

# The Tasks of Indian Revolutionaries

## Document #2

Complete text is here translated from the Bergali, as published originally in DESHOB-ROTI, No. 20, Nov. 23, 1967.

After a meeting of revolutionary comrades of CPI(M) a Co-ordination Committee has been formed. On behalf of this Committee the following statement was issued on Nov. 11, 1967:

A very promising revolutionary situation exists in our country. All those conditions, which according to Comrade Lenin were necessary for a revolutionary situation, are present in India today.

But CPI(M)'s neo-revisionist leadership has betrayed the people and the Party. They have betrayed India's revolution. In spite of their mighty protestations, it is becoming as clear as daylight that this clique of traitors has taken the path of revisionism and class collaboration and have forsaken the revolutionary struggle for the capture of state power.

When the revolutionary comrades within CPI were waging a praiseworthy struggle against revisionism within the Party and were able to expose the Dangeites, they regarded the present leaders of CPI(M) with much respect and had great confidence in them (meaning these CPI leaders—W.R.)—a confidence which they have now shamelessly betrayed.

Of course, the history of betrayal dates long before the split within the CPI. For one thing the present neo-revisionist leadership was always terrified lest the inner-party struggle should actually be transformed into a genuinely revolutionary movement and did its utmost to obstruct any such transformation. Instead of conducting a principled ideological struggle they simply used the opportunity provided by the Dange letters\* to conduct the fight against the Dangeite revisionists. In time their manoeuvre began to bear fruit. This handful of plotters was able, surreptitiously, to introduce here and there in the Party Programme, concepts and ideas that are against Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

In the name of making an "independent" analysis they have refused to recognise India's servitude under neo-colonialism, refused to admit India's semi-feudal and semi-colonial character and refused to accept the strategy and tactics of the Indian people's democratic

revolution that must follow from these characteristics. Instead, they maintain that India is developing an independent capitalist economy and that the Indian big bourgeoisie is still a national bourgeoisie with an anti-imperialist role. They have abandoned the strategy for world revolution and more especially for the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America so magnificently developed and elaborated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and later so succinctly formulated by Comrade Lin Piao. With regard to the ideological controversy within the international communist movement their refusal to comment and their apparent neutrality was, in reality, a way of concealing their support for Khrushchevian revisionism. In both national and international affairs the seed of Titoism was sown with great cunning, a seed that was to emerge as a full grown tree in the shape of the Madurai Statement and Resolutions.<sup>2</sup>

It is necessary to remember that at various times since it was founded our Party leadership has been seized by revisionists, adventurists and opportunists. As a result the glorious class struggles waged by revolutionary comrades and the revolutionary masses under the banner of our Party have been repeatedly betrayed. In the course of these fierce struggles workers, peasants, toiling people and many invaluable party cadres have given their lives or endured much hardship to earn some victories. But as a result of the treachery of the ruling clique in the highest ranks of party leadership, the people have been cheated of the gains that could have been obtained from these victories. Revolutionaries within the party have repeatedly waged a sharp and principled struggle within the Party. Many times they have rebelled publicly. Many times has the international communist leadership come forward to help our party and to show us the way. Every time, however, those opportunists, whether of the right or the left who have managed to get control of the party machine, have completely ignored the internal criticism and the help and advice from the international leadership and arrogantly rejected them.

The events of Naxalbari earlier this year form a turning point in the history of our country and our Party. The revolutionary comrades in West Bengal's Darjeeling district began an

open rebellion against the political line of the revisionist leadership and its policy of capitulationism. The difference between this and other inner-party struggles lay in the fact that on this occasion the inner-party struggle was linked with revolutionary action. The struggle in Naxalbari, under the leadership of communists and revolutionary workers, was based on the thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and developed into a genuine peasants' armed revolt which is the only correct road for the Indian people's democratic revolution.

No sooner had this great revolutionary movement of the Darjeeling peasants started than the leadership of the international communist movement—in other words the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung—gave it comradely encouragement and its deepest care and attention; and, quickly, long-smouldering inner-party dissension had broken out into open rebellion.

News of the struggle of Naxalbari peasants spread to many parts of the land arousing the peasants to start militant uprisings sometimes spontaneously, sometimes under the leadership of revolutionaries. But the most important contribution of Naxalbari to the Indian revolution is that it exposed and laid bare before the world the sham revolutionaries with their empty slogans in the leadership of the communist and other leftist parties. Furthermore, in their determination to destroy this revolutionary peasant base, these pseudo-revolutionaries did not even shrink from allying themselves with the Indian reactionaries to make full use of both police and military brutality to crush Naxalbari.

Comrades will surely have noticed that recently revolutionary peasant uprisings are starting or about to start in different parts of the country. In this situation as the vanguard of the proletariat, it is our bounden duty to develop these revolutionary struggles in every way possible and to lead them. With this intention revolutionaries from various regions and from various arenas of struggle both within and without the party must immediately join forces and coordinate their activities so that, under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, a revolutionary party can be established. After the last and ultimate act of betrayal at Madurai it is obvious that we

can no longer delay. Hence it is imperative to start coordination straightaway.

To achieve this we, comrades from several states of India who have been thinking and fighting along these lines, have met in Calcutta to form an All-India Coordination Committee. On behalf of this Committee we hereby declare that the following will be the Committee's foremost tasks:

(1) To develop struggles, especially Naxalbari-type movements, among militants of all strata and to coordinate them.

(2) To resist economism and to advance peasant revolutionary struggles to develop revolutionary struggles amongst all strata of workers and toiling masses.

(3) To wage an unremitting ideological struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism and to spread the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is the highest pinnacle of Marxism-Leninism in our time, among the people and on this basis to unite the different elements within and without the Party.

(4) To begin the work of creating a revolutionary program and tactics based on a positive analysis of India's objective conditions according to the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Just as Naxalbari has shown the road forward for the Indian people's revolution so has it torn off the mask and exposed the real features of the neo-revisionists who have now gained control of the party leadership. The time is ripe for us to establish a genuine revolutionary party. We bear a heavy duty on our shoulders but like true revolutionaries we shall have to undertake it. We shall have to strive earnestly to become apt pupils of Comrade Mao.

We appeal to all those revolutionary comrades still within CPI(M) to repudiate publicly the neo-revisionist leadership's machinations and join with us openly to build a true Communist Party.

#### Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup>Dange's letters of 1924 offering his services to the British government.

<sup>2</sup>A Draft on the Ideological Dispute and the resolution on divergent views with the CPC adopted by the Central Committee of CPI(M) at Madurai in August, 1967.