

From the Pioneer of Maoism in India

Selections from Eight Documents
by Charu Mazumdar

DOCUMENT FIVE

WHAT POSSIBILITY IS THE YEAR 1965 INDICATING?

There are some comrades who get scared at the mentioning of armed struggles, and go on seeing the spectre of adventurism. They think that the work of building a revolutionary party has ended with the very adoption of the programme; in other words with the adoption of the programme, that is the strategic documents at the Seventh Congress of the Party. Merely from some resolutions on movements adopted at the Party Congress, they arrived at the decision as if besides the present stage of revolution and the class composition, the tactics of the present era had also been decided at the Seventh Congress. From their words, it appears as if peaceful mass movement itself is the main tactics of struggle of the present era. Although they do not openly state Khrushchev's tactics of peaceful transition to socialism, what they want to say almost amounts to the same thing. They want to say that there is no possibility of revolution in India in the near future. So at present, we shall have to move along the peaceful path. In the era of worldwide struggle against revisionism, they cannot openly state the revisionist decisions. But they are abusing as adventurist and police spies anyone who is speaking of armed struggle. Yet, even if we leave out the mass movement of Kashmir, the government has killed at least 300 people during the last eight months, the number of prisoners have risen to several thousands and, one after another, the states have been shaken by mass movements. What programmes are we placing before these agitators? Nothing! On the other hand we are dreaming — under our leadership organized peaceful mass movements will grow up. This itself is a shameless instance of revisionism. We are still unable to realize that in the present era we cannot build up peaceful mass movements. For the ruling class is not giving us and will not give us such an opportunity. We should have drawn this very lesson from the tram fare resistance movement. But we are not taking that lesson. We have become anxious to organize satyagraha movements, we are not realizing that in the present era



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this satyagraha movement is bound to fail. It does not mean that satyagraha movements are altogether outmoded today. All types of movements have to be carried on at all ages — but the form of the main movement depends on the ruling class. The present feature of our age is that the government is fighting every movement by violent attacks. So for the people, the armed resistance movement has appeared as the most important necessity. So in the interest of mass movements, the call should be given to the working class, the fighting peasantry and every fighting people: (1) Take to arms; (2) Form armed units for confrontation; (3) Politically educate every armed unit. Not to give this call means pushing without any consideration the unarmed masses to death. The ruling class wants that, for in this way they can break the strength of mind of the fighting masses. The agitated masses today attack railway stations, police stations, etc. Innumerable agitations are bursting forth upon government buildings, or on buses, trams and trains.

DOCUMENT SIX

**"THE MAIN TASK TODAY IS THE STRUGGLE
TO BUILD UP THE TRUE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
THROUGH UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE
AGAINST REVISIONISM"**

12 AUGUST 1966

The Party leaders, after long imprisonment, after the Party Congress, for the first time had a session of the full Central Committee. The central leadership of the party which was formed through struggles against revisionism, adopted an ideological resolution and declared bluntly that all the criticisms made against the Indian government by the great Chinese party were wrong. At the same time they have stated in the resolution that criticism of the Soviet revisionist leadership should not be made public now, as otherwise the people's faith in socialism will decrease. That is, the mask must not be torn off the attempt that is being made by the Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism to establish world hegemony.

The leader of the great Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of China, and its leader comrade Mao Tsetung, are leading today the proletariat and revolutionary struggles of the world. Comrade Mao Tsetung has today filled Lenin's position. So the struggle against revisionism cannot be carried out and the purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be maintained by opposing the Chinese party and comrade Mao Tsetung. By opposing the Chinese party, the Indian party leadership has forsaken the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism. They are trying to pass off revisionism by putting it into a new bottle. So Party members should understand this clearly today that in the struggle against revisionism, this Party leadership is not at all our comrade-in-arms, not even an associate.

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“And then, like a crash of spring thunder exploded the Naxalbari struggle in 1967. People all over India listened to its reverberations and tried to understand its significance, its message. The revisionist leadership of the party had repeatedly asked them to believe that the Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung was unsuitable for India, that armed struggle could not be waged in India, and that any talk of armed struggle would lead to the destruction of the people’s fighting organizations. And then, the people, who were being harangued like this, saw for the first time the application of Mao Tsetung Thought in Naxalbari. This helped them to understand that all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought cannot only be applied in India but is the only road to their liberation.”

— *The New Year Holds Promise of Still Bigger Victories*, 29 December 1969

“Naxalbari has taught us that revisionism can be opposed only by propagating Mao Thought, that it is possible to arouse the peasantry to grasp Mao Thought, and that Mao Thought will firmly grip the minds of the peasant masses.”

— *Indian Revolution in Marxist-Leninist Perspective*, October 1969

“And what constitutes our ‘material’? Dynamite, explosives and fire-arms? Certainly not. Man is the main material in a revolutionary war. Once inspired with the revolutionary theory, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought, men turn into spiritual atom bombs which are more powerful than thousands of atom bombs. Ours is a country of 500 million people. Once we can rouse them with Mao Tsetung Thought so that they participate in revolutionary activity, we shall be able to put into effect all kinds of daring plans, carry the revolutionary war against the war of aggression through to victory, and even face a nuclear war.”

— *Make the 1970s the Decade of Liberation*, February 1970

“...[T]oday when we have got the brilliant Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the highest stage of the development of Marxism-Leninism, to guide us, it is imperative for us to judge everything anew in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought and build a completely new road along which to press ahead.”

— *Call of the Party to Youth and Students*, 21 July 1969

“Revisionism taught us to doubt everything. Therefore the task of revolutionaries is to regain their faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.”

— *Conversation with comrades at Naxalbari 1962-67*

On Mao Tsetung

“At the time of World War II Chiang Kai-shek got the support of the Soviet Union and on the pretext of that support, he and his associates repeatedly sought to have the Chinese Party tied to Chiang Kai-shek. As Chairman understood the need for unity, so also he realized the necessity of independent work and initiative and did not make compromise in any sphere. That is why, after 1945, when communists all over the world laid emphasis on unity with the bourgeoisie and decided to surrender arms, Chairman Mao, even after having admitted the necessity of unity, gave a call for taking up arms with a firm hand. That is why we see that after World War II communists of almost all countries took to the path of revisionism but, under Chairman Mao’s leadership, the Chinese Communist Party could, through a successful revolution, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher still and reach the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.”

— Letter to a Comrade from *Liberation*, July 1971 - January 1972

“Today the leader of the great Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of China and its leader Com. Mao Tsetung, is leading the world proletariat and world revolutionary struggles. Today Com. Mao Tsetung is playing the role of Com. Lenin in the world revolution.”

— *Build up a Genuine Revolutionary Party by Struggling Against Revisionism; That is the Main Task Today*, 30 August 1966

“The politics of agrarian revolution must be brought to the proletariat from without, from outside the trade union struggle. For this we require revolutionary worker cadres, equipped politically, that is equipped with the Thought of Chairman Mao.”

— *On Some Current Political and Organizational Problems*, July 1969

“...The Thought of Chairman Mao has emerged as the only Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism which he has greatly developed and enriched through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution....”

So the political task of the student and youth workers is to study this new and developed Marxism, the Thought of Chairman Mao, and put it into practice. He who shuns this task can never acquire knowledge about the principles of Marxism.”

— *To the Youths and the Students*, April 1969

Selected Quotations from Charu Mazumdar's writings contributed by Maoist Unity Centre, CPI(ML)

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Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism is today trying for world hegemony. They are acting as enemies of every national liberation movement today. They are trying to establish the revisionist leadership by splitting the revolutionary parties and are shamelessly acting as agents of the US imperialism. They are today the enemies of the people's liberation struggles in every country, enemies of the revolutionary struggles, enemies of revolutionary China, even the enemies of the Soviet people. So no struggles against American imperialism can be made without carrying out an open struggle against this Soviet revisionist leadership. It is impossible to lead the anti-imperialist struggle if it is not realized that the Soviet revisionist leadership is not a partner in the anti-imperialist struggle. The party leadership, far from following this path, is rather trying to convince the people through different writings that the Soviet leadership, in spite of a few mistakes, is basically opposing the policies of the Indian Government, and is still moving along the path of socialism. That is, they are trying to conceal in a cunning manner the fact that the Soviet leadership is transforming the Soviet socialist state into a capitalist state gradually and that the Soviet-American collaboration itself is because of that.

DOCUMENT SEVEN

TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY

During the last two years, the spontaneous struggles of the petit-bourgeois youths and students have created a stir from one end of India to another. Although at the beginning the demand for food was the main demand, gradually the demand for ousting the Congress government has become main. Chairman Mao has said: "*The petit-bourgeois students and youth are a part of the people and at the inevitable conclusion of their struggle the struggle of the workers and peasants will reach a high tide.*" So hardly had the struggle of the students and youth ended, the peasants struggle has begun in Bihar. Hundreds of peasants are harvesting and carrying away the crops. They are seizing the hoarded stocks of crops of landlords. This struggle is bound to spread in the coming days to West Bengal and other states. The government is resorting to violent repression to suppress the agitating peasants. Chairman Mao has said: "*Where there is repression there is bound to be resistance against it.*" So we are witnessing spontaneous resistance in the struggles of the students and youth. The peasants of Bihar are carrying on resistance spontaneously. The official spokesmen are repeatedly declaring that they would resort to further repressive policies to preserve peace and order. So the responsibility of consciously building up resistance struggles has come up before the revolutionary working class and its Party.

This era is the era of active resistance movements. Active resistance movements will open up the source of the revolutionary genius of the revolutionary masses. It will spread the tide of revolution all over India. So in this age, to lead legal trade union or peasant association movements can never be the main task before the revolutionary cadres. Trade union or peasant association (kisan sabha) movements cannot be the main supplementary force in the present age of revolutionary tide. It would not be correct to draw from this the conclusion that trade unions or peasant associations have become outmoded. For trade unions and kisan sabhas are basically organizations to build up unity between Marxist-Leninist cadres and working class and peasant masses. This unity will be consolidated only when Marxist-Leninist cadres move forward in the work of building up the revolutionary party among the working class and peasant masses with the tactics of revolutionary resistance movement. The revolutionary working

class and Marxist-Leninist cadres will have to go forward in the face of peasant struggles to give active leadership to the peasants' struggles through resistance or "partisan" struggles. The reactionary government of India has adopted the tactics of killing the masses; they are killing them through starvation and with bullets. Chairman Mao has said: "*This is their class character. They launch attacks on the people even at the risk of being defeated.*" There are some leaders who, faced with these indiscriminate murders, get scared and seek protection. Chairman Mao has said about them: "*They are cowards and unworthy of revolutionary leadership.*" There is another group of people who boldly face death. They try to avenge every murder — they alone are revolutionaries and it is they who can show the masses the path.

The government might appear to be powerful, because it has in its hands food and arms. The people do not have food and they are unarmed. But it is the unity and firm spirit of these unarmed masses that will smash all the arrogance of the reaction and make the revolution successful. So Chairman Mao has said: "*The reactionary force is actually a paper tiger.*" In the present era, our main task will be on the basis of three main slogans.

Firstly: Unity of workers and peasants. This unity does not mean that the workers and petit-bourgeois masses will give only moral support to the peasant movement. This slogan means the realization that the peasants are the main force of the revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India, the unity of peasants and workers can grow only on the basis of class struggle. So on the question of seizure of state power, Chairman Mao has said: "*It is the liberated area in the countryside which is the concrete application of workers-peasants unity.*" So it is the responsibility of the workers, and particularly of the petit-bourgeois masses to develop peasant movements for building liberated areas. So Chairman Mao has told petit-bourgeois students and youth about movements: "*Whether they are revolutionaries can be determined only by how much they become participants of this movement.*" Those who will not participate in this movement have the danger of becoming reactionaries.

Secondly: The revolutionary resistance movement, armed struggle. The reactionary government of India has declared war against every struggle for the democratic demands of the masses. Inside India, it has created a playground for imperialist and feudal exploitation, and in its foreign policy it has turned India into a base of reaction in collaboration with imperialism and modern revisionists. The people of India have become rebellious against this intolerable situation. In this situation, the revolutionary resistance movement or armed partisan struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party against reaction and the passive resistance movement of the revisionist party, have today become the main part of the Party's politics. So every Party member and revolutionary cadre will have to grasp this tactic of struggle. They should learn to practise it and temper the revolutionary spirit of the masses through propaganda among the masses. The success of the struggle depends on how far we can popularise the politics of armed struggle through propaganda of it among the masses.

Thirdly: The building up of a revolutionary Party. In this revolutionary situation in India today, our Party organization is not capable of giving leadership. Without being firm in theory, clear in politics and without a mass base in respect of organization, it is impossible to give leadership in this revolutionary age of today.

(1) On the theoretical question: —It should be remembered that the Party leadership of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, has been captured by a revisionist

clique. As a result, revisionist influence has fallen on the communist parties of different countries of the world. In our country also as this revisionist influence was felt, the need for forming a separate Party was felt. And as a result of that, a separate Party was formed at the Seventh Congress. The formation of a separate Party does not mean that the fight against revisionism has ended. Revisionism speaks of fighting against imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary forces, but in deeds it widens the path of collaboration with these forces. Marxism-Leninism firmly opposes these forces, avenges their every attack, and, mobilizing the masses through long-drawn struggle, alone destroys these reactionary forces. The old ideas become manifest in (i) not accepting the leadership of the great Chinese party against international revisionists; (ii) in not accepting the new developing forces; (iii) in not making the working class conscious of this new realization; (iv) in not aiding the struggle of the peasantry, which is the main ally of the working class.

(2) Political: The people's democratic revolution will have to be seen as the task of this moment. Chairman Mao has said, "*No dying force gives up its power easily; freedom comes out only from the barrel of a gun.*" So in our politics the main part will be the armed struggle for the seizure of power. The common people have started this armed struggle spontaneously. The main aim of our politics will be to establish consciously this armed struggle on a mass base. The basic three points are: (i) Worker-peasant unity under the leadership of the working class, (ii) consciously establishing armed struggle on a mass base, and (iii) firmly establishing the leadership of the communist party. It is imperative not to leave aside any of these three tasks. This politics will have to be propagated extensively among the masses.

(3) Organizational: The mass base of the Party will have to be extended. We have seen during the last few years, thousands of militant cadres come to join the work of the organization during different movements and struggles, try to give leadership to the struggles, but the moment the movement stops, they again become inactive. Today, in the age of the revolutionary upsurge, people of many backward areas are coming forward on the road of struggles, and it is through those struggles that many young militant cadres are joining the work of the organization. If we can educate these cadres in our revolutionary theory and politics, the Party can get its mass base. We shall have to begin working boldly on collecting these cadres and on forming secret groups with them. These cadre-groups will carry on political propaganda and will act as units of armed struggle. The striking power of the Party depends on how far we are able to form these groups in increasing numbers among workers and peasants. With whom we are forming the groups and organizational details, like shelter, dumps, etc., should certainly be kept secret. But our theories, politics and the slogan of Party formation must never be kept secret. In the age of armed struggle, every Party unit must be participants in the armed struggle and be a self-reliant leader. The general elections are coming. During these elections the discontented people desire to and will listen to politics. Before the elections, every party will try to propagate their politics among the masses. We shall have to take advantage of these elections to propagate our politics. Let us not be confused by the false slogan of the non-Congress democratic government. We shall have to take to the masses courageously the politics of our people's democratic revolution, that is, the politics of worker-peasant unity under working class leadership, of armed struggle, of establishing the leadership of the Party. If we fully take advantage of this it will not be possible for any leftist leader to oppose us. We shall have to take full advantage of this opportunity. ■