

Ahwan Reprint Series-3

**On Terrorism:
Illusion
and Reality**

Alok Ranjan

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Translated from Hindi

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On Terrorism: Illusion and Reality

The term which is being splashed down most extensively in the media across the world these days is—Terrorism! It seems that at every moment, even in their dreams and one might as well say nightmares, the ruling classes round the world are haunted by the spectre of terrorism.

The truth is that the ruling classes across the world are not terrorised by terrorism, but rather by the spectre of Peoples' Revolutions. They label Peoples' Revolutions as terrorism so as to defame them. **That which gives rise to terror in them, they declare it as terrorism. There is no difference between terrorism and Peoples' Revolution in their vocabulary.** The ruling class is all the time engaged in the endeavour that correct understanding of history and socio-political phenomenon does not reach among the masses, because the correct orientation of the fundamental social transformation is decided on the basis of this correct understanding. Therefore, it becomes imperative that we are well-acquainted with the scientific definition and process of historical development of political phenomena and processes.

On the definition of terrorism, on the nature of Peoples' Revolutions, on massline and on rightist deviation

When all those people willing to change any system use **terror** as their principal or sole strategy, then it is called terrorism. Instead of the strength of the extensive masses, terrorism relies more on the bravery and passion for sacrifice of a handful of revolutionaries, and might of the weapons. It does not lay emphasis on arousing, mobilising and organising the broad cross-section of various classes on their demands-problems, on building their (that is to say various classes among the people) joint-fronts against ruling-exploiting classes and their state power and on the process of politically educating the masses on the state power and revolution. It does not keep the gun subservient

to politics but rather politics to the gun. It does not believe in ultimately taking the peoples' struggle to the stage of decisive revolutionary class war, just like the process of proceeding and receding and then again proceeding waves, from the lower plane to the higher plane respectively. History teaches us that like everything else in life, the development-path of revolutions is spiral. Terrorism sees the development-path of revolution as linear. Terrorism considers armed struggle as the only form of revolutionary struggle, or else as the principal form right from the initial stage. That is why it gives pre-eminence to the gun over politics.

The scientific materialist understanding of revolution tells us that the victims of exploitation and oppression do engage in activities of movement and revolt spontaneously on their economic and political demands. However these revolts can not take the form of revolution on their own. Revolution is a conscious scientific process. A few advanced elements amongst the masses acquire its logical understanding through the review and sum-up of the study of history, socio-political structure and class-structure of the existing society of their times, the study of all contemporary class struggles and through the study of revolutions taking place or that have taken place in other countries of the world. It is a perpetually continuous process which continues in the form of the process of 'practice-theory-practice' during the entire revolutionary struggle. In the age of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions also (for instance, the American Revolution of 1776 or the French Revolution of 1789), the process had remained the same, but essentially and principally it was not a conscious process. In the latter half of nineteenth century, the process of Proletarian revolutions against capitalism began in Europe and with the twentieth century, Imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism and the age of proletarian revolutions dawned. Capitalism is that stage of class-society from where the socialist revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat (undoubtedly after many defeats-triumphs and many ups-downs) will initiate a protracted transition in the direction of class-less society. Completely dispossessed of the ownership of the means of production and dependent on selling its labour-power for living, the modern working class of capitalist society—the proletariat is the carrier class of the most advanced revolution of class-society who by abolishing the private ownership

of the means of production itself (which until now has been the foundation of all class-society) is capable of taking history forward in the direction of the withering away of all classes, class-exploitations and class-institutions. The science of proletarian revolution presented this very fact in detail in form of Philosophy (Dialectical and Historical Materialism), Political Economy and an in-depth study of the characteristics of socialism; and presented a detailed theory of the strategy and general tactics of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution, which kept on developing throughout the period from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the various revolutions of the twentieth century and will continue to develop likewise. It is the fundamental understanding of the science of proletarian revolution that the common masses by spontaneously rising in revolts can not proceed to the stage of revolution. From the class perspective of the proletariat, social revolution is a conscious scientific action. The proletarian revolution cannot be made successful without the proper understanding of the nature of the exploitation of the masses, the fundamental reasons for the unity and contradiction among the various classes of the people, the capitalist production-relations, social relations and political apparatus; and without understanding the blueprint of the new system that will replace the capitalist system. A revolutionary party accomplishes this very task as the vanguard of the proletariat, as its most organised force, as its supreme organisation and leading organisation.

During their economic struggles, the common masses get initial training in getting organised and carrying out the struggle and recognise the strength and significance of organisation. However, during the economic struggles, the toiling masses living amidst the everyday problems do not see beyond the limits of the relief they get from the fulfillment of their immediate demands. While fighting against a single owner, they do not understand that the fundamental solution to the problem is not possible without fighting against the entire class of owners and their state power. They can not link the economic condition with politics on their own. Reduced to a mere part of the machinery in the labour-division of the bourgeois society and fallen prey to alienation, the workers, leave apart the basic education of history and politics, are even deprived of the human conditions of living. In such a situation, they do not understand that as long as the

mode of production that exploits them is intact, merely getting the crumbs of economic concessions-reliefs will not fetch much; and the only way of changing the mode of production is to change that political system that formulates and implements the policies of maintaining and running the entire economic-social structure. In a nut-shell, **the question of social revolution is fundamentally and ultimately the question of state power. Only by annihilating the state power of the exploiting classes and by establishing their own state power, can the toiling masses construct and conduct a socio-political structure in accordance with their interests. This thought does not rise spontaneously out of the economic struggles of the common people. It has to be taken among the masses through a conscious organised process. The vanguard forces of the revolution accomplish this very task.** They organise struggles against the entire exploiting-ruling class and their state power by raising the political demands of the people alongwith their economic struggles and in this process continuously impart this consciousness through the medium of revolutionary political education that the fundamental and decisive question is the question of state power and that emancipation from economic exploitation is not possible without the political revolution. Obviously, it is not possible for the entire people to internalise wholly the science of revolution and form its theoretical understanding (this can only be possible after the termination of the influences of the bourgeois labour-division and gradual end of the difference between mental labour and manual labour during the period of socialist transition). This task is undertaken by the leading force of the revolution. The broad cross-section of the masses accepts the authority of ideology and revolutionary politics on the basis of experiences of the struggles, and with the help of revolutionary propaganda and education. That is to say that though it does not have a profound understanding of philosophy and economics, nevertheless it becomes aware of the fact that revolution is the only way out and the way it will be accomplished and what the structure, the mode of production and governance of the future society will be like!

There have been people in history and still there are such who believe that the workers should wage only economic struggles or the economic struggle itself in the later stages get transformed into the

political struggle. This stream of thought has been referred to as **Economism**. Inspired by this very thought, those people who have been merely laying emphasis on organising trade unions and have been directly-indirectly overlooking the task of building a party on the guiding principle of scientific socialism, have been called **Trade-Unionists**. Those who have been relying completely on the spontaneity of the workers' struggles and trade unions and consider the task of consciously organising their political struggle and building their revolutionary political party unnecessary in one way or the another, are known by the name of **Anarcho-Syndicalists**. While stating the entire known human history as the history of class-struggles, scientific socialism made it quite clear that no exploiting class peacefully transfers power to the exploited. The state is the central apparatus for establishing the rule-exploitation of a particular class and maintaining a particular socio-economic structure. It is established and maintained through the use of force and it can be destroyed only through the use of force and a new state power which serves the interests of new classes can be established. Today there is an abundance of such leftists across the world who in lieu of the theory of constructing a new state power by forcibly destroying the existing state power, that is to say in place of the revolutionary change expound the theory of peaceful transition and dream of bringing about socialism by gaining majority in the parliament. All such currents infact play the role of infiltrators of the system within the workers' movement and a defence line of bourgeois system. They are known as **Revisionists** or **Right Opportunists**. In common tongue, they are also referred to as **Parliamentary Leftists**. In revolutionary politics, right opportunism usually arises out of the middle-class cowardice and then its leaders get transformed into clever and cunning bourgeois politicians and openly come into the role of renegades.

Proletarian Revolution, under all circumstances, acts on massline. **By revolutionary massline, it is meant that without arousing, mobilising and organising the extensive exploited-oppressed masses, no social revolution can be brought about.** Revolution is not a conspiratorial activity undertaken by a few revolutionaries. It cannot be attained by a few armed people by assassinating a few exploiters or politicians or by creating terror. It would also be an absurd fancy to believe that the common masses will rise to the

occasion and attempt the revolution after seeing a handful of people fighting and dying for justice and exploiting classes being terrorised. It can show reverence towards such people, but through this cannot come in an active role on its own. Revolution is not merely a political coup. Sometimes it has also happened that a few people with the support of the common masses had brought about a coup against any oppressive dictatorship, but in the course of time these new rulers themselves got transformed into a privileged exploitative oligarchy. **When the process of revolution marches ahead with the awakened initiative and active participation of the broad cross-section of the masses, then during this period the people also learn to take decisions and take care of the governance and only then the power of the people can be established in true sense after the revolution, the people themselves can become the charioteer of its destiny and can undertake the construction of a new socio-economic formation. The people are the real history-making force—to believe in this is the revolutionary massline.**

Terrorism or Adventurism: A cursory glance on the pages of history—Some important lessons, some valuable conclusions

Those who do not believe in the collective historical force and creativity of the extensive toiling masses, who consider people either as a passive force or else as herd, are of the opinion that the people cannot themselves attain their emancipation, rather a few courageous, spirited revolutionaries by the means of their activities perform the role of their liberators. Before the genesis of the current of Proletarian Revolution in history too, there were such revolutionaries who had no belief in the Peoples' revolution and who believed that a few revolutionaries can achieve the objective of power-transformation **through conspiracy and terror** by taking up arms. When after the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution of 1789 in France, the ruling bourgeoisie backed off from the declared objectives of the revolution and began the consolidation of the capitalist system and betrayed the people, then even there arose a political trend which relied on armed

conspiracy and revolutionary terror instead of the mobilisation of the masses for the establishment of a democratic egalitarian society. By the mid-nineteenth century, the propagation-dissemination of the ideas of Scientific Socialism pioneered by **Marx-Engles** had begun in the European Workers' Movement. However, alongwith Scientific Socialism, the current of terrorism or adventurism also existed. French revolutionary and Utopian Communist, Louis August Blanqui, was the leading representative of this current. Blanqui and Blanquiists believed that *"the redemption of the entire humanity from the slavery of wage-labour will be possible only by following the path of conspiracy constructed by a small minority of intellectuals and not by the means of the class-struggle of the proletariat."* For a successful rebellion, they adopted the course of clandestine activities of a few conspirators instead of taking cognisance of the concrete conditions and establishing relation with the masses. The failure of this path was indubitable and the same happened. In the ninth decade of nineteenth century in Russia too, a current of **Narodist Movement** had chosen the path of terrorism and had failed. Narodism was a political trend that was born in the decades of 1860 and 1870 in the Revolutionary Democratic Movement in Russia. Though Narodniks' called themselves socialists, their socialism was utopian which had no clear understanding of the sequence and process of the social development. Narodniks' considered capitalist development impossible in Russia and considered peasants instead of the proletariat the leading revolutionary force. They believed that after uprooting the despotic rule of Czar, the Russian peasant will build socialism by further developing the old village-communes. Having failed to organise the peasants, the main current of Narodism became liberal reformist and instead of revolution, shrunk to the demand of some bourgeois reforms. But in 1879, another current of this movement came to the fore as '**Narodnaya Volya**'. Although this current emphasised the necessity of the political struggle, it considered conspiracy and individual terror synonymous to political struggle owing to its unscientific, petty-bourgeois (middle-class) viewpoint. After various unsuccessful attempts, in 1881 after assassination of Czar Alexander, many people were sentenced to death and life imprisonment and after terrible repression, the activities of '**Narodnaya Volya**' came to an end.

In the twentieth century, most of the political currents of bourgeois democracy and peoples' democracy under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat respectively can be seen as struggling for establishing their hegemony over the National Liberation struggles continuing in the colonies. However, besides these, a petty-bourgeois or middle-class revolutionary current also seems active in most of the countries. This current was the current of Revolutionary Terrorism which declared National Liberation, establishment of a Democratic Republic and sometimes even Socialism as its objective. But instead of organising peasants and workers for the attainment of the objective, the secret revolutionary organisations of this current adopted the path of armed activities carried out by small squads, coup conspiracies and terror. Its reason is inherent in the class-character of terrorism or adventurism.

Terrorism, in reality, is a petty-bourgeois or middle-class revolutionary trend. Middle class, standing in the middle, is that class of bourgeois society whose upper strata plays the role of the parasites of the bourgeois sovereign masters (in form of administrators, intellectuals, political representatives, theoreticians), but the middle and lower strata suffer tremendously at the hands of the plunder-pillaging of capital. In semi feudal-colonial-semicolonial societies, the middle class was a victim of capitalist-imperialist exploitation along with feudal exploitation and was a supporter of National Liberation, establishment of a Democratic Republic and Socialism. The capitalist exploitation brings this middle-class close to the objective of Socialism and turns its most radical elements supporters of revolutionary change. However, these middle-class revolutionaries want to accomplish this revolution on their own. They do not have faith in the extensive toiling masses—in the direct productive class, in their initiative and creativity since they are divorced from the productive labour; despite being oppressed, they possess the special right and special status of being involved in the intellectual labour in a society bound by the bourgeois labour-division and it is their class-value to treat with disdain and distrust the direct productive classes. Therefore, instead of the masses, they see themselves as the liberators of the masses and the sole revolutionary force. Since not directly linked to

the production-process, these middle-class revolutionaries are impractical too. Their assessment of the concrete conditions and the material-spiritual strength of the state-power is completely akin to a fool's paradise and therefore, they believe that they will force the ruling classes to quit power by the means of clandestine conspiracies, sabotage, hither-tither carrying out armed activities of squads equipped with arms and terror. Disconnected with the direct production, this class is impractical and impetuous by nature and the "innocent-pure" restlessness to quickly attempt revolution is its disposition. This very restlessness has been coming forward as the terrorist or adventurist line, even today it is there and in future too it will be there.

The current of Revolutionary Terrorism was present in India from the beginning of the twentieth century in form of the secret revolutionary organisations such as "Yungantar-Anusheelan" etc. Since the Indian middle-class was born from the womb of a colonial social formation and like Europe did not get the ideological heritage of Humanism, Democracy and Materialist Rationality arising out of Renaissance-Enlightenment in its infancy, therefore, the first generation of terrorist revolutionaries in India did not even have the clear objective of establishing a Democratic Republic. Their vision was millenarian and resurrectionist and instead of being secular, were afflicted with religious prejudices. Despite these reactionary ideas, owing to their resistance against colonial slavery and objectively inspiring the masses through their activities, their role in their times was historically progressive. Gradually the revolutionary democratic ideas entered the Revolutionary Movement in India. The revolutionaries of **Ghadar Party** and **Hindustan Republican Army** were greatly inspired by the ideals of American and French Bourgeois Democratic Revolutions and after the Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917, they were also influenced by the socialist ideas. The phase of **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA)** was a phase of significant transition. Under the guidance of **Bhagat Singh**, the young revolutionaries of HSRA not only declared Socialism alongwith National Liberation as their ultimate objective, but also left the path of terrorist armed activities and marched ahead in the direction of the thought emanating from the massline of organising extensive peasant-worker masses. However, after the martyrdom of the leading comrades

like Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Yatindranath Das etc. and the arrest of most of the others, this movement dispersed. In the decade of 1930, a major section of the revolutionaries of HSRA joined the Communist Movement of India.

Before his execution, in the course of his profound study in prison, Bhagat Singh had completely understood the ineffectivity of the revolutionary terrorist line and having accepted Marxism, had become a staunch supporter of revolutionary massline. Time and again, he had written in his various articles written in prison and in the messages sent out to the students-youth that the young revolutionaries will have to build a new a vanguard revolutionary party dedicated to the objective of the Proletarian Revolution and instead of resorting to secret conspiracies and armed activities, they will have to arouse and organise the extensive peasant-worker population. While offering a new blue-print of the revolutionary programme in his last important document, the criticism of terrorism that Bhagat Singh had presented is relevant even today. In the aforementioned document, even while accepting the inevitability of an armed revolution, Bhagat Singh has stressed the organisation of workers-peasants by implementing massline. He has clearly written that, *"except for the initial few days of my revolutionary life, neither am I a terrorist nor I was; and I thoroughly believe that we cannot achieve anything through these kinds of methods."* He further writes:

"...The path of bomb has been continuing since 1905 and it is a tragic comment on revolutionary India.... Terrorism is an expression of the want of the understanding of the revolutionary thinking in our society; or else a repentance. Similarly it is an acceptance of failure. ... In all the countries its history has been a history of failure—in France, Russia, Germany, Balkan countries, Spain—everywhere it has the same tale to tell. The seeds of its defeat lie within itself."

"Left" Adventurism—Terrorism within the current of the Proletarian Revolution **Two extremes of deviations—Right Opportunism and "Left" Adventurism.**

Some experiences of the World Communist Movement and Indian Communist Movement.

"Left" Adventurist and Rightist deviation in Revolutionary Left current emanating from Naxalbari Peasants' struggle

It has been discussed above that we are living in the historical age of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution and the science of Proletarian Revolution is supportive of Revolutionary Massline. It talks about forcibly uprooting the bourgeois state power by arousing and organising the extensive masses, and not by the aid of the sentiments of sacrifice, bravery and conspiracy and terrorist activities of a handful of people. However, **within the current of the Proletarian Revolution too, the trend of middle-class revolutionism has always been existing and even today, it is there. This deviation of middle-class revolutionism, though pays lip-service to Scientific Socialism or Marxism, but instead of organising the extensive masses, executes the armed activities of squads equipped with arms, conspiracy and strategy of terror for accomplishing revolution instantaneously, without taking cognisance of the concrete conditions. This is only a new form of the old terrorism or adventurism and since it claims to be communist, therefore, it is given the nomenclature of "left" (or ultra left) adventurism and ultra left.** Above we have also mentioned the deviations of right opportunism within the left movement. "Left" adventurism is a deviation of another extreme, therefore, it is also referred to as **"Left" Opportunism. "Left" Opportunism disregards the lower forms of struggle and believes in directly adopting the armed struggle—the highest and decisive form of the struggle in a subjectivist manner and in the absence of the active initiative, participation and support of the broad cross-section of people, accomplishes it in the form the activities**

of armed squads. "Left" Adventurism often dismisses economic struggle as economism and trade-union activities as trade-unionism. It rejects all the activities undertaken to organise the common people and all the lower forms of struggle by labelling them as reformism and rightist. Although Marxism outrightly dismisses the rightist thought of establishing the Proletarian power through parliamentary path, it deems the use of bourgeois parliamentary elections and forum of parliament appropriate in form of tactics to propagate the revolutionary ideas and expose the capitalist system in any bourgeois democratic country when the situation arises. However, "Left" Adventurism states it as a question of strategy and declares participation in parliamentary election under any circumstance as parliamentarism or right opportunism and thus adopts a completely boycottist approach on this question. In a nutshell **"Left" Adventurist politics is a terrorist politics. It is the politics of middle-class revolutionism masquerading as Proletarian politics.** Mao Tse-tung clarified some characteristics of the character of adventurism and right opportunism in these words: *"If we take any initiative before the masses have been sufficiently aroused, then this will be adventurism. If we stubbornly stick to lead the masses in any task against their will, then we will definitely prove unsuccessful. If we do not move ahead in spite of the demand of the people to move ahead, then this will be right opportunism."*

Nearly in all Proletarian Revolutions of the entire world, the deviations of Right Opportunism and "Left" Opportunism have been raising their heads by turns at intervals and it is after eliminating them that the Proletarian Revolutions have succeeded in marching ahead. **Both of these are middle-class trends. One is the reformist trend of the middle-class which having deprived the Left Revolutionary Movement wants it to be at the service of the bourgeoisie. The other one is the middle-class revolutionary trend, which deviates the Left Revolutionary Movement from its objective, renders it ineffective and creates an atmosphere of despair and pessimism amongst the masses and in this way, despite all its revolutionary good intentions and sacrifices, objectively provides assistance to the ruling classes in the attainment of their objective.** In any capitalist society, owing to the presence of middle-class groups desiring reform and change and

presence of the middle-class as a vacillating ally of the proletarian revolution, naturally, the infiltration of the politics and ideology of the middle-class into the politics and ideology of the vanguard forces of the Proletarian Revolution remains and the process of a constant struggle against them is a fundamental guarantee of the success of the Proletarian Revolution.

Often it has been seen that the petty-bourgeois line of "Left" Adventurism after having failed miserably and routed, metamorphose itself into the petty-bourgeois line of Right "Opportunism". And sometimes it also happens that the "Left" Adventurism, to shroud its real character, ritually undertakes some mass activities and at that time a peculiar specimen of a strange medley of "Left" and Right Opportunism is on view. Since the fundamental class-character of both these trends is one, therefore, in such strange union, as a matter of fact, nothing is strange or astonishing. Usually it happens too that a current of "Left" Adventurism gets disintegrated and takes the direction of right and then some other current of "Left" Adventurism takes its place.

In the entire process of development of Russian Revolution and Chinese Revolution, the "Left" and right deviations incessantly, by turns, raised their heads and it was after vanquishing them that these revolutions succeeded in making a headway. In International Communist Movement too, the correct line constantly waged a struggle against these trends. Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle against the right opportunists pre-dominant in Second International and after the October Revolution when the deviation of "Left" Opportunism raised its head in some countries of Europe, even then he did not make any concessions in the struggle against them. The conduct of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung remained the same.

The history of the Communist Movement of India has been slightly different from this. Right from the beginning, the ideological foundation of the Communist Party of this country was weak and it kept on oscillating between the rightist and adventurist deviation. During the tenure of P.C. Joshi as General Secretary, the Party fell prey to the rightist deviation and failed to take initiative and correct decision in favourable revolutionary conditions. In the years after gaining the political independence, the party adopted the adventurist

line for some time during the tenure of **B.T. Ranadive** as the General Secretary, and after its failure the Communist Movement suffered a major setback. After the defeat of **Telangana Peasants' Struggle**, the entire party became revisionist and parliamentary. The deviation from the ideology eventually culminated into departure from ideology and the class-character of the party itself changed. The common activists working amongst the masses fell prey to deep frustration and disappointment, however, their revolutionary sentiments did not die. When after the division of CPI, in 1964 **CPI(Marxist)** (or CPM) was formed, then since the new party was calling CPI revisionist and was itself assuming a radical stance, therefore, some hopes were raised in the cadres. However, soon it became clear that the path of CPI (Marxist) also is the path of right opportunism and the difference between these parties is not on the question of ideology and class-character but merely of some policies.

This was the time when in the entire world there was much mayhem about the struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party against the Khrushchevite Revisionism and within China too, the struggle against the right opportunists had taken an explosive form of **Proletarian Cultural Revolution** (1966-76). This had an inspiring influence on the communist activists of India. At this time, in 1967, in the **Naxalbari** area of Darjeeling district in West Bengal, a fierce peasants'-uprising erupted. The **Naxalbari Peasants' Struggle** was organised under the leadership of Kanu Sanyal, Jungal Santhal etc., the organisers of the Darjeeling District Committee of CPM, however, the coalition government of Bengal including CPM (Jyoti Basu was the minister-in-charge of Home and Police Department) made no concessions in crushing it. By this time the revisionist character of CPM leadership had become completely naked. The Naxalbari Peasants' uprising caused a decisive rupture with the revisionism and inspired the cadres in the direction of building a new revolutionary party and from this perspective it had a historical significance. After leaving CPM, the revolutionary ranks started to organise in groups across the country, which after co-ordinating among themselves formed an All India Co-ordination Committee to move ahead in the direction of formation of a revolutionary Communist party on an all India level. However, this process was impeded midway. A new beginning had just been made after coming out from the seventeen

years of dense clouds of revisionism, however, the entire process was made to deviate from its course by "Left" Adventurism. **The local organisers who implemented massline in Naxalbari Peasants' Struggle were unable to continue it due to their ideological weakness and eventually capitulated to the terrorist line of Charu Majumdar** (before his expulsion, Charu Majumdar was the Secretary of the Darjeeling District of the CPM). Since the Communist revolutionaries of Andhra (**D. V. Rao-Naga Reddy Group**) were the supporters of revolutionary massline, therefore, they were expelled in an excessively unfair and bureaucratic manner from the Co-ordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries.

CPI (ML) was formed in 1970, but new party was formed on the line of terrorism instead of massline. After Naxalbari, the "Left" Adventurist line of Charu Majumdar became visible with all its colour-countenance in Srikakulam. Infact the form of this terrorism too was extremely vulgar and crude. Charu Majumdar declared building of any kind of mass organisation or struggles within legal framework of the mass-agitational activities itself as revisionism. A massive population of industrial workers who had left the Trade-Union front completely and were standing in the support of revolutionary current were left to the mercy of revisionist-trade-unionists. Charu Majumdar implemented the line of 'elimination of class-enemies' with much zest and enthusiasm. The sole important task in front of the party cadres was to slaughter landowners, usurers and corrupt, tyrannical government officials by forming small armed squads. This was an extremely vulgar-distorted form of individual terrorism. The bankruptcy of this line further denuded itself when the activities, continuing in the villages expanded in form of urban terrorism. In the absence of the initiative and support of the broad cross-section of the masses, the squads undertaking these terrorist activities were isolated and the state power got ample opportunities of barbaric repression, as a result of which an extensive population of common poor also came in its range. The terrorist line was enforced in one area after another and after repression-oppression was routed. Now the voices of dissent against this line emerged within the party too, however, all such voices were suppressed. Despite this, the unity of the party could not be kept intact. In 1972,

before the death of Charu Majumdar, the process of disintegration had started in the party. Before Emergency came into force in 1975, the state terrorism (that is to say the governmental repressive apparatus) left no stone unturned in debilitating the movement which was already isolated from the masses through the means of sham encounters, torture, killings in prisons, counterfeit law-suits and arrest of most of the leaders and main organisers. **If any revolutionary movement consolidates itself within the masses, then even the most ruthless of the repressions carried out by the state power cannot destroy it. However, since the terrorist line cuts off the organisation from the people therefore, the state power succeeds in dispensing with it through the instrument of repression.**

The process of breaking up and disintegration in the Communist revolutionary movement of India that began thirty-seven years ago, is still in progress after having gone through various opportunist unities and divisions. Here our subject is not its detailed evaluation, however, to understand thoroughly our original subject, i.e. the character and consequences of terrorist line, a formulated discussion regarding the condition of Communist revolutionary movement is necessary. Those Communist revolutionary organisations which instead of a bold decisive rupture from the terrorist line, took the course of correcting their mistakes gradually, through the backdoor and adopted the path of patchwork, they have, by crawling inch by inch, now reached the other extreme of right deviation. Some of these have joined the ranks of revisionist parties like CPI, CPM, and most of the others are still engaged in the same line by making slight amendments. After the failure of the terrorist line of Charu Majumdar, the **CPI-ML (Liberation) group** tried once again to take this line forward with full gusto, however, it again failed miserably. After 1980, this group after much plastering and white-washing, made dramatic changes in its ideological position and coming out from the pit of terrorism fell straight into the ditch of parliamentary politics. The rest of the organisations which are victims of right deviations give the proof of their being alive through some ritualistic exercises and economist-reformist activities. By the time CPI-ML(Liberation) had taken the route to the parliament, **CPI-ML(Peoples' War) Group** has come to the fore as the principal carrier of terrorist line. After its unity with some other "Left" Adventurist organisations, the process

of polarisation of the terrorist line reached its culmination and today, **CPI (Maoist)** is active in an influential way in some parts of the country as the representative organisation of this line.

The basic problem of the Communist Revolutionary Movement of India can be divided into two parts. First is the problem of ideology and the second is the problem of the incorrect programme of the revolution. There has been a very long history of the ideological weakness in Communist Movement, owing to which the movement has always oscillated between the two extremes of "Left" adventurism and right opportunism. The essence of the second problem too lies in the ideological weakness. Instead of deciding upon the right programme of the revolution by understanding the class-relations in Indian society, the communist leadership of India has always looked expectantly at the International leadership and the major parties who had accomplished successful revolutions. The leadership of the revolutionary current that emerged from the Naxalbari struggle did the same. Instead of determining the enemy and friend classes of revolution, the joint front of the ally classes of the revolution, and the strategy and the path of revolution by studying the emerging capitalist production-relations of India, the leadership accepted the Indian society as semi-feudal-semicolonial like pre-revolutionary China and adopted the programme of Chinese New Democratic Revolution as it is. As a matter of fact, the need for the correct programme of revolution arises only when the different classes of the people have to be mobilised around their demands and their joint front has to be formed. Infact there was no need for the programme of revolution for the line of elimination of class enemies and the line of directly waging an armed struggle without taking up different forms of economic-political struggles. Similarly, it does not hold any meaning for right opportunism as to what is the programme of revolution, and whether it is correct or incorrect, for they merely engage in some economist-reformist exercises. Nevertheless, those Communist organisations that attempted to implement an incorrect programme to an extent, they objectively went with the line of class-co-operation and in the course of time, continuity in this practice performed an important role in augmenting the deviation inherent in their ideological position. This will be made clear by an example. After executing the policies of bourgeois land-reform in a gradual process in India, the question of

the ownership of land has been resolved and in villages too, the contradiction between capital and labour has become principal now. The rich peasantry in villages produces for market and profit and besides workers, their contradictions with small and lower middle peasantry too have become antagonistic, whose lands they snatch on the strength of capital. However, in order to take the big and upper middle owner peasants along as per the land-programme of Democratic Revolution, most of the Communist organisations of India struggle for diminishing the cost of production in agriculture and for the minimum support price of agricultural products which essentially are the class demands of profiteering owner peasants and thus completely against the class interests of the proletariat. Similarly, every section of Indian bourgeoisie has become the junior partner of imperialism today and has got settled in the world capitalist system. But again the obstinacy to consider any one section of bourgeoisie with national character according to the programme of National Democratic Revolution, makes the various M-L organisations objectively stand with the class-co-operationist position. **The incorrect understanding of the programme objectively leads to the class-co-operationist conduct, whose continuity strengthens ideological deviation, that is to say, ideological weakness becomes an impediment to the determination of a correct programme and then execution of an incorrect programme strengthens ideological deviation.** That is why the revolutionaries of Andhra and Punjab who opposed the terrorist line of Charu Majumdar, fell prey to inertia and right opportunism due to the incorrect understanding of programme. There are only a very few forces, emanated from the current of Naxalbari struggle, that are making attempts to move ahead on the basis of the correct programme of Socialist Revolution and Revolutionary massline. However, in the hostile conditions of the present times, obviously their path is long, exceedingly arduous, and extremely challenging.

The so-called Maoism of CPI (Maoist): foliage of "massline" on the banner of terrorist politics. The bankrupt ideology, dogmatic programme and a plan for revolution resembling a fool's paradise of the so called Maoists.

Anyhow, we return back to our discussion on the terrorist line. Today, CPI (Maoist) is implementing the old terrorist line of Charu Majumdar with even more cunningness and misleading modifications. It is quite ironical that this organisation calls itself Maoist, whereas Mao Tse-tung himself was a great experimenter of revolutionary mass line and a staunch opponent of right and "Left" opportunism.

After its failure in major agricultural regions in plains, these days this organisation is implementing its line of armed struggle in some tribal-dominated areas of remote forest-mountains claiming that the Indian revolution has now entered the higher stage of adopting the forms of armed struggle. However, when we cast a glance on the entire scenario, then the bankruptcy of this line becomes quite clear. After nearly past two decades of rapid capitalist development, the number of total proletariat-semi proletariat population in the villages-cities of India has reached more than fifty five crore today. **The reach and hold of CPI (Maoist) is negligible among this population.** Every year millions of farmers displaced from villages by the blow of capital are incessantly joining the ranks of industrial workers, whose consciousness is advanced due to the participation in production tasks involving advanced technology. However, in this phase of terrible worker-repressive policies of liberalisation-privatisation, they are labouring hard for 10-12 hours on a daily wage of Rs.50-60 as contract or daily-wage labour in factories. **Among this population of industrial proletariat, full of revolutionary potential, CPI (Maoist) has no work or base.** The lower strata of urban and rural middle-class and middle peasantry are continuously ruined by the blow of capital and they do not see any future in the capitalist system. **No significant effort is being made by CPI (Maoist) to organise this population.** So as to be different from the terrorism of the time of Charu Majumdar, CPI (Maoist) in order

to prove its line to be that of revolutionary massline can argue that it undertakes mass-activities by forming mass organisations among students-youth, workers, middle class and peasants, however, what is the reality? All the so-called mass organisations of this party function as the front organisations of the party, furthermore as the legal branches of the party and not as mass organisations. As a matter of practice, they do not organise various classes and masses on any programme of their class-demands but directly on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This is "Left" narrowist tendency towards joint fronts and mass organisations which is just another characteristic of "Left" adventurism. **Its student-youth organisations solely function as recruitment-centre for young rebels.** Although, this party tried to work amongst the industrial workers in some areas, but instead of implementing the correct massline of economic struggle alongwith political propaganda-education and political struggle, there they applied thoroughly the vulgar economist line with all fiery "Left" empty-talk. Now this work exists only in name. Since this organisation too talks of New Democratic Revolution, therefore while implementing this line in Punjab and some other areas of the country, it completely left the rural proletariat-semi proletariat population and raised the demand of decreasing the cost of production of agriculture and gaining minimum support price, and in this way became a hanger-on of the exploiting big owner peasants. This is a unique example of being a **Marxist in profession and a Narodist in practice.** The urban intellectuals, those supporters of revolution who do not believe in bending any effort for it, have been assigned their desired tasks which gratify their passive radicalism. They alongwith the new safety valves of the state power—a motley crew of variegated kinds of NGOists, reactionaries like B.D.Sharma and resurrectionist-Gandhian opponents of liberalisation by adoring the stage of demonstrations and carnivals indulge in "protest against imperialism". The urban intellectuals think that they are taking care of the front of anti-imperialism and intellectual tasks without any risk-trouble and there in the forest-hills, the real task, that is to say the peoples' war is in progress. In this way the **mass activities** of CPI (Maoist) present a strange specimen of either "Left" narrowism or else of right opportunism. **In this sense the terrorist line of CPI (Maoist) is different from the terrorist line of Charu Majumdar as alongwith it a peculiar blend of right**

opportunism is also present. It is serving a strange, stinking stew of "Left" and right opportunism. After the failure of "Left" adventurist line, in all likelihood this party or a section of it can follow suit of CPI (ML) Liberation and take refuge in rightism straight. The other consequence can be that this entire organisation disintegrates after falling prey to its internal contradictions and the repression of state power.

Today the main work of CPI (Maoist) is centered among those tribal people of the forest areas of Jharkhand and Chhatisgarh who are the victims of barbaric oppression of administration, police and contractors. The armed activities against these oppressors have forced them to flee, having created terror in them, owing to which the so-called Maoists got an opportunity to build up a base amongst the oppressed tribal population. To this population, the so-called Maoists are, at the very most, just like the heroes as Birsa Munda, Siddhu-Kanu etc. had once been. **Firstly, even if CPI (Maoist) builds up its base-area in all such inaccessible mountains and forest areas** (which is absolutely not possible since all the recent attempts of expansion in such areas have proved unsuccessful) **then too its reach will be limited to hardly fifteen percent of the population and that too that population whose consciousness is excessively backward, owing to its participation in an absolutely backward mode of production. The consciousness of this population is way behind not only the millions of industrial workers and rural proletariat of this country but also that of small-middle peasantry. CPI (Maoist) has been able to build a base among them because only there it is possible.** The moment this party will come out of its "Chingkang Shan mountainous regions" and tries to build up its base in villages situated in plains so as to encircle the cities by villages as per the line of New Democratic Revolution, all its dreams, that are no less than a fool's paradise, will be razed to the ground. CPI (Maoist) understands this, therefore it never takes a step forward than the sporadic terrorist activities and gives the name of peoples' war to these terrorist activities. It is almost a matter of joke that this party which has base in the forest areas of some districts in two states and which indulges in sporadic armed activities in these areas has now given the slogan of taking the guerilla warfare to the stage of mobile warfare (it has already named its guerilla squads as

Peoples' Liberation Army). Any student of the history of the progress of the protracted peoples' war in Chinese Revolution can easily understand that even if today it would have been the stage of democratic revolution in India, then too the plans and schemes of the so-called Maoists would have been nothing more than a fool's paradise.

This line of "Left" adventurism at the most can create the problem of law and order for the capitalist system, however, it can never accomplish the real historical task of uprooting the existing state power by mobilising the fifty five crore proletariat-semi-proletariat population and nearly forty crore population of other exploited-oppressed classes of this vast country of one twenty five crore population against imperialism and capitalism. Economically also, the areas in which CPI (Maoist) wants to expand its base, the so-called 'Red Corridor', are not the life-line of Indian capitalism. The Indian bourgeois state power, with extensive social props and modern well-built military apparatus and supported by imperialism will crush them with all its might, the moment they try to expand their influence in the areas of advanced agricultural and industrial production. More importantly, the people of these areas will reject the line of terrorism with their innate sense of class. If the people are actively standing by the revolutionary forces, the mightiest of the repressive apparatuses of the state power prove paper-tiger. However, if the support of the people is absent, then a handful of revolutionaries on the strength of their valour, sacrifice and terrorist guerilla activities cannot combat the repression exercised by the state power—history has repeatedly proved this. In a country like India, any radical transformatory social revolution can in reality be accomplished by organising the various classes of the broad cross-section of the masses (above all, the industrial proletariat, then the entire proletariat-semi proletariat population of villages-cities and then the lower strata of rural-urban middle class peasantry) around their economic-political demands and while taking ahead the sustained process of struggle step by step and turning every situation of revolutionary crises to its advantage, having traversed the various cycles of country-wide mass-uprisings and then finally reaching the decisive stage of general insurrection. All the attempts to bring into practice any line of capturing the state power by initiating protracted peoples' war and encircling the cities by villages by creating liberated-

zones, in reality will ultimately come forward as the militarist-terrorist line limited only to the guerilla activities in some remote areas.

The terrorist line at the most creates the headache of law and order for the capitalist system, but more than that it gives an opportunity to the ruling class, its state-power and its propaganda-machinery to slander and defame all the revolutionaries and create confusion amongst the masses about them by citing the reference of the activities of the terrorists.

Terrorism can create the problem of law and order, however, it can not attain revolution. Terrorism gives an opportunity to the rulers to launch a slanderous propaganda against revolution. Terrorism solely inflicts a loss to the people and the revolution. Terrorism is a directionless revolt of the rebellious middle-class in a capitalist society. It is a permanent phenomenon of a bourgeois society. Terrorism is the giving of the pessimism born out of the defeats of revolution. It remains effective only till the time the correct revolutionary current is weak.

Terrorism states itself as the "shortcut" to the revolution and thus gives birth to the false hopes in the people. However, every false hope generates a far greater pessimism in future as compared to earlier. When the terrorist line falls prey to failure, defeat and disintegration or else on another extreme reaches the logical culmination of getting caught in the mire of right opportunism, then the people nurturing the false hopes are plunged into deep despair and the tide of counter-revolution dominates the wave of revolution with far greater intensity and far much longer.

Social revolution is a scientific action. And social revolution of this age, that is, the proletarian revolution is the most synthesised—the most complex scientific action which demands an objective assessment of concrete social conditions and demands the most extensive, the most dexterous and the subtlest utilisation of the entire energy of the people. Undoubtedly, revolutionary optimism, vigour, spirit and fervour is necessary, however, the middle-class impetuosity of attempting the revolution in an instant, of toppling the state power on the strength of sacrifice, bravery, terror and conspiracy in its name is a madness, castle-building of a first degree, a

romantic subjectivism of the first rank, which inspite of all the good intentions of such terrorist revolutionaries, inflicts only and only loss to the people and the revolution. History has repeatedly proven it and the same will happen in the times to come.

Terrorism is almost a lasting phenomenon of the capitalist society, particularly of those backward capitalist societies where the pressure of imperialist-capitalist exploitation-oppression is extreme and the scope of bourgeois democracy is either excessively narrow or almost absent. We can take the present-day India and various Latin American countries as instance. The capitalism developed in such countries not only milks the proletariat for all its worth, but also wreaks havoc on the middle class and continuously pushes its lower levels into the ranks of wage-labourers. Along with the workers, vast expansion of middle-class population has also been taking place in this capitalism which dreams of a better education, prosperity and comfortable life. However, the dreams of only an exceedingly small upper section of this population are fulfilled and this section performs the role of a faithful and firm pillar and soldier of the capitalist socio-economic-political system. A large chunk of the rest of the middle-class is accursed to live as the "owners of the wreckage" of their broken dreams. Among these middle class youth, some, more or less accept their fate, some with their pale-sick faces join the herds of this or that fascist group or cliques, some begin to see their destiny attached to the wider question of social emancipation, some go on living, suffocated by the times and become the part of the active masses during the period of revolutionary uprising and there are some others who want to reduce this system to ashes in the fire of anger and hatred. The new recruits of the terrorism come from this last category of frenzied, rebellious, middle class-youth. Such terrorism can exist within the scope of left movement as well as outside it. In a capitalist system such romantic rebellious youth will always be born, wanting to change the system instantaneously, who will neither have the patience to know and understand the science of revolution nor the faith in the history-making power of the toiling masses. In such a scenario, all kinds of terrorism will get new blood for recruitment and

the continuity of this phenomenon will remain in one way or the another.

Secondly, the current of terrorism or adventurism emerge consolidated particularly in those phases, when the phase of the defeat of revolutions is continuing, when the exploiting-ruling classes function most arbitrarily, when the tide of counter-revolution is pre-dominant over the wave of revolution. In such hostile conditions too, the common man cannot live like an earthworm or a domesticated dog. Therefore, sporadic spontaneous movements and struggles keep on taking place hither-tither and in the absence of a correct orientation and understanding, an expression of revolt comes to the fore in form of various terrorist currents. It can be said that terrorism is simultaneously an expression of revolts filled with both despair and a will to live in the suffocating times of stagnation, inertia, defeat and reaction. That is to say, temporarily it can have a positive aspect, however, in long term, in the last analysis, its continuity as a political line inflicts loss to the process of revolution and, objectively benefits the ruling classes.

Terrorism remains an effective political force only till the time the correct leading subjective forces of the revolution are weak, absent, defeated or in a state of disintegration and no alternative is clear before the middle class, common working people. The correct line of revolution can only move ahead by implementing the revolutionary massline under all circumstances. An important task in front of this correct line is to wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against terrorism and make every possible effort to gather the confused revolutionary cadres around it. Its responsibility is to inspire the rebellious middle-class youth to unite themselves with the majority of the toiling masses, after getting rid of the subjectivist scheme of attempting revolution on their own.

The Ruling Class Keeps Calling Revolution itself as Terrorism

We Must Understand the Difference between Revolutionary Violence and Counter-Revolutionary Violence

The Illusory Myth of Non-Violence and the Universal Historical Truth of Violence in Class-War

The Force-Theory of Change in History

As has been stated above, even though the ruling class gets troubled by the terrorist activities, the spectre that terrifies it every single moment is the spectre of mass revolution. Therefore, **by taking advantage of terrorist activities, it declares even the leading forces of all kinds of revolutionary mass-activity as terrorist and always tries to prove revolution as synonymous to terrorism. It is completely correct that even the revolutionaries supportive of revolutionary massline consider the resistance against the counter-revolutionary violence of the ruling class and the use of revolutionary violence by the extensive masses to overthrow its state-power soaked from head to toe with the blood of common people and established by the force of violence, always just and inevitable. This revolutionary violence, independent of anyone's will, is a historical inevitability which is essential for a progress of history. Neither has there been an exception to this in the hitherto history nor will be there in the future. The relations between the mutually antagonistic classes, whether the conditions be of war or peace, are never peaceful. Like nature, in society too, the use of force is inevitable to displace any power established with support of its inertia and aid of force. And as per the philosophical definition, use of force is violence in itself, irrespective of whether there is bloodshed or not. The concept of power-transformation through the means of non-violence, is infact a myth. The change of heart of an individual can happen, however, of the entire exploiting class can never. Owing to the production-relations it has acquired the status of exploiter-ruler, the question of changing them is the question**

of its existence as a class, therefore it can never voluntarily accept the destruction of the state power that maintains those production-relations.

Capitalism itself achieved victory against feudalism by attempting a violent revolution. The great heroes of bourgeois-democratic revolutions mobilised the entire people around the sublime democratic ideals of freedom-equality-fraternity and devastated the feudal state power completely by the use of force. However, after these revolutions when the bourgeoisie came to power, it cast aside the red flag of emancipation. It forcibly established the barbaric rule of capital over the common toiling masses and instead of revolutionary violence, counter-revolutionary violence became its weapon. The heroes of bourgeois democratic revolutions like Washington, Jefferson, Robespierre, Danton, Maran etc. were not terrorists. They were revolutionaries who took along the broad cross-section of masses to destroy the feudal powers established on the strength of violence by the means of violence for justice and equality. Similarly, revolutionaries like Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh were great Peoples' heroes and not terrorists. The Nazis could not have been persuaded by the precept of non-violence. Humanity could have only been saved by devastating them completely in a fierce war. In reference to Gandhi also "he gave us freedom sans sword and shield" is an illusory myth. First of all, in attaining political independence not only Gandhi and the Congress but rather the various struggles waged by the people of this country played an important role. The Naval Revolt, the countrywide strikes of workers and peasant-struggles made it clear to the British rulers that if they do not try to safeguard their economic interests to a limited extent by transferring power to the Congress, they would have to lose everything at the hands of a violent Peoples' Revolution. That is to say, there was a clear decisive role of the fact of violence and violence behind the defeat of colonialism. As far as the Congress and the main current of National Movement under its leadership was concerned, that too did not attain its limited objective through the means of non-violence. According to the definition propounded by Gandhi himself, not just bloodshed, but every kind of use of force is violence. To create the fear of violence too is violence. By non-violence, only a change of heart can be meant. With the increase in strength and aspiration of the Indian Bourgeoisie, the tone

of the entreaties made by the Congress during the National Movement also kept on changing in form of the pressure built up by the mass-movements. **The Britishers did not quit India because of any change of heart, rather the impact of fierce mass-movements and the apprehension of a Peoples' Revolution made them leave in panic and it was the Congress that made capital out of it.**

The ruling-class that makes so much hue and cry about violence against the Peoples' Revolutions and Peoples' struggles, itself thoroughly uses police oppression-repression everyday against the people agitating for their rights, crush mass rebellions by using army and maintains this unjust system on the strength of prisons-executions-flogging. It states it necessary for maintaining law and order. That is to say, **in the eyes of ruling-class, the violence necessary for maintaining its exploitation-rule is right, however, the violence used to destroy this violent system is wrong.** The fact is clear as day. Some intellectuals present the logic of religion and tradition in the defence of non-violence, however, there has been an abundance of such heroes in all the religious myths and mythologies of the world, who took up arms to fight injustice.

It is extremely important to understand the fact that **the unjust power established by the use of force cannot be destroyed without the use of force.** It is always just to resort to violence by an extensive oppressed people against the power of violence. This is not anybody's will or fancy but rather a historical inevitability. This is the **Force-Theory of History.** The justness or unjustness of violence is decided by the fact that whether it is a means of repression and injustice or a means of resistance. A line should be drawn between the counter-revolutionary violence of the ruling-class and the use of violence by the extensive masses to counteract it. **Terrorist violence also resists ruling-class, however, it is wrong as it does not have an active participation of the masses and hence cannot attain the objective of revolutionary change. A peoples' revolution too decides ultimately by the use of force, however, such revolutionary violence is just because it eliminates injustice and exploitation and can take history forward.** So as to understand the cunning device of ruling-class to prove all kinds of revolution as terrorism, it is important to thoroughly understand this question.

The Original Source of All Kinds of Violence—The Violence of the Ruling-class. The original source of all kinds of terrorism—State terrorism.

Every ruling-class is a terrorist. America—the world's biggest terrorist.

On Progressive terrorism and Reactionary terrorism.

The reason and original source of all kinds of violence is the violence of the ruling-class. The original source and reason of all kinds of terrorism is the state terrorism, i.e. the terrorism of the state power of the ruling-class. The state power of the minority ruling-class, isolated from society, prevails only on the strength of terror, conspiracy and bloody repression and performs the task of maintaining the exploitative socio-economic formation. **The path of revolutionary terrorism is incorrect, impractical and harmful to the revolution, however, that too is a voice of dissent against the capitalist order. Even its essential reason is the state terrorism. Hence, the state terrorists have no right to bring the revolutionary terrorism in the dock. Therefore, the revolutionaries who follow massline, even though consider the path of terrorism to be incorrect, nevertheless strongly oppose the criminal-like treatment meted out by the state power to the revolutionary terrorists, struggle for their political rights and demand for them the status and rights of political prisoners and revolutionary combatants waging war against this system.**

If we see on a worldwide scale, then today America is the one which makes much hue and cry about the struggle against terrorism and all imperialist and capitalist rulers chime in with it. The truth is that **the American imperialists themselves are the biggest terrorists of the world.** Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not bombed to defeat fascism, but rather to prove its supremacy over the entire imperialist world. From Vietnam to Iraq, it has been a very prolonged process of barbaric massacres. The Israeli Zionist Fascist rule which is wreaking havoc on the Palestinian people, is intact because of the support of America. During the past half century, the most repressive

dictatorial regimes of the world have survived solely on the strength of American patronage and have been causing devastation through slaughter-atrocities. In the twentieth century, America has incessantly performing the task of crushing all revolutions of the world and killing millions of citizens—old-children by starvation and diseases through economic-military blockade. The truth is that America is the biggest terrorist country of the world and then other imperialist countries of the world too are present in this row. **The terrorism of these imperialists is the highest form of the state terrorism and this is the patron and supporter of all governmental terrorism of the entire world.**

Today when the current of the revolutionary resistance to imperialism in the entire world is weak, then in these times such rebels are born amongst the common people, particularly amongst the middle-class who have no clear understanding of the science of revolution and therefore, are opting for the path of terrorism. **The terrorism of the ruling-class is giving birth to the various currents of terrorist resistance on a world wide scale.**

Today two kinds of terrorist currents resisting imperialism and capitalism are to be seen—one is progressive, revolutionary terrorism of secular worldview and the other is the resurrectionist, reactionary terrorism of religious fundamentalist worldview. **In the first category** come all those “Left” adventurists who consider themselves leftists and the secular middle-class revolutionaries struggling for the liberation of the nationalities, who although do not believe in the strength of the people and keep the politics subservient to gun, nevertheless consciously think of the interests of the common people, look in the direction of the future instead of the past and declare the construction of a secular, democratic or socialist society as their objective. **In the second category** are the terrorist organisations like Al Qaida, Taliban etc., which are religious fundamentalists and resurrectionists. Today they are opposing imperialism, however, they consider secularism, democracy and socialism equally as their enemies and harbour a feeling of intense hatred for any objective of the power of the common toiling masses. In the times to come, when the halted caravan of the peoples’ revolution will once again gain momentum because of the natural motion of history, a large section of the revolutionary terrorist ranks of the first category will join in as co-

travellers. However, nothing of the sort is possible in case of the reactionary terrorists of the second category. They will stand strongly in the favour of reaction and will join the variegated groups of fascism because even today the elements of fascism are present in their essential nature. The reactionary terrorism is in fact the self-destructive demon of imperialism itself. It was America itself which had once fostered and prepared such terrorist outfits either against the secular, bourgeois democratic powers in the various countries of the world or else against the partisan power of any rival imperialist country. Osama Bin-Laden had once been a hired soldier fighting with American aid against the pro-Russia Najibullah government in Afghanistan. All the religious fundamentalist outfits of Afghanistan and Taliban too had the access to American patronage. These religious fundamentalist groups started working independently once their task was over and America withdrew its support. The independent motion of their religious fundamentalist thoughts instigated the struggle against the American designs and their consequences in the Arab world and Afghanistan, having declared them anti-Islam, whose outcome is well before our eyes today.

Anyhow, terrorism in both its revolutionary and reactionary forms is, primarily, the reaction to repressive state powers of imperialism and capitalism, to the state terrorism. Terrorism is an expression of the atmosphere of directionless revolt and despair in the darkness of resurrection, reversal and counter-revolution. Terrorism is also an expression and culmination of the absence or weakness or failure of the leading subjective forces of the peoples’ revolution. It is an expression and consequence of the restlessness of the utopian, romantic, rebellious middle-class to attempt revolution instantaneously on its own and its want of faith in the organised strength and creativity of the toiling masses. To understand thoroughly the terrorist deviation and to wage an untiring ideological struggle against it, is an essentially important task of this phase of making preparation afresh for the peoples’ revolution.

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