

**Arms and Ammunition Seized from the Enemy by PLGA
in some of the Operations in these 10 Years**



Nayagad Raid (OS)



Mandagiri (DK)



Manpur Raid (DK)



Murkinar Raid (DK)

Enemy is the Main Source for PLGA Armoury



Mukram Ambush (DK)



Lahiri Ambush (DK)



Kongera Ambush (DK)



Mimpa Ambush (DK)



From Dantewada Jail Break (DK)

CPP Salutes Indian Maoists for Victorious Ranibodili Raid

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) recently congratulated and saluted the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and the Red fighters of India for carrying out a successful tactical offensive on 14 March against the reactionary and fascist state forces of India. The Indian Maoist revolutionary fighters successfully overran a security outpost of the fascist police in the central Indian state of Chhattisgarh.

Gregorio Rosal, spokesperson of the CPP, congratulated the CPI (Maoist) and its Red fighters in behalf of the CPP, the New People's Army, the Philippine revolutionary movement and the Filipino people. He said that the victorious tactical offensive "is truly inspiring... as we wage our own people's war to end imperialist, feudal and fascist rule and oppression in the Philippines".

Scores of Red fighters under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) launched the early morning raid against a police outpost in a forested area of the Rani Bodli village in Chhattisgarh's Bijapur district. They easily took control of the outpost manned by at least 75 policemen and seized a large cache of rifles and war materiel. More than 50 policemen were killed in the firefight, including 16 state police personnel and 37 special police officers.

Rosal said that the large cache of weapons seized "will help arm many more Indian masses anxious to become Red fighters and join the people's war".

He added that, "the broad masses of the Indian people celebrate these victories as they struggle to smash the prevailing backward and reactionary semifeudal rule, end the centuries-long system of exploitation and oppression of the people, and build a bright, revolutionary future in India".

Dedicatedly fighting for the rights and welfare of poor and landless farmers, neglected tribes and other impoverished Indian masses, the CPI (Maoist) and its Red army have now gained control of 10 of Chhattisgarh's 16 impoverished districts and are also present in 14 of India's 29 states, covering huge swathes of the subcontinent's central, eastern and southern regions.

(From Liberation International, March-April 2007)

"Another feature we want to highlight about these women martyrs is their bravery and valiance in fighting the enemy. Innumerable incidents of their bravery can be quoted. They have been immortalized in many art and literary forms not to mention the countless songs which describe their bravery and courage. They have become legends in the eyes of the people and sometimes we find even their 'enemies' praising their valiance. Their military skills are not inferior to any of the male comrades and sometimes even surpassed that of their male colleagues. Ordinary peasant, adivasi and petty bourgeois women had become soldiers and military leaders. The military exploits of Rajitha and Lalitha of NT have become legendary and even the armed forces feared them. Karuna and Somvari died during Daula raid, Rambatti during the illustrious Nayagadh raid, Rukmati during the historic Mukaram attack, Anju in the Jhumra Pahad raid, Srilata during the raid on Tirumalagiri PS and many are the working class heroines who died fighting the enemy valiantly in attacks on the armed forces and in the scores of encounters with the armed forces. Porteti Pentti (DK) had Special Forces training and proved her mettle in the last encounter with the police. Vanaja's (AOB) and Radha's (DK) last battles with the police are some of the most valiant fights put up by the guerillas of PLGA. Rathna (AOB) was an action team member. A woman in action teams is still a rarity to find in the PPW. Many sacrificed their lives in these armed confrontations to save their fellow comrades. Health is not on their side and one would be surprised at how much these undernourished, lean, short built women could achieve in the military sphere. The answer is again the same – their determination to fight all patriarchal notions about women and their commitment towards the people as builders of new society.

Here lies the strength of the communist ideology which makes such things possible. It can give rise to this kind of selflessness and their lives in turn guarantee the ultimate triumph of this ideology over selfish class interests and ushers in the communist society. It is their communist spirit and selflessness which turned them into such wonderful human beings. Not for nothing do the masses mobilize in thousands and lakhs to pay homage to these great martyrs."

[From the foreword "Let Us Realize the Dreams of the Great Martyrs" to the book 'Women Martyrs of Indian Revolution' (Naxalbari to 2010)]

Spring Thunder Over India

[This was first published as an editorial in People's Daily, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 5 July 1967. It was reproduced in Liberation, Vol. 1 No. 1 (November 1967)]

A peal of spring thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed the trammels that bound them. They have seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and wicked gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police that went to suppress them thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and wicked gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The absolutely correct thing has been done by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party and they have done it well. The Chinese people joyfully applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

It is an inevitability that the Indian peasants will rebel and the Indian people will make revolution because the reactionary Congress rule has left them with no alternative. India under Congress rule is only nominally independent; in fact, it is nothing more than a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress administration represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it oppresses the Indian people without any mercy and sucks their blood, while internationally it serves the new boss, U.S. imperialism, and its number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, in addition to its old suzerain British imperialism, thus selling out the national interests of India in a big way. So imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The Congress administration has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and pursued a policy of national betrayal during the past few years. Famine has stalked the land year after year. The fields are strewn with the bodies of those who have died of hunger and starvation. The Indian people, above all, the Indian peasants, have found life impossible for them. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast away these big mountains off their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road is to be followed by the Indian revolution? This is a fundamental question affecting the success of the Indian revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolutions of all oppressed nations and peoples.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, pointed out as long as 40 years ago: "In China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves." Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are the most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast

semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which, the peasantry, once aroused, will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating itself with the peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earth-shaking changes in the vast countryside of India and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

The specific feature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting against armed counterrevolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhi-ism", "parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to paralyse the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this is to arouse the peasant masses boldly, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal blows at the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries, who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces, by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman Mao, and to persist in protracted armed struggle and seize victory of the revolution step by step.

In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader, Chairman Mao, has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us: In order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, "it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting."

India is a country with vast territory; its countryside, where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the broad backward rural areas and build a people's army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop such areas from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, an expansion in a series of waves. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of towns and cities and winning nationwide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are panic-stricken by the development of the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants' revolt in Darjeeling will "become a national disaster." Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in a thousand and one ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and the revisionist chieftains of the Indian Communist Party are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called "Non-Congress" government in West Bengal openly sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This gives added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. What they call the "Non-Congress government" is only a tool of these landlords and bourgeoisie. But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "A single spark can start a prairie fire". The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, will surely triumph. ✱

From “Carry Forward the Peasant Struggle by Fighting Revisionism” by Com. Charu Mazumdar

“Agrarian revolution is the task of this very moment; this task cannot be left undone, and without doing this, nothing good can be done for the peasants. But before carrying out agrarian revolution, destruction of State power is necessary. Striving for agrarian revolution without destruction of State power means outright revisionism. So, destruction of State power is today the first and principal task of peasant movement. If this cannot be done on a country-wide, State-wide basis, will the peasants wait silently? No, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has taught us that if in any area the peasants can be roused politically, then we must go ahead with the task of destroying State power in that area. This is what is known as peasants’ liberated area. The struggle for building up this liberated area is the most urgent task of the peasant movement today, a task of this moment. What shall we call a liberated area? We shall call that peasant area liberated from which we have been able to overthrow the class enemies. For building up this liberated area we need the armed force of the peasants. When we speak of the armed force we have in mind the arms made by the peasants. So also we want arms. Whether the peasants have come forward to collect arms or not is the basis on which we shall judge whether they have been politically roused. Wherefrom shall the peasants get guns? The class enemies have guns and they live in the village. Guns have to be taken forcibly from them. They will not hand over their arms to us voluntarily. Therefore, we shall have to seize guns forcibly from them. For this, peasant militants will have to be taught all tactics, right from setting fire to the houses of class enemies. Besides, we shall secure guns from the armed forces of the Government by attacking them all of a sudden. The area in which we are able to organise this gun-collection campaign shall quickly be transformed into a liberated area. So, for carrying out this task it is necessary to propagate extensively among the peasants the politics of building up armed struggle. It is, moreover, necessary to organise small and secret militant groups for conducting the gun-collection campaign. Simultaneously with propagating the politics of armed struggle, members of these groups will try to successfully implement specific programme of gun-collection. Mere collection of arms does not alter the character of struggle—the guns collected have to be used. Only then will the creative ability of the peasants develop and the struggle will undergo a qualitative change. This can be done only by poor and landless peasants, the firm ally of the working class. The middle peasant is also an ally, but his fighting consciousness is not as intense as that of poor and landless peasants. So he cannot be a participant in the struggle right at the beginning—he needs some time. That is why class analysis is an essential task for the Communist Party. The great leader of China, Chairman Mao Tsetung had, therefore, taken up this task first and was able to point out infallibly the path of revolutionary struggle. So the first point of our organisational work is establishing the leadership of poor and landless peasants in the peasant movements. It is in the process of organising peasant movement on the basis of the politics of armed struggle that the leadership of the poor and landless peasants will be established. Because, of the peasant classes, they are the most revolutionary. A separate organisation of agricultural labourers will not help this task. Rather, a separate organisation of agricultural labourers encourages the trend towards trade union movement based on economism and intensifies conflicts among peasants. The unity of the allied classes is not strengthened, because in our agricultural system the exploitation of feudal classes is foremost. Another question that comes up in this very context is that of compromise with small owners. What shall be the Communists’ outlook in this regard? In regard to compromises we shall have to consider whom do we support. So, we cannot support any other class as against them. In the peasant movement (in India) the Communists have always been compelled to give up the interests of poor and landless peasants in the interest of the petty-bourgeoisie. This weakens the fighting determination of the poor and landless peasants. In regard to middle and rich peasants also we should have different stand. If we look upon rich peasants as middle peasants, the poor and landless peasants will be frustrated. Again, if we look upon middle peasants as rich peasants, the fighting enthusiasm of the middle peasants will diminish. So, the Communists must learn to make class analysis of peasants in every area in accordance with Chairman Mao’s instructions.

Again and again the unrest among the peasants of India has burst forth. They have repeatedly sought guidance from the Communist Party. We have not told them that the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign constitute the only path. This path is the path of the working class, the

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

So the question naturally arises: Is there no need for peasants’ mass struggle on partial demands in this era? Certainly the need is there and will be there in future also. Because India is a vast country and the peasants are also divided into many classes, so political consciousness cannot be at the same level in all areas and among all the classes. So there will always be the opportunity for and possibility of peasants’ mass movement on the basis of partial demands and the Communists will always have to make full use of that opportunity. What tactics shall we adopt in conducting movements for partial demands and what shall be their objective? The basic point of our tactics is whether the broad peasant class has rallied or not, and our basic objective shall be the raising of the class consciousness of the peasants—whether they have advanced along the path of broadbased armed struggle. Movements based on partial demands shall intensify class struggle. The political consciousness of the broad masses shall be raised. The broad peasant masses shall be roused in making sacrifices, the struggle shall spread to newer areas. The movements for partial demands may take any form but the Communists shall always propagate the necessity of higher forms of struggle among the peasant masses. Under no circumstances shall the Communists try to pass the type of struggle acceptable to the peasants as the best. In reality the Communists shall always carry on propaganda among peasants in favour of revolutionary politics, i.e., the politics of armed struggle and gun-collection campaign. Despite this propaganda, the peasants will possibly decide to go on mass deputations and we shall have to conduct that movement. In times of white terror the effectiveness of such mass deputation must in no way be underestimated, because these mass deputations will increasingly draw peasants into the struggle. Movements on partial demands are never to be condemned but it is a crime to conduct these movements in the manner of economism. It is a crime, moreover, to preach that movements on economic demands will automatically take the form of political struggle, because this is worshipping spontaneity. Such movements can show the path to the masses, help develop clarity of outlook, inspire in making sacrifices. At every stage of struggle there is only one task. Unless that task is done, the struggle will not reach the higher stage. In this era that particular task is the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign. Whatever we may do without carrying out this task, the struggle will not be raised to the higher stage. The struggle will collapse, the organisation will collapse, the organisation will not grow. Similarly, there is only one path of India’s revolution, the path shown by Lenin—building up the people’s armed forces and the republic. Lenin had said in 1905 that these two tasks must be carried out wherever possible, even if these were not feasible in regard to the whole of Russia. Chairman Mao has enriched this path shown by Lenin. He has taught the tactics of people’s war and China has attained liberation along this path. Today that path is being followed in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Leopoldville, Congo, in different countries of Africa and Latin America. That path has also been adopted in India, the path of building the people’s armed forces and the rule of the liberation front which is being followed in Naga, Mizo and Kashmir areas. So the working class will have to be called upon and told that it must lead India’s democratic revolution and the working class will have to carry out this task by providing leadership to the struggle of its most firm ally, the peasantry. So, it is the responsibility of the working class to organise the peasant movement and raise it to the stage of armed struggle. The vanguard of the working class will have to go to the villages to participate in armed struggle. This is the main task of the working class “Collect arms and build up bases of armed struggle in rural areas”—this is called the politics of the working class, the politics of seizure of power. We shall have to rouse the working class on the basis of this politics. Organise all the workers in trade unions—this slogan does not raise the political consciousness of the working class. This does not certainly mean that we shall not organise any more trade unions. This means that we shall all not get the Party’s revolutionary workers bogged in trade union activities—it would be their task to carry on political propaganda among the working class, i.e., to propagate the politics of armed struggle and gun-collection campaign, and build up Party organisation. Among the petty-bourgeoisie also our main task is political

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

From "The Tactical Line of the Indian Revolution" document of erstwhile Maoist Communist Centre first published in Bengali organ of the Central Organising Committee of the MCC, "Dakshin Desh" in its issue dated 17.5.69. This is taken from the English translation published in November, 1981

People's War and People's Army are the main forms of Struggle and Organisation

The relation between the principal and non-principal forms of Struggle and Organisation

17. If the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao TseTung Thought on the question of the state and the path of Protracted People's War as the path of New-Democratic Revolution of India are accepted, and if the task of building up of the people's army and red base areas through the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside is really to be carried forward as the primary, principal and the central task of the present time, people's war and people's army must be considered as the principal forms of struggle and organisation throughout the whole period of the stages of the protracted people's war, and even after that, according to conditions. At the present stage of building up of the revolutionary war, the guerrilla struggle and the guerrilla army must be taken as the main forms of struggle and organisation, not only in words but in deeds too. To be more precise, at the present stage of development of the revolutionary war, all genuine communists must take up as the main task the task of building up of guerrilla struggle giving preference to the countryside and of building up of an underground party and a guerrilla army (which is the primary form of the future red army) under its leadership through this guerrilla struggle.

18. In the special situation of India, where the revisionists of various shades and colour wearing the mask of communism, have all along been, in words and or in deeds, advocating the line of accomplishing revolution (?) through the so-called Gandhian path of non-violence, or through the so-called "peaceful path" or the "path of election"; where the immense importance of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle or of the armed struggle for the seizure of state power and the immense importance of the building up of the people's army for the establishment of military power for the party and the people have all along been denied; and above all, where the path of protracted people's war as the path of revolution has all along been opposed; and on the contrary, where the revisionist mass movements, totally isolated from the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle or armed struggle for the seizure of state power have all along been one-sidedly emphasized,—if, in such a situation, the people's war and the people's army are to be really built up as the main forms of struggle and organisation, then, on the one hand, a massive and protracted ideological struggle and revolutionary political propaganda campaign is to be systematically conducted in the correct line and with creativeness (specially in the light of the bitter experiences of the past struggles) and the false revolutionary pretence of the revisionists be thoroughly unmasked, on the other hand, more and more people are to be mobilized for guerrilla struggles and in guerrilla organisations, with conscious and diligent efforts and with earnestness, firmness and boldness.

For the very special situation in India as mentioned above in the process of conducting ideological struggle and revolutionary propaganda work, the path of building up of guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organization, building up of people's army (specially regular army) through guerrilla struggle, and

establishment of red base area and organising protracted people's war, giving preference to the countryside, must be systematically and regularly upheld to the people as the only and absolutely inevitable path of their liberation. At the same time, the revisionist mischievousness must be unmasked of those who, advocate only for the other forms of struggle and organisation, or those who accept revolutionary armed struggle and armed organisation as the main form of struggle and organisation in words only, but refrain from building up of guerrilla struggles in the practical work and indulge in serving only the other forms of struggle isolated from the work of developing revolutionary guerrilla struggle.

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.. ..having guns we can create party organisations, we can also create cadres, create schools, create cultures, create mass movements. All things grow out of the barrel of a gun. According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlord; in this sense, we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed” (Problems of war and strategy—Mao Tse-tung). In order to lead the propaganda movement and the practical work in accordance with the correct orientation, every genuine communist must clearly realise the significance of the above teachings of Chairman Mao and must arouse the people also to understand this. As Chairman Mao has said “every party member should be prepared to take up arms and go to the front at any moment” and “the whole party should pay deep attention to war, should study military affairs and attention to war, should study military affairs and prepare itself for fighting”. To build up war and army as the main forms of struggle and organisation, or even to build up guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organisation as the first step towards this aim, these teachings of chairman Mao have to be realised and followed.

19. However, as Chairman Mao has said, “giving stress on armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle; on the contrary, armed struggle cannot achieve success unless co-ordinated with other forms of struggles.” And exactly for this reason, at the present time, both in the countryside and in the urban areas, with the aim of building up and developing guerrilla struggle and guerrilla army as the main forms of struggle and organization, the skill and the method must be acquired to build up other suitable forms of struggles and organisations, complementary to the building up of guerrilla struggle—keeping in view the place, time and condition and the level of thinking and consciousness and the fighting spirit of the backward sections of the people. The skill and method must be acquired to co-ordinate such struggles with the guerrilla struggle and to develop guerrilla struggles as the principal and central form. In this context, other forms of struggles and organisations mean only those struggles and organisations (including those mass struggles and mass organisations under the leadership of the underground party) which help to build up and develop armed struggle or guerrilla war for the seizure of state power.

20. There is, among the people, a tendency to overestimate the strength of the enemy, especially the strength of the police forces and the army and the state-machinery. Here lies the root cause of the tendency of accepting helplessly, often without any protest, all sorts of exploitation and oppression of the hated enemy, and the root cause of the capitulationist mentality amongst the people also lies here. And it is exactly for this reason, that, while explaining to the people the relative and temporary superiority of the strength of the enemy compared to the that of the people and the consequent impossibility to destroy the enemy at a single stroke, through “insurrection”, the strong sides of the people and the superiority of the strategy and tactics of the guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war must, at the same time, be very strongly and persistently upheld. It is to be impressed on the people with all emphasis that, however strong the military strength of the enemy may be, and however weak the military power of the people may be for the time being, by relying on the vast countryside, the weakest position of the enemy, and on the vast masses of the peasantry, eager for the agrarian revolution, and by following the flexible strategy and tactics of the guerrilla struggle and the protracted war—it is entirely possible to defeat the enemy forces in individual, partial battles (in different single battles) by way of mobilising superior forces of the people (a number of times stronger than that of the enemy forces) against the individual sections or parts of the enemy forces, and thus, through such a war of protracted nature, to diminish, bit by bit, the enemy's strength, - as the entire of the necessary rice or meal is eaten up mouthful - and to gradually enhance the strength of the people, and finally, to overwhelm the strength of the enemy and to destroy them decisively. This truth is to be emphatically upheld with the living examples and experiences of the revolutionary protracted wars of China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc., so that there may develop amongst the people sense of self-confidence, courage and a faith in the victory of the revolutionary war. ✱

From 'Our Tactical Line' Document of erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW), 1980

Agrarian Revolution, Guerilla Zones, Base Areas and the People's Army

As the strategy of our revolution is to establish base areas one after another, from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, in the broad backward rural areas and to gradually encircle and finally seize power in cities and win the nationwide victory, the Party should make rural areas the main centre of its work.

As the rural area in our country is very vast and as our Party organisation, at present, is very weak and limited, it is not possible for the party to cover the entire countryside immediately. Therefore, to begin with the Central leadership and every state committee also should, according to its strength, take up work in rural areas in a planned way, first concentrating on such areas where feudal exploitation is rampant and the economic, social and political contradictions are most sharp aggravating and ripening the class struggle there and where terrain also is most favourable for starting armed struggle. The party should give priority to allot cadres first to such areas to integrate with the peasantry, build party organisation and start activities and struggles to mobilise peasantry into armed struggles with the perspective of building guerilla zones and gradually base areas.

As agrarian revolution is the axis of our democratic revolution, in the rural areas our party must popularise the agrarian programme among the peasantry, especially, the poor peasants and agricultural workers and should arouse, mobilize, organize and arm them in struggles to make the agrarian revolution successful. The main features of the agrarian programme will be confiscation of all lands, orchards etc., of landlords including usurers, religious and other institutions and their distribution free of charge among poor peasants and agricultural workers, and cancellation of all debts of the peasantry. While popularizing this programme and propagating the politics of seizure of power, our party should take part in and lead all struggles of the peasantry against eviction from both private and government land, forced and bonded labour, for higher wages, for equal pay for equal work, for reduction of rent and interest, for vested as well as Government waste land, for stoppage of leasing out community land to landlords and rich peasants, for protection of land and property of the tribal people, for food and work, against hoarding, high prices and taxation, against social, political and other kinds of oppression.

The Party must formulate slogans of action in accordance with the level of consciousness of the peasantry and their preparedness for struggle.

From the beginning the Party should concentrate on educating the peasantry with the politics of seizure of power. If the peasantry lacks the perspective of seizure of power and establishing people's democracy while carrying the struggle forward, the peasant struggle, however extensive and strong, will certainly end in economism.

To mobilise all sections of people to carry out the tasks mentioned earlier, we must build strong mass organisations such as peasant associations, agricultural labour associations etc. Also we must bestow special attention on youth and students. The students and youth should take up as their key task going to villages, integrate with the rural masses and rouse them for agrarian revolution. Our perspective in building mass organisations should be to transfer all those mass organisations of the people into an auxiliary body and a transmission belt linking our party with the people.

At this phase, cannot be waged in an entirely peaceful manner. The landlords and the reactionary state machinery will certainly launch all sorts of brutal attacks to crush the peasant struggle in the bud and to quench the revolutionary flames. The peasant struggle can survive and extend only through encountering the brutal attacks of the landlords and the reactionary state machinery. In order to withstand the onslaught of the enemy and to make counter attacks against the landlords the peasantry may find the existing organisations such as the peasant associations etc., inadequate and some other organisation such as the strike committees, struggle committees, village defence squad, village committees etc., may become necessary. From the very beginning the Party should educate the peasantry to face the onslaught of the landlords with arms and build the village self-defence squads to defend their struggles. The party should take necessary steps to build such squads. Unless we prepare the peasantry to adopt all these forms of organisation they cannot successfully wage their struggles at this phase.

The struggles in this phase will be waged in a series of waves and therefore, the party should

consciously use the intermittent intervals between one struggle and the next to consolidate the results of the struggle. Here, consolidation means educating the people with the politics of seizure of state power, further strengthening of their respective mass organisations, making them realise the necessity to forge unity with other sections of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal masses to wage still heroic battles against the common enemy improving their socialist consciousness, bringing them out of all sorts of revisionist influence, and building the party with the militants emerging from the mass struggles. The party can successfully 'fulfil all the above tasks of consolidation only through the village committee constituted as a United Front comprising of the representatives of all the anti-feudal classes. This process of consolidation and along with it the weakening of the grip of the landlords, on the economic, social and political life of the village and the establishment of the firm leadership of the proletariat over the broad masses of peasantry will take place, only as a part of and during the course of intensifying the class struggle in the village. Thus, this first phase of the agrarian revolution will create the suitable political base under the leadership of the proletariat in the countryside, necessary for the armed struggle to overthrow the four mountains of oppression.

As the struggle intensifies and grows to a certain stage the enemy-both the local landlords as well as the state-will not allow it to grow further uninterruptedly. After reaching a particular situation any movement should either advance or perish but cannot remain marking time. So, the first phase of the movement when it reaches an advanced stage in a considerably large extent of area, should necessarily transform itself and pass on to the next higher stage of establishing guerilla zone or otherwise it cannot preserve itself.

Guerilla zone is such an area where the enemy's regime will not be stable however much he tries to maintain his control while the revolutionary forces also are not able to establish their political power however much they develop the guerilla warfare. In a nutshell, it is an intermediary zone where both the sides the reactionary regime and revolutionary forces contend for total control and at the same time none of them is able to establish a stable regime.

In the first phase of the movement itself, as the struggle grows stronger and stronger and as the preparedness of the people for struggle rises higher and higher, the needs of the struggle demand the organisation of peasant armed squads. Unlike the village self-defence squads, these will be regular and disciplined squads under the control of the Party. In the beginning their main task will be to carry on the struggle against the local feudal forces but they may have to counter the State's armed forces also occasionally to safeguard their existence as well as to defend the people's struggles. In the course of the peasants armed struggle, the fight against State's armed forces will gradually become the main and dominant task and marks an overall change in the situation calling into existence a guerilla zone.

Throughout this stage of the guerilla zone, fight between the people's armed forces and the State's armed forces will be the main form of struggle and the armed guerilla squads under a centralised military command which is the embryo of the people's liberation army, will be the main form of organisation. In this period all other forms of struggle and organisation have to serve the above main forms of struggle and organisation. So, the peasant armed squads will be merged into guerilla armed squads swelling their number. The guerilla armed squads will be different from the peasant armed squads in that they are politically more conscious, better organised with relatively strict military discipline under centralised command and are more mobile. In the guerilla zone for a very long period, series of armed clashes will ensue between the guerilla squads and the state's armed forces will be progressively weakened and that of the guerilla squads grows to such a stage where the state power of the enemy can be wiped out from that area and people's power can be established. In that final stage which is the eve of the establishment of liberated base area, the nature of confrontation between the guerilla squads and the State's armed forces also will undergo a change as the guerilla nature of war yields place to mobile warfare and the guerilla squads transform into regular people's army. Up to this point, the area will be considered as guerilla zone.

During the above phase i.e., during the establishment of guerilla zone the people will be roused and drawn into struggle on the following concrete action slogans, through the village committees, as a part of the politics of seizure of political power.

- 1) Overthrow feudal authority and establish peoples authority.
- 2) Confiscate the land of the landlords and feudal institutions .and distribute among the landless and poor peasantry.

- 3) Get armed and build people's militia.
- 4) Stop payment of taxes and levies to the State.
- 5) Stop payment of all debts and interests to the landlords and money lenders etc., etc.

Implementation of these slogans by mobilizing all anti-feudal forces into struggles against imperialist and feudal comprador exploitation and complete liberation of that area will be the immediate political tasks and guerilla warfare will be the military line of the Party during the above phase. The political mobilization on these slogans may take the form of armed uprising of the peasantry and will provide countless fighters to build up the guerilla squads and people's liberation army.

In order to carry on the guerilla warfare effectively and to transform the guerilla zone into a liberated base area, the guerilla squads must carry on the armed struggle in close co-ordination with the people. The people must be roused to action and must be brought into active struggle; the heroic actions of the guerilla squads alone cannot win victory. The armed struggle in the guerilla zones will be very severe and so the former mass organisations, associations etc., and the strike or struggle committees will not be adequate to guide and carry on this bitter fight. So, at the level of the village as a primary unit, some organisation like the village committees should be formed under the leadership of the proletariat to carry on the struggle. As the armed guerilla struggle develops and the guerilla zone reaches the stage of transformation into liberated base area, during this course these village committees also will be gradually transformed into revolutionary councils, basing on the newly developed mass upsurge and consciousness: These councils will be the effective weapons of smashing the old state power and building up the people's power and they will be in the embryonic form of people's democratic dictatorship under the hegemony of the proletariat like the Soviets in Russian Revolution and the revolutionary councils in Chinese revolution. As such the village committee which come into existence at the beginning of this process must be looked upon as the preparatory elements of the revolutionary councils to be realised towards the end of this process and must be nurtured so consciously.

The principles of Guerrilla war will be as follows :

'Disperse the forces among the masses to arouse them, and concentrate the forces to deal with the enemy; and when the enemy advances we retreat; when the enemy camps we harass; when the enemy tires we attack; when the enemy retreats we pursue.' It is the method of 'breaking up the whole into parts' and 'gathering the parts into whole'.

A guerilla zone can be truly established only with the gradual fulfilment of the three basic conditions, (1) the building up of regular guerilla forces under the centralised command with strict military discipline (2) the building up of sufficient and considerably strong, politically conscious mass base under the leadership of the proletariat and (3) building of the real people's organisations consciously dedicated to the seizure of political power.

As Chairman Mao pointed out such guerilla zones will be transformed, into base areas when they have gone through the necessary process of guerilla warfare, that is when large number of enemy troops have been annihilated or defeated there, the reactionary regime has been destroyed, the masses have been roused to activity and well organised, people's local armed forces have been developed and people's political power has been established.

The guerilla forces strategically rely on such base areas in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying enemy forces and winning gradually the nationwide victory. In view of the unified administration and the strong centralized military command in the hands of the ruling classes in India, it is certain that the guerilla zones which undergo transformation into revolutionary base areas will face many difficulties, twists and turns, but it is also certain that they will emerge and expand in a series of waves, as the reactionary rule is weak in the countryside.

In the entire course of the peasant armed struggle the party should take the following precautions; first, throughout the period of struggle from its initial beginning to the final capture of power revolutionary politics of seizure of political power should be in command in mobilizing and organising the peasantry for armed struggle.

Second, in adopting the form of struggle and organization the party should base itself on the level of political consciousness and organisational strength of the people and their preparedness for struggle, but under no condition on the subjective wishes of the leadership.

Third, while the struggle transforms from one phase to the other, the party should be very careful not

to loose the initiative. It should visualise the next phase before hand and get ready with all the necessary preparations to successfully transform the struggle to the next higher phase. This is the crucial role, the leadership is required to play at every critical juncture.

Fourth, during the entire struggle the party should unfailingly rely on the people and at no time it should miss the living link with them. As Mao said, “the revolutionary war is war of the masses, it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.”

From “The Perspective of the Indian Revolution And The Tactical Line of the Indian Revolution – perspective” of erstwhile MCC, 1996

Firmly grasp the Class-line and the Mass-line Carry on work relying on and centring around Working class and the Poor and Landless Peasantry

Whether there is urge for realizing the object of the class-analysis of the society, whether the correct class-line and the mass-line are followed in the practical work :

Whether there is genuine respect and love for the working class and its firm ally, the poor and landless peasantry – whether there is reliance and faith on them ;

Whether there is the intention to realize significance and the indispensability of the all-embracing leadership of the working class and of the revolutionary unity of the working class and the peasantry in the revolution ;

Whether, in conformity with the class line, the work and activities, as well as struggles in the urban areas are being organized by completely relying on and centring around the working class, whether the working class is being aroused to class consciousness and to the consciousness of the leadership, whether they are being activated in the revolutionary work, and whether there is the effort of bringing up professional revolutionary organizers and soldiers from among them ; again, whether in conformity with the class line itself, the works and activities in the countryside are being carried on depending on and centring around the most reliable and the firmest ally of the working class, the poor and landless peasantry, and whether there is the effort to bring up more and more cadres from among them ;

To a faithful communist, these are questions of principle. The advancement and the success of the National Democratic Revolution of India depend to a great extent on whether there is a positive approach on the part of the communist revolutionaries on the above mentioned questions and whether works and activities are directed accordingly. As a matter of fact, however correct the thesis may be, put forward in writing or during theoretical discussions on the class analysis of the Indian society and the role of different classes in the revolution, if that bears no connection with the day to day work, if there is no correct appraisal of different classes and categories (strata), then such class analysis becomes totally meaningless.

Many a people will readily accept (?) these formulations from the theoretical point of view. But the fact is that, most of the revolutionary intellectuals, who think themselves to be communist revolutionaries, an overwhelming majority of them, don't even the mind to go to the working class and the peasantry, let alone the question of being integrated with them on the basis of revolutionary politics. One of the reasons for the temporary failure of the peasant struggles developed after the Naxalbari struggle is the lack of realization of the importance of correctly following the class line and mass line in practice. Lessons must be drawn from this. The importance of the role of the revolutionary intellectuals in the New Democratic Revolution cannot but be emphasized; but it must also be understood, and more clearly understood, that revolutionary struggles in the real sense, or revolutionary party or people's army in the real sense, none of these can be built up with the petty bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals alone. As a matter of fact, the revolutionary war in the real sense and the revolutionary party, the peoples army and the united front in the real sense, as the weapons of the revolution – none of these can be built up without the active support and firm role or participation of the working class as the most advanced and the most revolutionary class of the society, and the peasantry (and specially the poor and landless peasantry) who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian population and who are the firmest and the most dependable ally of the working class and who are the principle force of the revolution. *

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and that without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

["On Contradiction" (August 1937), Mao Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 344]

The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

["On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" (Dec. 1929), Mao Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 106.]

From 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution,' CPI (Maoist) document, 2007

Building the People's Army

If we do not formulate a military line corresponding to the correct political line we cannot achieve our revolutionary objective. The military line should be subordinate to the political line. The correct military line takes birth in struggle, develops through struggle and takes a clear shape in the course of struggle. It is only by waging incessant ideological struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines that we can successfully carry out the protracted people's war.

MLM teaches us, and is proved by the experiences of class struggles in world history and the concrete experience of the class struggles in our country's history, that the exploiting ruling classes will never relinquish or give up power voluntarily even at the time of serious crisis. Without smashing the present state machinery and the main constituent of the state power, the mercenary armed forces, the instrument of suppression of the people by the ruling classes and without the establishment of the armed power of the revolutionary people, the Indian people cannot establish their political power. Hence, in order to completely smash the state machinery of the exploiting classes or overthrowing it, the building of the people's army as the organized armed force of the masses is indispensable. That is why Mao said that "without a people's army people have nothing." and 'political power flows through the barrel of the gun'.

The military line that was comprehensively developed by com. Mao proceeds from two fundamental points. In our people's war too, we can victoriously carry out the people's war by creatively implementing these two fundamental points: One, our army is a new type of army that is fundamentally different from the mercenary armies of the exploiting classes; it is a political army. It must be an instrument subordinate to the ideological leadership of the proletariat and serving the struggle of the people and the building of revolutionary base areas. Two, our revolutionary war is a new type of war—a people's war; it must be a war in which we recognise that the enemy is strong and we are weak, that the enemy is big and we are small, and in which therefore we fully utilise the enemy's weaknesses and our strong points and fully rely on the strength of the masses for survival, victory and expansion.

In India, people's war and people's army must be considered as the principal forms of struggle and organisation throughout the whole period of the stages of the protracted people's war. Even to build up guerrilla struggle and PLGA as the first step towards this aim. In the concrete conditions of India, we cannot build the people's army without the armed agrarian revolution and without the people's army we cannot carry out the agrarian revolution to its consummation. We cannot establish the Base Areas in the absence of the people's army. And without the Base Areas the people's army cannot carry out consistent and prolonged resistance against the enemy and it loses the meaning of its very existence.

The process of building the people's army is not the same throughout the world. The people's armies were built basing on the specific conditions of the respective countries. In countries like Nepal, Peru, the Philippines, etc. where protracted people's war is being waged under the leadership of the revolutionary Communist parties, guerilla armies and the people's militia were first formed and only later, the people's liberation armies came into existence.

Development of the People's Guerilla Army in India

In our country people's army could not be formed despite heroic armed peasant struggles right from

the first war of independence of 1857 and the Santhal rebellion until our Party took the initiative to form the PLGA. The failure to form the people's army even under the leadership of the united Communist party which led the Telangana armed struggle between 1946-51, was due to the absence of a revolutionary political and military line and the dominance of a Right opportunist line for most of the period of its existence.

The upsurge of armed peasant revolutionary movements in the late 1960s and early 70s starting with Naxalbari armed revolt, through heroic sacrifices and armed struggle against the state's armed forces, could create the embryonic form of the people's army in the form of armed guerilla squads.

Thereafter, going through several ups and downs and bravely resisting the enemy's brutal suppression campaigns, guerilla war continued to develop and advance as per plan with the aim of establishing the Base Areas. Starting with irregular guerilla forces, we formed guerilla forces in the form of people's militia locally (GRDs, self-defence squads), local guerilla squads, special guerilla squads in AP, Dandakaranya, Jharkhand and Bihar states. In this process, the acts of resistance against the state's armed forces had increased. The struggle between the guerilla forces and the state's armed forces had become the principal form leading to a qualitative change in the situation and guerilla zones came into existence.

The necessity had arisen for further intensifying the guerilla war in accordance with the changing conditions by confronting the enemy's brutal onslaught. Besides the separate guerilla squads, the need for the qualitatively higher level of platoons and companies became necessary in order to destroy the enemy forces at a specific time and place. The guerilla forces working as guerilla squads, platoons and companies were brought under a centralized policy and decentralized command in order to coordinate the separate guerilla operations with further plan to destroy the enemy by relative concentration of the forces and in this way the PLGA was formed. This is the first step in the formation of the PLA and the establishment of the Base Areas.

PLGA is the armed organization to achieve the revolutionary political tasks. It preserves its strength and destroys that of the enemy. At the same time, it takes up the political tasks like propaganda among the people, organizing the masses, arming the masses, helping the masses in establishing their organs of political power, developing the Party, participating in production etc. *

Our Party is placing the programme of New Democratic Revolution of India before the people and dedicates itself to this great revolutionary cause. It sets to itself the task of achieving socialism. Our ultimate goal is communism. After the People's Democratic Revolution, the production relations will be revolutionized step by step, in the process of removing the class distinction between exploiter and the exploited. It will continue the efforts to eradicate Brahminical ideology, caste oppression and discrimination by promoting a scientific socialistic outlook. It will continue to move forward by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby continue to consolidate the socialist society as a strong base area for the world proletarian revolution. This socialist state will be the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will guarantee democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship on the handful of the exploiters. There will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of uninterruptedly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will continue to advance the proletarian cultural revolution and through it fight and defeat every attempt by imperialism, modern revisionism and capitalist roaders to restore capitalism. Through this process, it will continue the struggle against any deformities introduced in the socialist system especially against bureaucracy and, thereby, continue to ensure that people participate in the state and are not alienated from either socialist state or the proletarian party. It will have to creatively eliminate the remaining inequalities and solve the contradictions that exist within socialist society and, in the process, move towards the elimination of class society and, thereby, the withering away of the state, i.e. towards communism on a world scale.

This party pledges to fulfill its duty of putting an end to the endless misery and suffering of crores of our beloved people by completing the people's democratic revolution. It further pledges to follow class line and mass line in every respect and be ever vigilant towards the conspiracies and nefarious intrigues of the imperialists and modern revisionists and march forward to ultimately abolish exploitation and oppression by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and marching forward to socialism and then communism on a world scale.

[From Party Program Document of CPI(Maoist)]

From “The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchov’s Revisionism”

- Open Letter of the CC, CPC to the CC, CPSU, March 31, 1964

Two Different Lines, Two Different Results

History is the most telling witness. Rich experience has been gained since World War II both in the international communist movement and in the peoples’ revolutionary struggles. There has been successful as well as unsuccessful experience. Communists and the revolutionary people of all countries need to draw the right conclusions from this historical experience.

The countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America which have succeeded in making a socialist revolution since the War have done so by following the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and the road of the October Revolution. Now, in addition to the experience of the October Revolution, there is the experience of the revolutions of China, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, Korea, Viet Nam and Cuba. The victorious revolutions in these countries have enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution.

From China to Cuba, all these revolutions without exception were won by armed struggle and by fighting against armed imperialist aggression and intervention.

The Chinese people were victorious in their revolution after waging revolutionary wars for twenty-two years, including the three years of the People’s Liberation War, in which they thoroughly defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who were backed up to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

The Korean people carried on fifteen years of revolutionary armed struggle against Japanese imperialism beginning in the 1930’s, built up and expanded their revolutionary armed forces, and finally achieved victory with the help of the Soviet Army. After the founding of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, it took another three years of war against U.S. imperialist armed aggression before the victory of their revolution could be consolidated.

The Vietnamese people seized state power by the armed uprising of August 1945. Immediately afterwards, they had to begin fighting a war of national liberation lasting eight years against French imperialism and to defeat the U.S. imperialist military intervention, and only then did they triumph in northern Viet Nam. The people of southern Viet Nam are still waging a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist armed aggression.

The Cuban people started their armed uprising in 1953, and later it took more than two years of people’s revolutionary war before they overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism and its Cuban puppet, Batista. After their victorious revolution, the Cuban people smashed armed invasions by U.S. imperialist mercenaries and safeguarded the fruits of revolution.

The other socialist countries too were all established through armed struggle.

What are the main lessons of the successful proletarian revolutions in the countries extending from China to Cuba after World War II?

1. Violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. To realize the transition to socialism, the proletariat must wage armed struggle, smash the old state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The peasants are the most dependable allies of the proletariat. The proletariat must closely rely on the peasants, establish a broad united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, and insist upon proletarian leadership in the revolution.

3. U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of people’s revolution in all countries. The proletariat must hold high the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and have the courage to fight with firm resolve against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in its own country.

4. The revolution of the oppressed nations is an indispensable ally of the proletarian revolution. The workers of all countries must unite, and they must unite with all the oppressed nations and all the forces

opposed to imperialism and its lackeys to form a broad international united front.

5. To make a revolution, it is essential to have a revolutionary party. The triumph of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat are impossible without a revolutionary proletarian party established in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Marxism-Leninism, a party which is irreconcilable towards revisionism and opportunism and which takes a revolutionary attitude towards the reactionary ruling classes and their state power.

To insist on revolutionary armed struggle is of primary importance not only to the proletarian revolution but also to the national democratic revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the Algerian national liberation war has set a good example in this respect.

The whole history of the proletarian parties since the War has shown that those parties which have followed the line of revolution, adopted the correct strategy and tactics and actively led the masses in revolutionary struggle are able to lead the revolutionary cause forward step by step to victory and grow vigorously in strength.

Conversely, all those parties which have adopted a non-revolutionary opportunist line and accepted Khrushchov's line of "peaceful transition" are doing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and turning themselves into lifeless and reformist parties, or becoming completely degenerate and serving as tools of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. There is no lack of such instances.

The comrades of the Communist Party of Iraq were once full of revolutionary ardour. But acceptance of Khrushchov's revisionist line was forced on them by outside pressure, and they lost their vigilance against counter-revolution. In the armed counter-revolutionary coup d'état, leading comrades heroically sacrificed their lives, thousands of Iraqi Communists and revolutionaries were massacred in cold blood, the powerful Iraqi Communist Party was dispersed, and the revolutionary cause of Iraq suffered a grave setback. This is a tragic lesson in the annals of proletarian revolution, a lesson written in blood.

The leaders of the Algerian Communist Party danced to the baton of Khrushchov and of the leadership of the French Communist Party and completely accepted the revisionist line against armed struggle. But the Algerian people refused to listen to this rubbish. They courageously fought for national independence against imperialism, waged a war of national liberation for over seven years and finally compelled the French Government to recognize Algeria's independence. But the Algerian Communist Party, which followed the revisionist line of the leadership of the CPSU, forfeited the confidence of the Algerian people and its position in Algerian political life.

During the Cuban revolution, some leaders of the Popular Socialist Party refused to pursue the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, the correct line of revolutionary armed struggle, but, following Khrushchov's revisionist line, advocated "peaceful transition" and opposed violent revolution. In these circumstances, Marxist-Leninists outside and inside the Cuban Party, represented by Comrade Fidel Castro, rightly bypassed those leaders who opposed violent revolution, joined hands and made revolution with the revolutionary Cuban people, and finally won a victory of great historic significance.

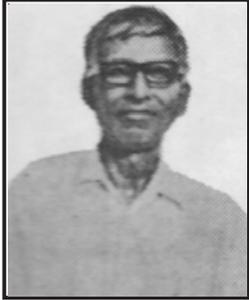
Certain leaders of the Communist Party of France of whom Thorez is representative have long been pursuing a revisionist line, have publicized the "parliamentary road" in response to Khrushchov's baton, and have actually reduced the Communist Party to the level of a social democratic party. They have ceased to give active support to the revolutionary aspirations of the people and rolled up the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The result of their pursuit of this revisionist line is that the Communist Party, which once had great influence among the people, has become increasingly isolated from the masses and has deteriorated more and more.

Certain leaders of the Indian Communist Party, typified by Dange, have long pursued a revisionist line, hauled down the banner of revolution and failed to lead the masses in national and democratic revolutionary struggles. The Dange clique has slid farther and farther down the path of revisionism and degenerated into national chauvinists, into tools of the reactionary policies of India's big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and into renegades from the proletariat.

The record shows that the two fundamentally different lines lead to two fundamentally different results. All these lessons merit close study. ✱

Martyrs Gallery

SOME OF THE IMPORTANT MARTYR LEADERS WHO HAD LAID FOUNDATIONS FOR PLGA



Com. Amulya Sen
CCM



Com. Chandrasekhar Das
CCM



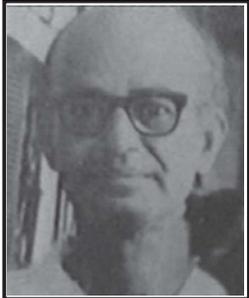
Com. Saroj Dutta
CCM



Com. Vempatapu Satyam
CCM



Com. Adibhatla Kailasam
CCM



Com. Sushitalroy Chowdhury, CCM



Com. Panchadi Krishna Murthy CCM



Com. Panigrahi
Revolutionary Writer



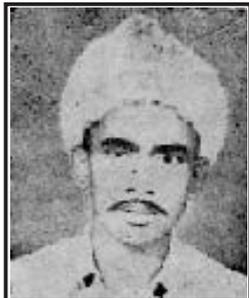
Com. Panchadi Nirmala
Srikakulam Martyr



Com. Chaganti Bhaskar
Srikakulam Martyr



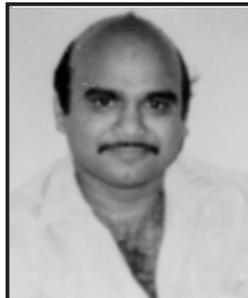
Com. Chittekka
Srikakulam veteran commander



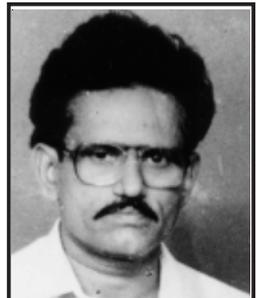
Com. S. Janardhan
Girayipally Martyr



Com. I.V. Master
CCM



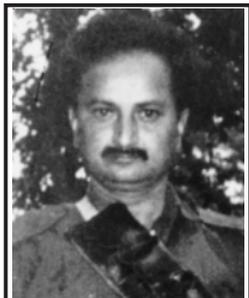
Com. Anjanna
AP SCS



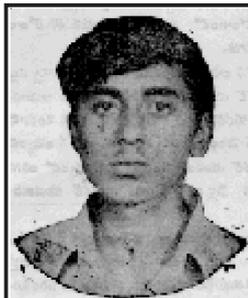
Com. Suryam
AP SCM



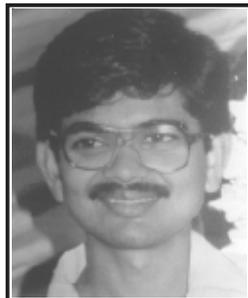
Com. Padmakka
Women's front-AP



Com. Reddappa
AP SCM



Com. Peddi Shankar
First Martyr in DK



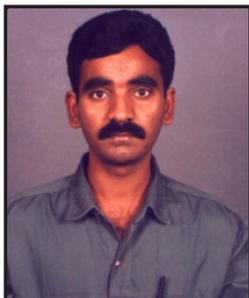
Com. Nirmal
BJ SCM



Com. Srikanth
BJ SCM



Com. Krishna Singh
BJ SCM



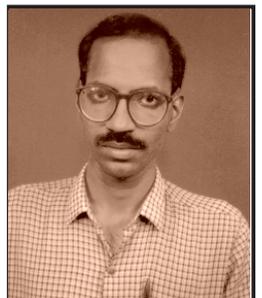
Com. Damodar
APSCM



Com. Rameshwar
Hyd-DCS, AP



Com. Ramireddy
NTSZCM



Com. Naveen Jung-EBM

Martyrs Gallery

**BELOVED LEADERS AND BRAVE FIGHTERS OF INDIAN REVOLUTION
MARTYRED DURING THESE GLORIOUS TEN YEARS OF PLGA**



Com. Karam Singh
PBM/CCM



Com. Ajay da
CCM



Com. Azad
PBM/CCM



Com. BK
CCM



Com. Prasad
CCM



Com. Anuradha
CCM



Com. Patel Sudhakar
CCM



Com. S. Apparao
Central MI Director



Com. Saket Rajan
Karnataka SCS



Com. Maimuddin
3U SACS



Com. Madhav
AP SCS



Com. Mastan Rao
AP SCM



Com. Krishna
AP SCM



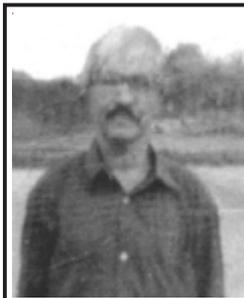
Com. Satyam
AP SCM



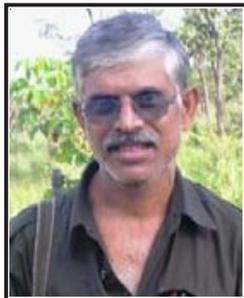
Com. Sridhar
AP SCM



Com. Raghavulu
AP SCM



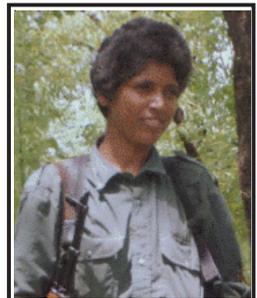
Com. Dadheechi Roy
B-J SCM



Com. Somanna
NT SZCM



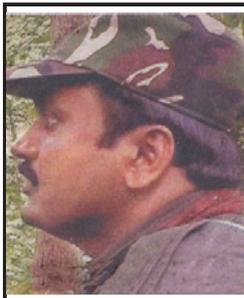
Com. Sukhdev
DK SZCM



Com. Padma
NT SZCM



Com. Sudarshan
AP SCM



Com. Yadanna
NT SZCM



Com. A. Komuraiah
NT SZCM



Com. Koumudi
AOB SZCM



Com. Vikas
DK SZCM

Martyrs Gallery

**BELOVED LEADERS AND BRAVE FIGHTERS OF INDIAN REVOLUTION
MARTYRED DURING THESE GLORIOUS TEN YEARS OF PLGA**



Com. Komma
AOBAIt. SZCM



Com. Kanchan
WB SCM



Com. Mangtu
DK SZCM



Com. Suryam
CRCM



Com. Nomula Ramana
Hyd-DCS - AP



Com. Gangaram
ATP DCS - AP



Com. Diwakar
NLG-DCS, RCM - AP



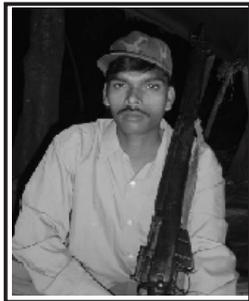
Com. Lalita
ADB DCS - NT



Com. Ramesh
NZB DCS - NT



Com. Sagar
KMM DCS - NT



Com. Vikas
Zonal C-in-C - WB



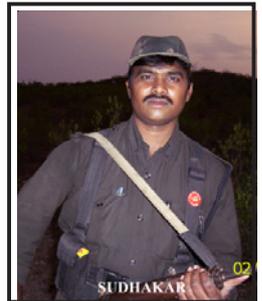
Com. Raju
PI-1 Cdr - DK



Com. Mohan
Div. C-in-C - DK



Com. Mangesh
Div. C-in-C - DK



Com. Sudhakar
Div Cmd Member - AP



Com. Ramana
Central Dept.



Com. Prasanna
Central Intel Dept.



Com. Kadari Ramulu
DCM, AOB



Com. Rajeswari
Party Magazine Editor,
Karnataka



Com. Karuna
DCM, AOB



Com. Suguna
DCM, AP



Com. Manju
B-J



Com. Parvati
ACS, Karnataka



Com. Chandan
PLCdr, B-J



Com. Zakiriya
PLCdr, B-J