jharkhand Special Area was held in 2017. These assessed the situation of the revolutionary movement in the respective Special Area /Special Zone and the Bureaus. The meetings of the CC in 2013 and 2017 assessed the situation of the countrywide revolutionary movement. The SAC/SZC and the Regional Bureaus formulated immediate tasks depending on this assessment. The CC too assessed that the countrywide situation of the movement in 2013 entered into a difficult condition and also formulated the tasks to overcome it. The CC meeting in 2017 too formulated the tasks to be taken up.

Normally the countrywide Party continues its activities as per the tasks the Congress formulates until the next Congress. However if we do not change our tasks according to the phases of development in the objective process, the revolutionary movement will face losses. So it is correct to hold Special Area/Special Zone/ State plenums, extended meetings of the Regional Bureaus and if possible Central plenums and make the necessary changes in the and in view of the tasks the Congress formulated. It is a mechanical understanding to say that the tasks formulated by the Congress must be changed only in the next Congress.

Changing the tasks according to the changes that arise due to the conflict between the two opposites-the enemy offensive and our counter-offensive (revolutionary war and counter-revolutionary war) in the revolutionary movement as an entity is philosophically and politically correct. Once we say it is philosophically and politically correct then we should have an organizational form to abide to it, a form to abide the essence. In conditions of severe counter-revolutionary offensive, the State plenums, the extended meeting/special meeting/plenums of the Regions can discuss the political, military and organizational work, the successes and failures or the positive and

negative aspects of it and send their assessment and proposals to the Central Committee. The CC shall act upon them following a democratic method and take appropriate decisions which the whole Party should abide. This method is not only scientific in opposition to mechanical understanding but is also in accordance to the method of Democratic Centralism.

In China the Sixth Congress was held in 1928 and the Seventh only after seventeen years in 1945. In this period the Party fundamentally changed its line and took up Protracted People's War. In the situation when Japan occupied China and was trying to make it a colony, in the place of the civil war against the then Kuomintang, the Sun Yi Conference (plenum of the Political Bureau) formulated a new program of War of National Liberation against Japan. So we can lead the revolutionary movements properly only when we change our immediate, main and central task depending upon the changes in the situation of the revolutionary movement, the changes in the balance of forces of the movement and the developments in the domestic and international situation. But if we assess the situation of the movement in a subjective manner (with left or right trends) or have a mechanical view giving importance to the form we shall be affected.

It took thirty-seven years to hold the Second Congress, the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress after the First (Eighth) Congress of the Party. Ten years passed after this Second Congress. If we see the situation of the last decade we don't find any chances to hold another Congress in near future, due to the most severe reactionary offensive unleashed by the ruling classes on the Indian revolutionary movement. The history of the revolutionary movements in various countries of the world too is like ours since the end of 1960. In this situation the CC will have to work with an initiative to provide proper guidance to the Indian revolutionary movement.

Though Congress or Central plenum is not held, with the regular meetings of the State Committees and the plenums of the Zonal/District/Divisional/, Special Area/Special Zonal/ State and Regional Bureaus being held, the CC, PB shall review and assess the situation of the movement, change the tactics and formulate new tactics. It shall make vital decisions in political, military and organizational matters. The CC/PB shall guide the Regional Bureaus and the SACs/ SZCs/ SCs in

reviewing the movement and changing the tactics. This is the method of Democratic Centralism.

In the difficult situation though the whole of the CC does not meet, the Regional Bureaus, the CCMs working in the respective Areas /States must guide the respective movements as collective teams on behalf of the CC. In places where there are no teams, at least one CCM guiding the respective States/Areas must take the initiative basing upon our line.

In conditions of civil war the CC must work in the above mentioned necessary and correct methods to see that the revolutionary movement is not affected in the difficult situation. In difficult conditions if the CCMs do not work as collective teams region-wise and area-wise to provide proper guidance and command, the movement shall lack coordination, lose initiative, be affected and a situation of defeat might arise. Therefore though Congress and central plenums are not held, the reviews of the movement, the tactics formulated and the vital decisions the CC makes in the method of democratic centralism must be implemented all over the Party. The whole party must implement those decisions following the method of democratic centralism and send their opinions to the Central Committee. The CC will review the opinions from all over the party and formulate new tasks and tactics. It is necessary to follow the above mentioned method along with holding the State plenums and Bureau plenums until we overcome the difficult situation and favorable condition arises.

In our practice we were not subjective, not right or left or mechanical in studying (assessing) the situation of the movement and formulating appropriate tasks. The plenum in Dandakaranya in 2011 October assessed that the movement in the Special Zone is in a difficult situation. Considering this assessment that one of the vital bases to formulate the central task in Unity Congress-Ninth Congress is in a difficult situation, the CRB in its 2012 August meeting resolved thus about the formations of PLGA, the level of war, about gaining war resources and about expansion –

‘Since the mass base in DK weakened we have to concentrate on the consolidation of the combat forces all over the Central Region for the next two years. Including DK we must not expand the formations

of the combat forces and we must not go for higher formations. Where there is a necessity few units like the LGS or Platoon may be formed. In the present situation recruitment is less and we cannot increase the number in the combat units. So we have to consolidate them politically, militarily and organizationally and improve their capacity to retaliate. We must see that there are two companies in the Battalion, two platoons in the Company and two sections in a Platoon. There must be not less than two groups of four each in each section. If a unit cannot maintain this number they can bring down the level of the unit or even dissolve it.

The Regional forces too must follow this method (according to this since it is not possible to continue Company-1, we must make it a platoon with two sections and a head-quarter).

In this situation we have to continue guerilla war mainly through small and medium kind of operations. We have to follow tactics to conduct big operations through small teams. We must concentrate on night ambushes to give a blow to the enemy. We have to identify and make preparations in the areas and routes of police patrols, utilize AT and RT and give blows to the enemy. We have to mobilise all the resources, identify the weaknesses of the enemy and take up few big operations.

We have to widely mobilise the people and the militia and take up mine warfare in a big way. In addition to using other resources we have to prepare gunpowder in a large scale depending upon the local resources. We have to conduct camps to prepare gunpowder for this purpose.

We have to explore local resources for the necessary A&A&E to conduct guerilla war. We have to arm the militia basing on the local resources. We have to increase their numbers in the existing units.

.....

We have to extend into the area in between DK-COB-OS-AOB. We must link COB with BJ in two routes. We have to limit the purview of the Gondia division to the other side of Gadchiroli-Devuri road in order to facilitate the extension of the purview of North Gadchiroli Division’.

Keeping in view the change in balance of forces of the movement, without changing the Central task that the Congress decided, CRB specifically suggested the way to implement this task and formulated immediate tasks. Considering the difficult situation of DK and the temporary setback in BJ, the fourth meeting of the CC in 2013 March analysed the countrywide situation of the movement and assessed that it is in a difficult situation. Depending on this realistic assessment it formulated a strategic plan with ordinary fundamental tactics to be implemented in the next two years to advance the movement from the difficult situation. It formulated these tactics with the aim of going forward in achieving the tasks formulated by the Unity Congress by resisting and defeating the countrywide multipronged offensive of the enemy in the name of Operation Green Hunt and preserving the movement. Either the CRB or the CC was not mechanical or subjective in the implementation of the tasks set by the Congress in the changed condition of the balance of forces of the movement without changing the central task given by the Congress. It specifically formulated the immediate tasks with a dialectical, scientific view. Depending on these tactics we continued our resistance and botched the enemy plans by dragging the war.

3. Is the central task same for the whole country? Or can the Special Area/Special Zonal/State Committees formulate central task? What is the basis and method for these committees to formulate immediate tasks?

As an entity Indian revolutionary movement has only one central task. If each Special Area /Special Zone/State formulates central task, many central tasks come up in the countrywide revolutionary movement and lead to disarray in the deployment of subjective forces and objective resources, in its centralization and in conducting the war. We cannot bring a qualitative change anywhere in the objective situation (People's War). We cannot build Guerilla Bases-Liberated Area in any part of the country. We can bring qualitative change in the condition only through choosing the central task of establishing Guerilla Bases-Liberated Area in specific strategic areas in the Indian revolutionary movement. Therefore the Special Area/Special Zone/State movements should not formulate a central task for themselves.

However limited the strength of the movement in their states might be, they have to take up class struggle and People's War to the best of their strength in their states to achieve the central task, they have to allot subjective forces and objective resources from their areas for achieving the central task. Central task itself means that all the Special Areas/Special Zones/States and all the departments must make efforts to achieve it. All the Special Areas/Special Zones/ States must take up the central task and make efforts and must formulate **a main task** to develop the movement in their areas and **immediate tasks** regarding Party, Army and United Front (or the immediate tasks in political, military and organizational spheres) so as to help in achieving the main task. Therefore **the correct method is that**, all the Special Areas/Special Zones/States **must first take up the central task and formulate a main task and other immediate tasks in the respective areas to contribute to the central task.**

But then, on what basis should the Special Areas/Special Zones/ State decide main tasks and other immediate tasks in their areas? What is the method to formulate?

Revolution means seizing power through armed strength. So we have to develop movements with the central task of seizing power right from the time of preparations for revolution and in all the stages and in all spheres. The document of our Party on 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' provides clear guidelines to apply this universal rule. As per this document India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society with unequal economic and political development. This is the most important characteristic that fundamentally decides our political strategy-tactics and military strategy-tactics.

We follow the path of Protracted People's War of seizing area-wise power in the country due to the unequal economic, political development and the semi-colonial, semi-feudal character of Indian society. Due to the unequal development in India there are inequalities in class struggle and people's war too. Due to these inequalities in class struggle-people's war while few areas are red resistance areas some are guerilla zones and some other areas guerilla bases-liberated area. We divided the level of struggle areas that take up seizure of state power in this manner – We categorized that – red resistance areas

are those where the power of enemy exists and that we make preparations to build guerilla zones in those areas; guerilla zones are those areas that compete with the enemy for power; and guerilla bases-liberated area are areas where people's state power is built and implemented.

We have to formulate main and immediate tasks in the respective areas keeping this in view. In the areas where movement just initiated, developing red resistance areas shall be the immediate **main task**. We have to formulate other **immediate tasks** regarding Party, People's Army and United Front so as to contribute to that main task. Building guerilla zone in an area that developed as red resistance area shall be an immediate and **main task**. We formulate other **immediate tasks** in the spheres of Party, People's Army and United Front so as to contribute to achieving the main task. If an area develops as a guerilla zone we take up the immediate and **main task** to develop it into guerilla base-liberated area. We formulate other **immediate tasks** so as to contribute to achieve this main task.

As per the normal rule of victory, defeat, again victory, again defeat and finally success of People's War, liberated areas can transform into guerilla zones and guerilla zones into red resistance areas. When there is a heavy offensive of the enemy above our military strength or when there are any shortcomings in the tactics we adopted, liberated areas and guerilla zones might transform into white areas and also enemy occupied areas. During such setbacks making efforts to advance those areas will be the main task.

Presently Telangana, Andhra, AOB, North Chhattisgarh and West Bung are in temporary setback. Some of these are plain areas and some are strategic areas. Telangana and AOB are guerilla zone areas for many years that earlier strongly competed with the enemy for power. BJO area of West Bung existed as a guerilla zone only for a short while. North Chhattisgarh was a red resistance area and setback due to enemy offensive. In this context we have to discuss certain aspects to formulate the main and immediate tasks in the areas that temporary setback.

They are –

1. Understanding the temporary setback and defining it.

2. Assessing the social, economic, political and terrain of the respective areas.
3. Considering whether there are main guerilla zones-guerilla bases on the border of those areas.

Let us see each aspect in detail.

Mao developed the science of People's War depending on the experiences of China's revolutionary war. As per the path of PPW that Mao formulated, the People's War goes through the stages of strategic self-defense, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive.

In the strategic stages too People's War goes through tactical victory, defeat, again victory, again defeat and finally victory, develops its subjective strength, destroys the strength of the enemy, brings a change in the balance of forces of the enemy and us, achieves changes in the strategic phases and goes forward. The wars in these three strategic phases constitute counter-offensive-self-defense, advance-retreat, and victory-defeat. They are both tactical and strategic. In the article on '*Problems of strategy in China's revolutionary war*' Mao explained tactical defeat and strategic defeat of the Red Army – 'What constitutes a defeat for the Red Army? Strategically speaking, there is a defeat only when a counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" fails completely, but even then the defeat is only partial and temporary. For only the total destruction of the Red Army would constitute complete defeat in the civil war; but this has never happened. The loss of extensive base areas and the shift of the Red Army constituted a temporary and partial defeat, not a final and complete one.....' (- MSW, Vol No 1 -Chapter 4, paragraph 7 of the article).

We say that now Telangana, Andhra, AOB and other areas are in the situation of a temporary setback. This is correct. All of them point out a temporary and partial defeat. They do not show a strategic defeat.

Speaking about the tactical defeat and strategic defeat Mao also said that there are ebbs and flows, ups and downs and turns and twists in People's War. These exist in all the three strategic phases. They are tactical and temporary. While the flows, ups and turns suggest the development and advance of the movement, the ebbs, downs and twists show setback. In these conditions that suggest a quantitative change in the objective situation of the movement we must make

changes in tactics. We have to assess the change in the situation of the movement and formulate appropriate tactics. If we do not suggest a tactical change there is no use of the assessment that the situation of the movement underwent a change. In such a situation the words that express the assessment of the situation of the movement shall only be decorative but there shall not be any development in the situation of the movement.

Though our PW is in strategic self-defense if a specified area develops from a red resistance area to a guerilla zone or a guerilla zone to guerilla bases-liberated area it means that there is a change in its character. This change is an index of the advance and development. Similarly if the movement in a specified area transforms from a liberated area-guerilla bases to a guerilla zone; a guerilla zone into a red resistance area then too there is a change in its characters. This change is an index of retreat and negative change. While red resistance makes preparations to compete with the enemy for people's state power through struggle, in a guerilla zone we make efforts to destroy the enemy power and compete for power; in the guerilla bases-liberated area we establish people's state power. The change in these means a change in the character of these areas. It is rather a change in its qualitative character. All the unfavorable conditions that arise until there is a change in the qualitative character owing to enemy offensive (ebbs and flows, ups and downs, turns and twists, difficult situation) are quantitative changes. Therefore until there is a negative change in the qualitative character of a struggle area of a Special Area/Special zone/State we should not define it to be in temporary setback.

According to this when a red resistance area cannot sustain the heavy enemy offensive and there are severe unfavorable conditions it shall be proper to define that the movement weakened. When our activities come to a standstill and it totally turns into a white area we must categorise it to be in temporary setback. Similarly if the strength of our movement/the level of people's war-military formations reduces to a level of inability to compete with the enemy for power in a specified guerilla zone, it must be categorized as **an affected guerilla zone**. It is because, though our people's war-formations of the people's army are not in a position to destroy the enemy power and compete with the enemy for power, they are different in characteristics from the red

resistance areas that just then came into existence. These specificities (different characteristics) are seen in the level of the formations of the people's army, the fighting capacity/experience of these formations, in the war operations on the enemy and other such things. We must formulate tactics basing on these specific aspects.

As per the above mentioned at present the guerilla war in DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand guerilla zones is relatively in a higher level. In DK there are area, division level RPCs. In BJ and EB-NEJ they have setback. These areas did not lose their qualitative character as guerilla zones even now but considering the severe effect of the difficult situation, we must give importance to overcome this situation and continue political, military and organizational efforts. We have to implement the tactics that the CC formulated in 2013 and 2017 according to the specific conditions.

We must formulate immediate and main tasks in Telangana, AOB and BJO that are affected guerilla zones basing on the concrete situation. The immediate and the main tasks must be according to the specific social, economic, political aspects and the situation of terrain of the respective areas and the existence of main guerilla zones-guerilla bases on its border. **Normally we have to take up the development of the affected guerilla zone areas into guerilla zones as the immediate and main task.** However the vast terrain of Telangana is plain area. The area of the BJO movement is small, the struggle experience of the Party and PLGA and the people is relatively less and the fighting capacity of PLGA is less. Most of the terrain in AOB is strategic area and most of the population here are tribals. Main Guerilla zones exist on the borders of Telangana, AOB and BJO and the Party and PLGA forces of Telangana are making seasonal retreats and utilizing DK as a rear area. But for the other areas there are certain unfavorable conditions to do so. Immediate tasks must be such as to contribute to achieve the main task of developing these areas again into guerilla zones keeping all these in view.

Developing the red resistance areas of **Odisha and 2U states** as guerilla zones must be an **immediate and main task.** Developing the **areas where we extended and the movement just initiated into red resistance areas must be the immediate and main task.**

Since we withdrew (retreat) the people's guerilla forces in 2007 the movement in Andhra is in setback for the past decade. Our Party is taking up propaganda and agitation activities with the perspective of rebuilding revolutionary movements in this area. We are to prepare militant Party forces and guerilla forces through this effort to take up the task of building red resistance areas in a new method.

After World War II imperialism has been implementing neo-colonial policy for its economic, political and military interests. As a part of it since 1991 it took up a more vicious, deceptive and dangerous form of globalisation and is modernizing and strengthening roads, transport, communication and information networks and government machinery in backward countries like Asia, Africa and Latin America. Since the implementation of globalization policies the State in all the countries across the world including the imperialist countries is imbibing a more fascist character as per the interests of imperialist monopoly capital. As a part of it the police, Para-military and military forces are being modernized and increased in number in a big way in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. Imperialist and the local CBB intensified the exploitation of resources and exploitation of labor. So they are building and modernizing government machinery, special intelligence agencies and counter guerilla forces to suppress the social unrest, rebellions, guerilla war and revolutionary movements that result out of this exploitation and control the social, economic and political spheres. The effect of rise of fascisation of state in our country since the beginning of globalization policies in 1991 is seen clearly in all the areas of our movement including the newly extended areas. Our political, military and organizational effort must keep these aspects in view. Our Party, PLGA, Mass Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees too must pay special attention to enhance appropriate political consciousness and struggle preparation to face this situation. The leadership and the cadres of various levels in all spheres must enhance their strength and capacities accordingly.

Once we formulate the immediate, main and central tasks in the above mentioned methods there are two vital aspects to overcome the unfavorable conditions in the situation of the movement in the respective areas and advance them towards favorable condition. **One** of it is – to take up social investigation in all the areas of the movement,

formulate appropriate tactics for class struggle basing on it, mobilise the people politically, organizing them in various mass organisations and people's militia, intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles and develop mass base. We have to widely mobilize the new generation into the Party and PLGA basing on that class struggle. The **second is** – basing on the level of formations of PLGA, mass base and terrain we have to intensify and broaden guerilla war and build and consolidate Revolutionary People's Committees in all the areas of the movement. We need to rectify and overcome the defects and weaknesses inherent of these two aspects.

The central task and the other immediate tasks are mutually dependent and mutually related. The leadership and the cadres of our Party did not properly grasp the link between them and so did not make proper efforts for the implementation of these two tasks in practice. While there were weaknesses and shortcomings in making efforts to achieve the higher tasks decided for DK and BJ, except for those two areas we did not intensify and broaden class struggles in the rest of the areas. So there was no development in political, organizational and military activities and the subjective forces could not develop quantitatively and qualitatively. And so the movements of those areas too did not develop; they could not provide cadres or material support to DK and BJ areas. This failure is one of the important reasons for the present difficult situation of the countrywide revolutionary movement.

Now in order to defeat the severe counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' offensive of the central and the state governments and advance the Indian revolutionary movement, it is not enough to intensify class struggles and guerilla war in DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand and AOB alone. It is very important to intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggles in all the other struggle areas. The development of class struggle in these areas shall be a very big source and base for the advance of Indian Revolutionary movement. On the other hand they give strong support to DK, BJ, and EB-NEJ. Therefore let us properly understand the mutual relation between the central task and the other tasks, achieve development in all spheres in the urban and the rural areas and build many more new centres of class struggle.

Since the countrywide movement entered a difficult situation few comrades of the Party in few places raised questions on the immediate, main and central task which the CC answered on different occasions. The CC clinched the whole discussion in its resolution in March 2017 in order to advance the countrywide movement - 'Assessment of the situation of the countrywide revolutionary movement-Our tasks'. We end this article with the last part of this resolution. We present it as it is. This resolution clarified the relation between the immediate, main task formulated in the present specific situation of the movement and the central task that the Congress formulated –

'....It is our immediate and main task to make efforts to overcome the difficult situation in the country wide revolutionary movement. Basing on the achievements in the efforts to overcome the difficult situation and the progress in it, we must strive to achieve the central task of the Ninth Congress. As per the unequal social, economic, political development in India the revolutionary movement would develop unequally. At present while DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand are the main guerilla zones, some of the rest are affected guerilla zones/set back areas, weak areas, red retaliatory areas/new extension areas.

In order to overcome the difficult situation in the Revolutionary movement in the country, depending upon the level PLGA formations, mass base and terrain in DK, BJ, EB-NEJRK, AOB, TG, OS, MMC, Lalgahar and Western Ghat areas, **we have to intensify and widen the guerilla war, strongly retaliate and defeat the counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy unleashed by the name of OGH.**

In addition to the above mentioned areas, we have to intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle in all the areas of movement in the country. We have to take up social investigation and complete in specific time period in all our areas, to intensify class struggle. We analysed the nature of our country to be semi-colonial, semi-feudal and formulated our political military lines accordingly. Until there is a change in the basic social character of our country, our political military line or our political military strategy does not change. However we would change and develop our tactics basing on the constantly changing social, economic and political situation, in order to conduct anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles. We did not understand the relation between the strategy and the tactics in a proper manner. We did not

studying a dialectical manner, the structural changes and the changes in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors made by the imperialist financial capital as a result of class struggle, depending on its compradors, the comprador capitalists and big feudal landlords. Or else we adopted metaphysical method to study the same. So there are weaknesses and shortcomings in adopting tactics for class struggle. In order to overcome these, we have to complete social investigation in all the areas in the specified period, develop tactics for class struggle basing on these and intensify class struggle.

We have to take up bolshevization in the states where it was not taken up and enhance the theoretical, political level of the Party.

The tasks CC formulated in 'Present situation-Our tasks' has to be implemented according to the strength of the movement in the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States.

Along with these RBs, SAC/SZC/SC must adopt proper tasks and tactics in the respective states once in every two years.

The favorable conditions for the revolutionary movement as a result of the above mentioned positive experiences and new experiences, the objective condition turning favorable for revolution as a result of the sharpening of the major contradictions in the domestic and international level are the source and basis to overcome the difficult condition. Anyhow the Central and the State governments would intensify the counter revolutionary offensive in the coming time with the ill attempt to eliminate the Indian Revolution in the coming two and a half years. We have weak weaponry. So our **revolutionary movement would be in a difficult situation for a relatively more time.** Depending on this assessment, we should take care that we would not become desperate and pessimistic and would not be hasty in our political, military and organizational efforts. On the other hand we must not be defunct and lack initiative. We have to make a conscious effort to transform the difficult situation with a strong will and initiative. In this situation we have to bolshevize the Party, get hold of war resources, intensify guerilla war with utmost courage and dare and strong will. We have to make class struggle with proper tactics and strengthen the mass base. Let us thus overcome the present difficult situation'.



Red, Revolutionary, Internationalist May Day! : 2017 Statement from Marxist Leninist Maoist Parties and Organisations

“The flag of the October Revolution is invincible!” - Mao Zedong



This year marks the Centenary of the October Revolution.

Imperialists, reactionaries, reformists, and all kinds of opportunists are making efforts to delete, obscure, denigrate and sully this event, as they did last year with the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

They do so because they know that the great message coming from these events for the proletarians and the masses is more and

more present.

To get rid of imperialism, capitalism, war, exploitation of the proletariat and oppression of peoples we must make the proletarian revolution!

The working class must tear off the political power from the ruling classes, establish its power, its state%the dictatorship of the proletariat%and construct socialism; it must develop and continue the revolution in each country and in the world to get rid of all the chains of imperialism and march towards communism world-wide.

The imperialist system shows to be what Lenin analysed and described in his great work “Imperialism highest stage of capitalism”: a rotten and decadent system.

Imperialism and its governments, at all latitudes, continue crossing a deep economic and financial, political and social crisis, and unload their crisis on the proletarians and the masses internally, and on the oppressed people and nations internationally.

Imperialism is economic war, war of aggression and looting for a new division of the world.

Imperialism is reaction and fascism. Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and shows every day more the need to overthrow it.

That is why the message of Lenin and the October Revolution is more alive than ever!

In the US, under the strongest imperialism, Trump’s victory reflects the crisis of Yankee imperialism and its attempt to get out of that accentuating the economic war, the military rule, the control on geopolitical strategic regions, redefining the alliances in the different theatres of war in the world.

Trump’s victory shows the barbarity of the so-called “American democracy”: a fascist billionaire in power, waging war against the poor masses internally and the oppressed peoples internationally.

Trump’s victory feeds, in all imperialist countries, the reaction, the police State, militarization, permanent emergency state and

internal war against proletarians, women's rights, against Afro American people, against immigrants with walls and expulsions, against Muslims and Arabs, against any progressive idea in schools, universities, mass medias, culture, art.

The new aggressive phase of US imperialism sharpens the inter-imperialist contradictions, with Russian imperialism, atomic superpower; with China, new social-imperialist power; and with the countries of imperialist Europe, currently under the German hegemony.

The global contest between the imperialist countries for the division of markets and the fight to control the energy resources originates and feeds wars of aggression and reactionary wars, sowing death, massacres and destruction all over the world.

It is the imperialist wars of aggression in every corner of the world that give rise to the great wave of immigration!

It is the barbarism of imperialist wars and the "homecoming" of these wars even in the heart of the imperialist citadels that blood the streets of the imperialist countries themselves!

In all the imperialist countries, the states and the governments of the masters of the world develop an internal war against the proletarians and the masses, who are driven by the crisis, oppression and repression to fight and to rebel more and more.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism, proletarians and oppressed people intensify the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles; in particularly we need to support the Palestinian and Arab people struggle against Zionist state and imperialism, and the people's wars.

From India to Philippines, from Turkey to Peru, the people's war, guided by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, is the reference for the way to get free from imperialism, the reactionary regimes and to build states of New Democracy, marching towards socialism.

The People's War in India, today celebrating the 50th Anniversary of "Naxalbari uprising" that has opened this way, fights against

massacres, Green Hunt Operation, repression against Maoists, Adivasi people, democratic and revolutionary intellectuals and students, against workers, peasants, women struggles, against national minorities; it shows that nothing can stop the people's war and the liberation struggle of the people as nothing can stop international support.

The October Revolution and the great Lenin showed that we cannot fight and win against imperialism and its states without fighting revisionism and opportunism.

The objective conditions are favourable for revolution, because it is the principal tendency in the world .All the forces of social-democracy, the ex "communist" parties became revisionists and reformists; they lose credit among the masses and proved to be useless tools to defend the living and working conditions of the masses, to oppose imperialism, war, fascism and the police state.

Beside the crisis of these forces, we are witnessing the rise of reactionary populist tendencies and fundamentalist reactionary movements that divide the masses to tie them to the car of this or that imperialism and, ultimately, to the most reactionary fractions of imperialism, bourgeoisie and the regimes serving them.

Proletarians and masses must firmly reject the illusions of the parliamentary and peaceful paths, aimed to disarm them, and boldly undertake the revolutionary path. People's War is the most advanced form to accomplish the revolution; that is why we must support it in all countries where it already begun and prepare it in all other countries, applying it to the concrete conditions of each country.

It needs to build genuine communist parties that will be the vanguard of the working class and leading core of all the people. The Communist Parties, based on the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism are built into the fire of the class struggle in close connection with the masses, for the beginning and development of the people's war, applied to reality.

The Communist Parties must build the United Front of the

exploited masses, of all sections oppressed by imperialism and develop the necessary tactics, according to the form that the political and military domination takes.

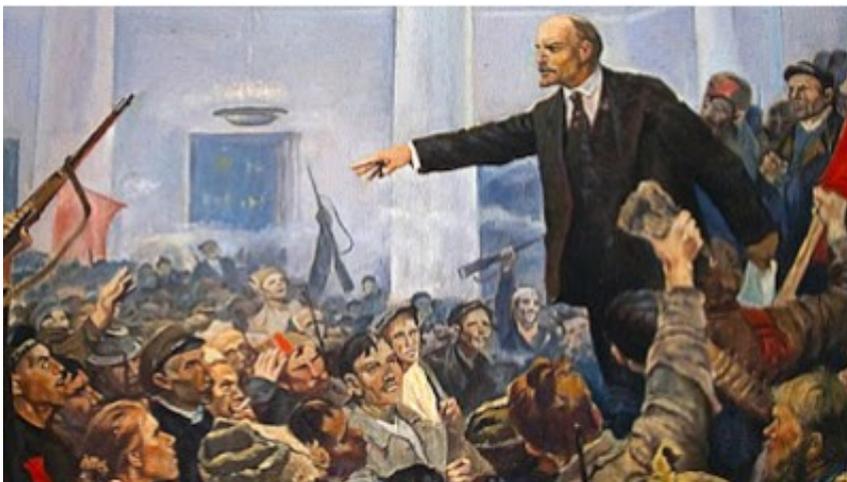
In the imperialist countries, the Communist Parties must integrate in their ranks the new migrant proletarians, by playing a vanguard role in their fight against over-exploitation, slavery, racism.

The Communist Parties must gather and organize the rebellion of the youth and the struggle of women as a powerful force for the revolution.

They must fight their own imperialism as the main enemy of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, taking side resolutely with the masses of the nations attacked.

Today in particular we must fight against the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan, the imperialist aggression on Syria and nuclear menaces against North Korea.

The imperialist war and the reactionary dictatorship of bourgeoisie bring the need for the communist parties to equip themselves for opposing to imperialist war with people's war and build their fighting force as nucleus of the red army.



The people's wars, beside the policies of genocide, also face the pitfalls of peace negotiations, which, far from allowing people's wars to grow in strength and consolidation in the view of the strategic offensive, are aimed to divert, suffocate and split them, to lead them to surrender.

Internationalism is unity between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the world against the common enemy.

Internationalism is **“working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception.”**

- Lenin

Internationalism is the construction of a new international organization, which, addressing the current problems of the Communists, will be able to move towards a general line of ICM and a new Communist International.

- * Long Live the 100th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution!
- * Death to Imperialism! On the way to protracted people's war in all the world!
- * Long Live the Struggles of Proletarians and Oppressed Peoples in the World!
- * Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!
- * For a Red and Socialist Future,
- * Marching to Communism!

Signatures:

Collective of Iranian Maoists

Committee for Building the Maoist Communist Party, Galicia,
Spanish State

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan

Communist Movement of Serbia
Communist Nucleus Nepal
Communist Party of Brazil Red Fraction – CPB (RF)
Communist Party of India (Maoist)*
Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist)
Democracy and Class Struggle, British State
Klassenstandpunkt, Class Position, Editorial Sta-, Germany
Maoist Communist Movement Tunisia
Maoist Communist Party – France
Maoist Communist Party – Italy
Maoist Communist Party Manipur
Maoist Revolutionary League – Sri Lanka
Organisation de Travail Communiste – Tunisie
Parti des Khadéhines – Tunisie
Revolutionary Communist Party (Québec District)
Revolutionary Praxis – Great Britain
Union Obrera Comunista (MLM) – Colombia
Workers Voice – Malaysia



Circular No.1/2018

Upto Party Members

**Let us hate the surrender and betrayal of revolution of
Jinugu Narasimhareddy!**

**Let us learn from this negative teacher to mold and
strengthen the Party and ourselves!**

Dear Comrades!

A member of the Central Committee of our Party JinuguNarasimhareddy alias Jampannaalias Rajesh surrendered to the enemy along with his wife Rajitha (Jaya) on the 23rd December, 2017. He stated the reasons to be illhealth and theoretical differences with the Party. His surrender is not surprising to the leadership and the cadres of our Party who have been closely seeing his state of affairs for the past few years. However the theoretical and political weakness of a member of the highest committee of our Party and his surrender to the enemy might have led to many doubts among the Party members and revolutionary people across the country. One who knows the long history of our Party will not be surprised to see such weak elements degenerate and become traitors in the process of the development of People's War. Traitor Narasimhareddy once more proved that in the process of the revolutionary movement and in the Party, weak and inefficient people who cannot mold themselves according to the interests of the people in severe difficult conditions and more than that those who consider their individual interestsshall degenerate in this manner. ThoughNarasimhareddy was a member of the CC for the past two yearshe was filled with fear and apprehensions, political confusion, lack of revolutionary preparation and sacrifice, was in vacillation and could not demonstrate the consciousness of at least a Primary Party member. Ill health and theoretical differences are only name-sakes to cover up his degeneration and betrayal. The CC of our Partyseverely condemns the political degeneration and surrender to the enemy of Narasimhareddy and expels him from the Party.

Rajitha (Jaya) the partner of Narasimhareddy has been in the Party for the past decade and developed to the rank of DvC. Though she understood his weaknesses very clearly and comrades were criticizing him, she never said a word of criticism and acted only as a wife. She was patriarchal in thinking and surrendered to the enemy along with him. The Party dissolves her membership.

Our Party was formed and is working with the aim of making New

Democratic Revolution in our country successful and to achieve Socialism-Communism and World Socialist Revolution. All the units of the Party will have to work relentlessly to mold and strengthen the Party and themselves theoretically, politically and organisationally in the leadership of the Central Committee according to the achievement of this aim. Every one of us joins the Communist Party from various class backgrounds, various kinds of understanding and attitudes. We bring along with us the attitudes related to our class nature. Since ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country most of us are from the peasantry and petty-bourgeois class. There are few members from proletarian background. Along with their class perspective they also bring with them the semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture, ideology, attitude and influence that are dominating the society, the reformist, Trade Unionist, economic influence propped by the bourgeois, revisionist parties. Revolutionary Communist Party works on the basis of MLM to achieve the aim of Communism. When we join the Communist Party a contradiction arises due to the non-proletarian ideas and the influence of methods of work. We have to transform them according to proletarian ideology in order to achieve the aim of Communism. We call this transformation 'rectification'. Through this we have to imbibe proletarian ideas, thoughts and attitudes on the basis of MLM and root out the old feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois ideas, thoughts and attitudes. We have to shed our subjective, liberal, individualist, anarchic, bureaucratic and spontaneous work style and develop proletarian collective thought, collective functioning and work style. In our functioning we have to abide the opinion of the majority in a planned manner. However difficult we have to strive to implement our decisions. The development of good Communist Revolutionaries depends on the depth and comprehensiveness to which they imbibe this ideology, perspective and work style. Narasimhareddy failed totally in learning and developing these.

Narasimhareddy joined the party and developed in phases along with the development of the movement as a member of the SZC. Keeping in view his positive characters he was elected to the CC in the erstwhile PW Congress in 2001 and in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in 2007. Anyhow he could not digest these responsibilities in a proper manner. His strong non-proletarian trends are the main reason for this. He was not prepared to utilize the method of criticism-self-criticism, the process of unity-struggle-unity and the education-recti-

fication campaigns that the CC and many committees held on various forums. He developed a trend of seeing his post as power and petty-bourgeois individualism and bureaucracy reached a severe level. They went to the extent of weakening the aim of proletarian revolution, collectiveness, democratic centralism and the objective of revolution. Narasimhareddy failed to understand the specific conditions in a proper manner, to establish lively relations with the people, he lost the character of hard work. In the committees he made constant discussion without the aim of solving the problems that turned to be a controversy, he was offensive and took the issue to the level of crisis. He took person as the starting point in all matters. He felt his individual interests more than anything. He was arrogant and dominating and felt great of himself. He developed such non-proletarian bad characteristics. These characteristics developed in him while he was working as a member and the secretary of North Telangana Special Zonal Committee and CCM. It is necessary to deeply analyse the reasons for this and take lessons.

The North Telangana movement is a prominent one among the revolutionary movements that broke in the end of 1970s after the temporary setback Naxalbari uprising. When the LIC offensive of the ruling classes reached a severe level in 1990s it became vital and utmost imperative to stand firm and provide collective leadership of the Party to preserve the North Telangana movement. Narasimhareddy took up this responsibility as the secretary of NTSZC and CCM but failed to do it properly.

CRB-4 meeting of June 2003 resolved on 'The situation in NT-our tactics' to defeat the enemy offensive and advance the movement. He developed differences with CRB regarding the assessment of the movement, the tactics and functioning in the process of making this resolution. CRB had to make this resolution after discussing it on the basis of democratic centralism regarding difference of opinion in the Party and depending on the opinions of the majority. As a part of this resolution CRB also decided on certain organizational issues of NT. He differed with this too. However instead of making efforts to take this resolution and get it accepted in the NTSZC meeting in 2003 he stamped it and took up disruptive activities. He opportunistically told and discussed his difference of opinion on this resolution to SZCMs before the beginning of the SZC meeting. He encouraged them to individually write drafts differing with the CRB resolution. He made them circulate

among the SZC members. He had the main responsibility in creating the wrong understanding that the CC should not decide on organizational issues. He created many misunderstandings and wrong opinions that the CC is formulating wrong tactics and giving wrong guidance, that CC is not realizing this and is criticizing the SZC for its mistakes and thus created a severe conflict between CC and SZC. He thus directly and indirectly contributed to create antagonism in the SZC towards CC. This is against democratic centralism and the method of organization in the Party. He tried to cover up his weaknesses and failures in advancing the NT movement. He disrupted the unity of thought in the SZC, imposed his wrong understanding on the SZC, CRB/CC and went to the extent of weakening the prestige of the CC. he never made efforts to study the NT movement in a planned manner, he was spontaneous, subjective in thinking, undemocratic and very impatient in discussions, became a hurdle in sharing opinions, had petty-bourgeois individualism in implementing his opinion in case of differences of opinion, bureaucratic and all these reached the peak in this process. For the first time, in the North Telangana plenum of 1999 there was serious criticism against these trends from the SZC. There was criticism from the SZC in the SZC meeting on the occasion of plenum in 2003 and also in the Conference in 2007 from the SZC and the lower committees. He used to place his self-criticism in the plenum or the conference in the end of a lot of discussion. But there was no much change in the bad trends in him. He did not make sincere effort to rectify his mistakes and overcome his weaknesses. Later though he held the responsibilities as CCM for years there was no change in his bad trends which we can understand from the warning CRB gave to him regarding his marriage in 2010 and the proposal CRB made to PB in 2011.

The resolution of the 5th meeting of the CRB in 2010 July was this –

‘Comrade R came to an understanding of marriage with another woman comrade in a few months after his partner RN left the movement. But he warned her not to tell anyone and he too did not inform the party (CRB) for a long time. Later though he brought the proposal after 7, 8 months and married with the acceptance of the party, though he made self-criticism for his proposal to the woman comrade in a short time for marriage, made a quick decision to marry before the time limit, CRB severely criticizes him and made a serious warning since he did not follow the ideals and methods the leadership has to regarding moral matters. The CRB accepts the criticisms from the lower com-

mittees regarding marriage’.

The resolution of 6th meeting of the CRB in 2011 as a proposal to the PB on Narasimhareddy was like this –

‘CC-3 meeting relieved Comrade JP from CRB and transferred him to expanded area. It decided he be part of the special committee. JP attended this meeting and accepted this resolution. But after the meeting Com JP opposed this resolution. He said he shall not continue as member of the committee and shall stay separate. But he expressed his opinion that he would work if appointed secretary of the committee.

In view of this the committee opines that Com JP is highly dominant and bureaucratic. Committee opines that Com. JP being a member of a higher committee does not see his place as a responsibility but as power by saying that he shall work only as secretary. The committee requests the PB to consider such severe political weaknesses as a severe thing and give serious warning to him’.

Both these resolutions of CRB on Narasimhareddy as a CCM are serious. They pointed out weaknesses that should not be seen in a leader of the Communist Party. Anyway he was not prepared to rectify them and they continued to develop in him. He did not listen to the CC, he looked down the concerned CC members and the State Committee, he did not bother their opinions, he did not pay attention to the Division Committee and the Area Committees, did not pay attention to guide them, fulfill his specific responsibilities and instead got into unending scuffles with the concerned leadership comrades, stepped aside from hard work, postponed the problems without solving, killed time, stuck on to computer, tablet, smart phone and net all the day, was absolutely irresponsible, instigated disunity in the committees, was angry with those who criticized him, spent the party funds indiscriminately, did not show proper accounts to the CC and the State Committees. These and other such petty-bourgeois anarchic characters grew in him and revolutionary aspiration weakened.

In 2016 he not only lacked the firm will to make sincere efforts to fulfill his responsibility to successfully conduct the CC meeting in the utmost complex conditions amidst very severe enemy offensive but created many hurdles until the end to stop it. He was to attend the CRB meeting and the CC meeting in 2017 that had to solve the many challenges the revolutionary movement is facing but did not attend out of severe fear of the increased enemy offensive. He understood that he

will have to face severe criticisms if he attended these meetings. This too was one important reason for his absence.

The fifth meeting of the CC in February 2017 deeply discussed the individualism, bureaucracy, false prestige, fear of the enemy and other such non-proletarian tendencies in Narasimhareddy and the consequent loss to the Party and the revolutionary movement. He did not change his shortcomings and wrong methods and so CC took disciplinary action on him. It decided to suspend him for two years and that he must work as a member of the Orissa State Committee. Though the Constitution of our Party clearly mentions that the period of suspension must not exceed one year, considering the weaknesses in Narasimhareddy to be serious, CC decided to suspend him for two years. In view of his experience in revolutionary movement the CC decided to make efforts to make him realize and rectify his mistakes. A delegation from the CC was decided to meet him and explain the resolution. Soon after the CC meeting concerned CC comrades met and explained the CC resolutions to him. They sent him to meet the CC delegation. He met the delegation six months later. The delegation explained the resolution very patiently. But he could not digest the disciplinary action of the CC. The delegation gave him one week for putting forth his self-criticism as he requested. Later too he did not speak or write his self-criticism but made comments on CC and the movement in front of a few CC and State Committee members discussing in an anarchic and irresponsible manner. He was not at all prepared to implement the CC resolution but met the concerned CC and SC comrades of Telangana as per his wish in a planned manner. He made contact with his family, sent message to the leaders of the ruling party through them and surrendered to the enemy along with his wife with total arrangements.

The resolution of the 2017 February CC meeting goes like this –

‘Comrade Rajesh was given the responsibility to conduct the 5th meeting of the CC. but the CC could not conduct it as planned. Apart from many other important reasons one was the wrong methods and subjective thinking of Comrade Rajesh who over assessed the enemy, lost courage and did not fulfill his responsibilities properly. If he was courageous enough (most of the) PB members of the two areas would have met. In the present difficult conditions, if they had met the meeting would have been held and achieved better results. Comrade Rajesh is mainly responsible for this failure.

Individualism, bureaucracy, false prestige continue in Comrade Rajesh since the beginning. He tries to impose his subjective thinking on the committee. He violates the discipline of proletarian party and is habituated to bring forth dogmatic arguments as per his wish without following democratic centralism. He stops the committee meetings and if the committee members resist strongly he also pressurizes that he shall boycott those meetings. With such methods of violating organizational methods and making discussions he cannot gain the confidence of the members of his committee and becomes isolated. Though various committees fought against the mistakes in Rajesh his weaknesses only increased but did not come down. We have to see the shortcomings in his responsibilities regarding CC meeting in the background of these weaknesses.

Comrade Rajesh became apprehensive of the enemy. At present it went to such an extent that his security guards, ordinary squad members working in area of his guidance too started criticizing him. In fact in the present difficult conditions and the heavy military offensive of the enemy the comrades of highest committee need much more to sustain the ranks of the party and PLGA theoretically, politically and organisationally. The role of the leadership in the military sphere in the present conditions shall be an important precondition for this. Comrade Rajesh fails to understand this as a CCM thus resulting in serious loss to the party in that area.

CC-5 decided that Comrade Rajesh must attend the 11th meeting of CRB. He too said he would come but finally did not turn up. He returned middle way assessing that he cannot move amidst increased enemy offensive. He did not listen to his colleague CC member and went back. This is not correct. The CC deeply discussed all these weaknesses and suspends him for two years. Comrades K and S must talk with Comrade Rajesh. If there are unforeseen hurdles for this or if Comrade Rajesh cannot come to the contact, Comrades Sangram and Manoj must act as the CC delegation. CC resolution must be implemented. If he does not agree to it the delegation must send its recommendation to the GS.

Though our Party clearly said in its Constitution that the period of suspension must not exceed one year considering the level of Comrade Rajesh and more than that his weaknesses serious the CC decided his suspension for two years.

During the period of suspension Comrade Rajesh must work as a member of State Committee of Odisha. The State Committee must deal his serious deviations in the method of unity-struggle-unity without any kind of liberalism. CC requests Comrade Rajesh to demonstrate high level of consciousness in the present conditions to overcome the solidified deviations in him for a long time and work with Bolshevik will. He has the main responsibility to make efforts. The CC requests the concerned CC comrades to help Comrade Rajesh overcome his weaknesses. Normally the help of colleagues is necessary in such matters.

Concerned CRB members must specifically guide the SC to divide work for Comrade Rajesh'.

He never expressed any differences with the line, the basic documents of the Party or with any important political problem of the Party until he met the CC comrades after the 5th meeting of the CC and especially the CC delegation. He told few CC comrades and the delegation of the CC that he is studying a few issues and that he did not yet come to a conclusion. In fact the CC in its fifth meeting identified certain important theoretical and political problems of the movement and formulated a proper method for the Party members to discuss their opinions according to the Constitution. The delegation informed him the same. It clearly told him that he could discuss any matter or his differences of opinion if any in the light of this resolution. but in the process of making total arrangements for surrender he told a few CC and SC comrades that he does not believe the Party line and had theoretical differences. This is one of the attempts of politically degenerated traitors of revolution decided to go on the side of the enemy, to deceive the people. Thus the revolutionary life of Narasimhareddy ended and anti-revolutionary traitorous life began.

These are the main reasons for the degeneration and betrayal of Narasimhareddy :

The first is that though he worked in various levels for more than three decades in the revolutionary movement, he was strongly individualistic and could not work as a part of his committee with team spirit. He could not mold himself as a proletarian revolutionary. One who does not analyses a problem with dialectical materialist method and deals as per one's wish shall be the basis for subjectivity. This does not give a proper assessment on the movement and the cadres. It strains their comradely relations and establishes individual relations. It makes

a negative impact on the political, organizational and military efforts. He was very subjective in assessing the movement, comrades their relations. His individualist thinking of 'Me' and 'My' is the basis.

The second is that his development stopped in theoretical, political and military spheres. since he lacked lively relations with his colleague member, cadres and the people he could not know their opinions. He did not make social investigation-study. He did not grasp the specific policies and did not make political-theoretical effort and thus fell behind the reality. He spent more time on non-revolutionary works. As a result he aimlessly discussed politics and gradually became organizationally inefficient to lead the movement and the party.

The third is he had strong petty bourgeois anarchy, arrogance, bureaucracy and organizational indiscipline. These are totally against the proletarian revolutionary life. They are against MLM. They are against the dialectical, historical materialist world outlook. He could not overcome his wrong trends and transform himself as a good communist through unity-struggle-unity and the method of criticism-self-criticism in the meetings of the Party Committees, in the rectification campaigns the CC and the SCs took up on various occasions or in the study campaigns of Bolshevisation. Though he knew well about his mistakes and weaknesses this diehard did not make any attempts to rectify them and moreover covered up his mistakes. His petty bourgeois false prestige came in the way to make a sincere self-criticism. Thus he absolutely lacked revolutionary spirit and lost the courage and self-confidence that he could achieve progress.

The fourth is that revolutionaries lose their enthusiasm to the extent they fear the enemy. They can work enthusiastically in the movement if they have the preparation to face any kind of situation and if they are fearless. His fear reached its peak in the severe losses in the difficult condition of the revolutionary movement and the intense enemy offensive. He lost confidence that he can lead the movement with the initiative to utilize the present favorable objective situation and mobilise the cadres of the Party and the people and build the movement and that he can lead the movement facing the enemy offensive. He lacked the consciousness to consider the interests of the movement, party and the people more than his interests and to work with a sacrificing nature.

The CC and the CRB did not make a keen struggle against the above important non-proletarian trends that caused the degeneration of

Narasimhareddy due to liberalism. This mistake from the side of the leadership allowed him to continue in the Party for a long time with severe non-proletarian trends. The Central Committee must take lessons from this negative experience and make firm efforts to mold the Party and themselves.

Thus the mistakes and weaknesses in Narasimhareddy that were in the second place until now became the main factor. A revolutionary, a revolutionary leader turned to be an opponent and traitor of revolution. In spite of ideal history of a revolutionary if one does not put up internal struggle on one's non-proletarian ideas, non-proletarian deviations one cannot continue for a long time in revolution. This is revolutionary dialectics. This applies to the society, individuals and revolutionaries. Selfish people and careerist leaders who think they are greater than the Party, revolution and the oppressed people shall be thrown on the dust heap of history. Thus Narasimhareddy too shall stay as one of the traitors in the history of our Party.

It is a constant process for a Communist Party and Communist Revolutionaries to mold themselves. Everyone needs to make efforts to transform themselves. They can do it efficiently only by taking it up in their units in a collective manner. They must follow the method of teaching-practice-review-self-criticism-criticism-transformation (molding). This process alone makes possible every member to make collective efforts with initiative, firmly effective and efficiently to observe, supervise, review and rectify their weaknesses.

In order to make the revolution successful Comrade Mao said about strong Party, efficient leadership and the necessity of cadres thus – 'A very great Party and many cadres to run it are necessary to make great revolution. If the leadership is a small narrow minded gang, if the leaders and the cadres think low, short and in an inefficient manner it would have impossible to make a unique great revolution in the history of China of forty-five crore people. Communist Party of China had been a very big Party for a long time. Though it faced losses during the reactionary revolution it is still a big Party. There are many good leaders and cadres in the Party. But they are still not enough. We must spread our Party and the organisations of our Party. We must train and prepare lakhs of cadres and hundreds of first rank leaders. These cadres and leaders must have known Marxism-Leninism, have politically far-fetched view, effective in work, ready for sacrifice, efficient to solve the problems on their own, unwavering will in difficulties, most reli-

able, committed to nationality, class and service to party. The Party maintains relations with the members and the people through these cadres and leaders. The Party must defeat the enemy and achieve success only by depending on their firm leadership on the ordinary people. Such leaders and cadres must be selfless national class heroes without selfishness, individual heroism, lavishness, idleness, laziness and sectarian arrogance' (Mao in 'Mobilise lakhs of people into the anti-Japanese United Front', Vol I).

How will such kind of leaders and cadres be created? Anyone who becomes an active part of the class struggle, implement the tasks given, learning lessons from their experiences through understanding them in the light of MLM and in the process of advancing the movement. This cannot be achieved through spontaneous participation in work. Everyone must make efforts in a planned manner and in a regular and thus they shall develop as effective organisers and commanders. Such persons gain the confidence of the people and lead them. In order to do this we not only need good knowledge about MLM theory but be able to combine the theory to solve the problems in practice. We must not only have a deep understanding about our political line and military line but also be able to specifically apply it to practice in our sphere of work. We can mold ourselves according to the necessities of the Party and revolution by taking up the weapon of self-criticism and by following the method of task based study. We have to rectify the trends that separate practice from theory and work from study. Thus we must strengthen our class attitude, the understanding and spirit of the Party.

Mao's teaching is our guideline in this regard – 'The proletariat molds the whole society in the class struggle and the struggle with nature. It molds itself in this process. It must definitely learn in the process of work and gradually overcome its weaknesses. It must never stop doing so' (MSW, Vol V, 'On correct handling of contradictions among the people', 1957).

Since Narasimhareddy surrendered to the enemy all the leadership committees, cadres, especially the CC and the SC where he worked until now and the Telangana State Committee must take all the necessary precautions to minimize the loss out of his exposure of our secrets to the enemy. We must remember that the enemy shall take up as per LIC depending on this information. So the concerned committees must pay attention to making all necessary changes without any lenience towards taking proper precautions, in methods we had been following

and been depending until now and in our daily life.

Dear Comrades!

Our Party lost many comrades especially many senior comrades dedicated to revolution. Those martyrs are exemplary in selflessness, sacrifice, dare, dedication to revolution and love and affection towards the oppressed people. They faced many kinds of tortures in the hands of the enemy and laid their lives to preserve the secrets of the Party. Every member of our Party must imbibe the great Communist characteristics of our beloved martyrs. They must shed alien class trends and weaknesses, mold ourselves into genuine proletarian revolutionaries and become real heritors of those martyrs.

In this regard Narasimhareddy is a negative teacher to our Party, cadres and revolutionary people. At times the internal struggle among the revolutionaries is very cruel, difficult and fearsome than the class struggle with the enemy. It needs great courage and strong will. More than anything it needs a deep dedication towards the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), towards the oppressed people and towards the Party. Let us oppose severely and hate the renegades that distance from the Party, revolution and the interests of the people, consider their vested interests and become traitors. Let us highlight the Communist values and practice until the last breath in the red revolutionary path illumined with red light that our beloved martyrs showed us and advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution with the aim of achieving Socialism-Communism in the path of Protracted People's War.

19th January, 2018

Revolutionary greetings
Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)



“Leninism grew up and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had reached an extreme point, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution had come up and passed over to a new period, that of direct assault on capitalism”. And that “Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.”

J. Stalin

From the document of CPI (Maoist) on MLM

Leninism developed through relentless fight against the various shades of opportunists such as the Bernsteinian revisionists, Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks, Legal Marxists, Liquidators, Kautskyites, Trotskyites, etc. Lenin drew up the tactics by taking Marxism not as a dogma but a guide to action. The amazing clarity of the tactical slogans and the astounding boldness of the revolutionary plans of Lenin won over all the Left forces in the Second International and the revolutionary masses to the side of the Bolsheviks.

He postulated that the Party is the highest form of class organization that directs all other forms of organization of the masses, that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only through the proletarian Party, and that the Party should consist of a stable nucleus of professional revolutionaries with an extensive network of Party membership. This political party must identify itself with the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution as well as in building Socialism and Communism.

Down with imperialism!
Let us ignite proletarian revolutions all
over the world!
Let us step forward for the future of red
Socialism!
Let us march to Communism!

“The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution “within national bounds.” It is, primarily, a revolution of an international, world order, for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world”.

While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created—in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship—a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, a base such as the latter *never possessed* before and on which it now can rely for support. It has created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the latter *never possessed* before and around which it can now rally, organising *a united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.*

- J. Stalin

The International Character of the October Revolution
(On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October
Revolution)

Pravda, No. 255, November 6-7, 1927