

**UNITED DECLARATION OF SEVEN COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY
ORGANISATIONS ON THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(MARXIST-LENINIST) [JANASHAKTHI]**

On July 30, 1992 seven groups announced their merger and the formation of a new party, the Communist Party of India -- Marxist-Leninist [Janashakthi]. Below is the full text of their statement. This unity did not last long. The new party underwent a split in 1996. This in turn led to further splits. By 2002 there were seven organizations of the Janashakkthi. (These organizations did not necessarily correspond to the seven groups that originally united in 1992.)

1. The problem of our Revolution should be considered in the background of revolutionary movement of India as it emerged historically from the days of Colonialism. In the Post-Second World-War period, the problem of unfinished National Democratic Revolution has come to the fore-front of our revolutionary movement due to the transference of State Power in 1947 with a partition of the country having a compromise deal between imperialism and the Comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes of India without of the achievement of real independence and sovereignty. The political power, with the understanding and the condition of protecting the interests of imperialism and remaining within the British Commonwealth, was vested in the hands of Comprador bourgeoisie and their feudal ally.

Here what Lenin said in 1920 in his Preliminary Draft of the Thesis on National and Colonial Question is fully applicable to the real position of India as it emerged due to this transference of power. Lenin said "It is necessary to constantly explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all Countries, particularly of the backward Countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers in creating, under the guise of politically independent states, which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily."

In 1925 in a speech at the meeting of the students of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, Stalin has correctly assessed and wanted "Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism, and concern more about its money bags than the interests of its own countries, this section of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most influential section, is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, it is forming a bloc with imperialism against workers and peasants of its own countries. The Victory of the revolution cannot be achieved unless the block is smashed". Stalin also pointed out that the historic responsibility and the tasks of the Communists Party of India in the nation liberation movement, in gradual process, were: i) to play an independent role in the National Liberation Movement; ii) to form a national revolutionary bloc, iii) to ensure the hegemony of the Proletariat in that bloc; iv) to prepare the Proletariat for the role of the leader of the National liberation movement; iv) to dislodge, step by step, the bourgeoisie and its mouthpiece from the 'honourable' post of leadership.

But the failure of the Communists Party in this respect is quite evident. During the period of National Liberation movement, the Communist Party of India failed to direct its

activities towards the creation of such situation. The hegemony of the Proletariat in the movement did not enshrine into effect.

The Party rather acted tamely behind the bourgeois leadership of the National Congress, without ruthlessly exposing its vacillation, docility and compromising maneuver but conversely giving imprint in the minds of the proletariat and peasantry to consider the bourgeois leadership as the real national leader. At the time of compromise deal of 1947, it bestowed full recognition to the leadership of Comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes as the 'celebrated bargaining agent' of the national independence movement. The political slogan of the Party as to "Let the Congress and League get united", "Let Gandhi and Jinnah get united" further elevated the political leadership of Comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes to the honourable post of leadership. Specially, the most lamentable position was that the Communist Party, with un-Marxian and erroneous concept, advancing a "Two Nation Theory on the basis of religion in India, infused a moral strength to the demand of Muslim League and rendered a theoretical help for the partition of the country so to say. The political deal and treachery of the Comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord classes and their mouthpiece routed and upset the advancement of the national liberation of India. The National Democratic Revolution could not be completed. A new situation has been created due to the treachery of the Comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes in the post-Second World war period and the failure of the Communist Party to play the revolutionary role. The new problem of Indian Revolution has emanated from the situation of unfinished National Democratic Revolution. With the transfer of power, the big bourgeoisie-landlord classes had come to the fore as the new ruling classes to protect and serve the interests of imperialism, comprador-bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism in India. India was turned from a colonial and semi-feudal country to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. It has been emerged through the interaction of the fear of the bourgeoisie in India towards Revolution and the vested interest on the one side, and the new tactics of imperialism to safe guard its own interest on the other side, in the fire-burning colonial situation that developed due to mass upsurge in the colonies against imperialism in the post-Second World War period.

With this, our Revolution has acquired the character of New or Peoples' Democratic Revolution. This revolution was set in motion, historically at first, in the orbit of Communist movement, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal order of China by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Ze Dong and became victorious having shaken the world anew, especially in the colonial orbit of Asiatic region, after the historic October Revolution. It is this Revolution which India and similar semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries are in need at present. We must apply the basic orientation as to the strategy and tactics of this Revolution to the concrete conditions of our country. It must be understood that the talk about socialist Revolution at this stage is sure to bring a misdirection in the revolutionary movement and goes against Mao Ze Dong thought. These ideas must, therefore, be rejected. It is the duty and responsibility of Communist Revolutionaries in India today to orientate all their activities with proper perspective for shaping and carrying forward the Peoples' Democratic Revolution.

2. There reflected various trends in the Communist Party of India. The Party, at first, accepted the transference of State-power as the achievement of independence and accorded its enthusiastic support to the Constitution imposed by the new ruling classes

with the grandeur of Constituent Assembly. It formulated: Nehru Government represented the progressive and anti-imperialist section of the bourgeoisie and it must be protected from the pressures and attacks of the feudal forces, pro-imperialist and reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. This political line was put forth by P.C. Joshi, the then General Secretary of the Party and it was, thereafter, politically identified as Right Deviation of the Communist party in the Period of Post-transference of Power.

In 1948, in the Second Congress of the Party, this political line was rejected. The new line, as brought out under the leadership of B.T. Ranadive, was: The independence is a sham one. And so, the Communist Party must complete the task of National Democratic Revolution in India with a new drive.

Further, at this stage, the entire bourgeoisie (including the middle bourgeoisie) went over to the camp of imperialism. As a consequence, the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution and Socialist Revolution remained in an intertwining position and hence both the Revolutions have to be completed in one stroke.

B.T. Ranadive, having championed this line, castigated Mao Tse Tung's political proposition of New or Peoples' Democratic Revolution as a 'Reformism'. This Line of B.T. Ranadive was a jump from Right Deviation to Left opportunism. With this erroneous Line, the Party was engrossed to sectarian and terroristic mode of activities with wrong strategy and tactics and it became disastrous for the Party politically and organizationally. The heroic Peasant Armed Struggle of Telangana, (which was later met with the betrayal) at the relevant time under the leadership of the Party entered into a blind alley with the ultimate failure and disaster caused by 1948 Line.

The International Communist leadership sought to correct this erroneous political line in 1950 by advising the Communists in India to take "lessons from the experiences of the national liberation struggle of China and other Countries" and "create a basis of common struggle for freedom and national independence against Anglo American imperialism" and "the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudal landlord classes collaborating with them".

The understanding of the Party has undergone changes in the subsequent period. In 1955 Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Party came to the fore with the assertion that 'Indian freedom is a reality. This must be recognised.' The Madurai Party Congress introduced the formulation of 'Protecting Independence' in place of 'Achieving Independence' and took the objective of formation of the 'Government of Democratic Unity' through parliamentary way as an intermediary stage before the People's Democratic revolution. Thus the entire objective of People's Democratic Revolution was pushed to the background. In 1956, the Palghat Congress of the Party has clearly accepted the formulation of 'newly achieved Independence and sovereignty of India.' And, accordingly, the Party Programme of 1951 practically stood amended with respect, to the character of the State. The Party in this Congress, on one side, became divided into two thoughts, in the main. viz., "National Democratic Front" and "Democratic Front" and on the other side, strengthening its objective of the formation of the Government of Democratic Unity. The object of the formulation of National Democratic Front was: It held the view that the ruling Congress is divided into two wings— reactionary and progressive. "Hence, the object of the Communist Party would be to form National Democratic Front

and National Democratic Government with the progressive wing of the Congress." On the other side, the object of the Democratic Front was: To form Democratic Front and the Government of Left and Democratic Forces with the left parties and groups. The Palghat Congress became the exponent of Democratic Front and parliamentary politics related thereto. In 1957, after the formation of communist ministry in Kerala, the Party became vigorous with political objective of 'Kerala -Way.' The slogan of formation of Government of Democratic Unity became a major and important step for changing the direction of the politics of the Party towards parliamentarism. In 1958, the Party entering into the Amritsar Congress declared its hope to come to power through peaceful means. It can be said that the Amritsar Congress introduced full-fledged British Labour Party politics inside the Party. In 1960, in the Vijayawada Congress, the Party, being panic-stricken about the growth of reaction (seeing the birth of Swatantra Party under the leadership of C. Rajagopala Chary) declared as its policy to put all the effort to bring, a shift in the policies of Nehru Government towards left and to resist the rising reaction thereby. Along with this policy, the other declarations and policies like 'support the progressive policies of Government'; 'Develop close links and unity with the progressive congressmen and the masses following the Congress' and 'support pro-Socialist and peace-loving policies of Congress Government' followed.

The Communist Party of India, through the process of various changes in its policies and the adoption of parliamentary politics, gradually became the carrier of ideology and politics of Social Democracy in India. It resulted in the elimination of revolutionary character of the Party. The circuit of Modern Revisionism, would evolve inside the Party as a natural course.

The Sino-Indian Border clash in 1962 was an important point of controversy inside the Party. The ruling classes of India, who actually unleashed this war, made all out attempts to flare up anti-China feelings and national chauvinism throughout the Country. But the sorrowful position was that the event created confusion inside, the Communist Party of India. The powerful Dange group inside the Party leadership taking foot-hold on the decision of Vijayawada Congress came out condemning the China as aggressor and gone to the extent of calling upon the people to 'forward to defend the motherland under the banner of Jawaharlal Nehru. The other section of the Party leadership was not willing to condemn China. However, it took an escapist attitude towards the real issue and no political explanation as to their stand was catered from their side. On the other side, along with the question of 1962 Border clash, various questions with respect to the policies so far pursued by the Party, as evolved through the decisions of different Congresses, especially with respect to the attitude towards the Nehru Government, came in for discussion in various forms and at various levels of the Party. Having made scathy criticism or expressed opposition to the old policies of the party as well as to the policies guiding the thought of the Party leadership, different political documents, articles and criticisms had come into circulation in West Bengal, Andhra and other places both in the Party fora and secretly under various pseudonyms. The discontent and opposition to Dange revisionism were intense inside the Party. The major sections of the Party members were opposed to it. The conflict of policy and principle was boiled up inside the Party. The division of the party became inevitable in the trend of events. However, the struggle that ensued was diverted from the main ideological and political issues by

focusing the attention on the Dange letters. Finally, the Party has split and the CPI(M) has come into existence.

But the new Party, i.e., CPI(M) did not take any basic departure from the old Party. The party Congresses of both the Parties held in 1964 adopted identical Programmes, though they raised different slogans like 'National Democratic Front' and 'People's Democratic Front'. Though the CPI(M) raised the slogan of People's Democracy it was not based on the concept of completion of unfinished revolution against imperialism and their native allies. It has nothing to do with the concept of People's Democratic Revolution as formulated by Mao in semi-colonial and Semi-feudal order. Both the Parties adopted the path of parliamentarism.

At the same time, the CPI(M) created various political confusions with political jugglery. On the whole, its political modus operandi was practicing militant parliamentarism within the fold of parliamentary democracy. While the CPI remained a direct supporter of Soviet Modern Revisionism all along the CPI(M) started as an indirect supporter and gradually became a direct supporter of Modern Revisionism. On the whole, both the Parties, having carried the politics of parliamentarism on their bosoms, became the holders and carriers of the ideology of Social Democracy and revisionism inside the Communist movement in India. Therefore, it will be unreal to search for a revolutionary role in these Parties. The irony of history is that, though in 1964, the newly born CPI(M) roused the hope to be a revolutionary force, having been designed as Pro-Chinese Party, to follow the revolutionary politics, it was proved to be false, and revisionism has established its authority over it.

3. The Naxalbari Peasant Revolutionary Movement has drawn a clear line of demarcation between neo revisionism and revolutionism. It once again brought to the fore the significance and applicability of the Path of Peoples War to over Revolution. The struggle that developed against the neo revisionism of CPI(M) encompassed ideological and political questions and the questions of Line. In this course Communist Revolutionaries in Andhra, West Bengal, and various other states in India rejected the theories like "peaceful transition"; "peaceful co-existence"; "peaceful competition"; "Party of whole people" and "Government of whole people" peddled by Kruschevite Modern Revisionists and basically upheld by the neo revisionist leadership of CPI(M) as nothing but a negation of the ideology of Marxism Leninism, path of revolution and taking the treacherous Path of revisionism and capitalist restoration. The Communist Revolutionaries rejected the path of parliamentarism pursued by the neo revisionists which stood exposed more nakedly with the move of CPI(M) Leadership to suppress the Naxalbari Peasant Revolutionary Movement by brutal force. Finally, the Communist Revolutionaries upholding Marxism Leninism Mao Ze Dong Thought and the Path of Peoples War had broken away from CPI(M).

In the last more than two decades period, we the Communist Revolutionaries encountered splits, serious setbacks and difficulties. We had gone through many permutations and combinations. The experience we had during this period and the interests of our revolutionary movement emphatically point out the significance and urgency of achieving a principled unity among the Communist Revolutionaries in India.

4, Today, when we are making a significant advance in our unity efforts, we find the objective situation quite challenging and, at the same time, excellently favourable.

The Communist ideology, the forces of Socialism, Democracy, Independence and Peace are facing an all-out attack from the imperialists, exploiting classes and reactionary forces all over the World. On one hand, the Soviet Modern revisionists have abandoned their Marxist and Socialist garbs. On the other side, the revisionists led by Chinese revisionists are making desperate attempts to retain the Marxist, and Socialist masks as part of the move to rope a section of Communist Revolutionary forces into their fold and continue their attacks on revolutionary Marxism in a disguised form.

The revolutionary movements in India are striving to overcome the setbacks and divisions and emerge themselves into a formidable force. The exploiting ruling classes are determined to prevent this. They are already directing the edge of their attacks against the Communist revolutionaries and the movements led by them. For this, they are combining brutal and 'Soft' weapons, including divisive and diversionist tactics.

There is also another side, the exploiting ruling classes are facing a worst economic crisis and bankruptcy. Their contradictions, power squabbles and political instabilities are intensifying with every passing day. They find the situation volcanic with ever-growing discontentment, protest and organised struggle of the people and the peasant resistance struggle in some pockets of our country. While they are finding it too difficult to rule by old methods, the people are looking for more effective forms of struggle and revolutionary alternatives.

The World capitalist system is in the thick of unprecedented crisis. Despite the talk about establishing new world order and the emergence of 'single super power', the factors of collusion and contention between the two Super powers and the growing competition among the imperialist powers continue to operate. The world continues to be turbulent. The opposition, protest and organised struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and war arena is a growing phenomenon in the present world. While the Russian imperialism is making a determined attempt to retain its super power position by overcoming its present problems and weaknesses, the people of former republics, who are asked to pay by their nose for all this, are coming out into more organised struggle in defence of their own living conditions and rights.

The question before us is: How to fully utilise the favourable objective conditions and effectively face the challenges. A united and strong revolutionary Party of the proletariat is the demand of the time.

5. In the last more than two decades period since we broke from neo revisionism and re-dedicated ourselves to the task of Peoples' Democratic Revolution, the Communist Revolutionaries have made countless and supreme sacrifices. The revolutionary movements have moved through many difficulties and setbacks. We saw the rise and clash of various trends with all their consequences. The splits; enemy's tactics and the changes in the political situations multiplied problems and bred more divergences and splits. Not only basic differences, but also wrong approaches and methods had contributed to the phenomenon of splits. Even the forces who are for the revolutionary mass line

continue to remain divided on certain basic issues and also because of certain wrong approaches and methods. Prejudices, apprehensions, subjective, and sectarian attitudes blocked the initiatives, complicated and frustrated the unity moves. In a word, the wrong trends and the phenomenon of splits caused an immense harm to our revolution.

We seriously realised that there is no reason for the Communist Revolutionaries who have no basic differences on the revolutionary mass line to remain themselves perpetually divided because once they happened to split for the reason of historical mistakes; because they continue to differ on some secondary issues or on issues which cannot and need not come in the way of basic revolutionary task and the divergences over which can and must be overcome in a single Organisation. We also realised that no single Organisation as they are situated today, can, by itself, meet the needs of providing the leadership for our revolution. Divisions among the revolutionaries means divisions among the people and the movement. These divisions have seriously affected our striking power, our image and credibility and our links with the people. We must put an end to this situation.

6. Political proximity, overcoming certain hang-overs and the genuine realisation of the need and urgency of overcoming the problems of our movement have created the necessary favourable political conditions for the present unity process.

In our unity talks, we were guided by the basic approach that the unity must be based on a basic unity on the questions of line. It will either be a day-dreaming or a negative attitude towards the very question of unity to expect or demand for unity on all aspects of the problems as a precondition for unity. We must be clear that unity cannot last long even if it is based on detailed working out of each and every point or aspect of the agreement, but is devoid of genuineness of purpose and principled approach. We must unite on the basis of basic agreement even with some points of divergence. We must learn to work in a single Organisation even with some points of divergence and the leadership as well as the differing comrades must show enough stamina, maturity and responsible attitude towards handling the divergences in accordance with the principles of Democratic Centralism. This is most important lesson that we must learn from our past mistakes and there is no other way.

We discussed and clinched the political issues, and other Issues, such as approach towards unity etc. Our experience proved that any other method would have bogged down our discussions with no political direction. Any attempt to turn the discussions into exercises of bald assertions, scoring points, maneuvers will not only be futile but also can strike at the very root of our unity efforts. Free, frank and alright forward discussions combined with an approach of learning from each other and showing flexibility and accommodation in evolving the points of commonness while remaining firm on principles helped a lot in successfully completing the discussions.

We had some rounds of bilateral trilateral and multilateral discussions. Firstly, the three Organisations namely, CPI(ML) - Resistance, UCCRI (ML) and CPI (ML) - TND signed a Joint Note in November, 1990. This Joint Note clinched the major political issues and thus provided a basis for unity. But, the leadership of CPI (ML) - TND dragged its feet and finally backed out from the agreement and unity process without declaring so. At the same time, the unity forces inside the CPI (ML) - TND like the major part of West Bengal

state Unit and Organisation; some from CC under the leadership of Com. Paila Vasudeva Rao and some others from some States, who carried on a consistent struggle for unit and stood by the Joint Note left the CPI (ML) –TND and joined the unity process. The unity efforts gained momentum and strength with Communist Revolutionary Organisation, Viz., CPI (ML) led by Khokon Mazumdar, CPI (ML) – Agami Jug; CPI(ML) led by Com. Paila Vasudeva Rao; Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries led by Com. Parimal Dasgupta and the Communist Revolutionary Group for Unity led by Com. Jiten Dasgupta wholeheartedly welcoming and becoming a part of the whole unit effort and process. We exchanged Notes, held discussions and adopted the documents prepared in the light of Joint Note and discussions. We noted some points of divergences for resolution in the united Party in accordance with the process or internal discussions.

We combined our unit talks and efforts with various forms of united action wherever possible. These actions involved work to evolve common understanding and common approach. This combination of unit talks and united action greatly helped us in developing commonness and better integration. It gave momentum and strength to the whole unity Process.

7. The History, i.e., the Political-Organisational Review, is a common property of Communist Revolutionaries. We must be clear that comprehensive Review can be attempted and a greater justice can be done to the History only by a united Party and a collective endeavour of Communist Revolutionaries on a wider scale. Even before that, when necessary, we can discuss about history and it is good also if we can resolve some of the questions related to it. But the resolution of the divergent views related to it should not be viewed as the pre-condition for unification.

The Communist Revolutionaries along with the movements are now divided into a number of Organisations, groups, factions and individuals. At the same time, all of have a common concern for the unity and advance of revolutionary movement. We must all unreservedly own the entire Communist and revolutionary movement irrespective of present divisions. In our attempts at Review, we must be guided by the objective of uniting the larger forces on the basis of correct lessons. We must be objective, dispassionate and. take the situation as a whole into consideration. In our approach, we should address ourselves to the ideological, Political and organisational trends that reflected in various phases and twists and turns of our movement and examine how they affected the whole course of development of revolutionary movement and Organisation. The basic understanding we reached today and the experiences we gained must guide us in drawing lessons from the past. Our objective is not to condemn History, movement and leaders. We see the achievements and positive factors along with the trends, mistakes and failures occurred in the movement in the light of concrete conditions and as part of the problems faced by our own movement. Clearly, we own the achievements as well as failures of our past. By adopting this approach, we shall be able to correct our own leadership, uphold and carry forward their contributions. This is how we see the past serve the present and future movement.

Guided by this basic approach, we draw some conclusions here:

I. The present Communist Revolutionary Movement is both a continuation of the past Communist Movement as well as outcome of struggle and break from revisionism. The political struggle of the revolutionary Communists inside the CPI and CPI (M), after the turning-point of Naxalbari Peasant Armed struggle, culminated in the revolutionary Communists break from the CPI (M). It brought a new revolutionary polarisation inside the Communist Politics and movement with a clear demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and Revisionism.

II. The formation of AICCCR to rally around all the Communist Revolutionaries under one banner was correct and historic.

III. The emergence of left trend after the formation of AICCCR and the methods adopted by this trend led to a break inside the AICCCR in West Bengal and other places and to the expulsion of APCCCR from the AICCCR and thus created a division among the Communist Revolutionaries. Thus arose two streams among the Communist Revolutionaries, one led by revolutionaries who waged bitter struggle against revisionism and neo revisionism and who led the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle and the other one led by those revolutionaries who conducted a bitter ideological struggle against revisionism and neo revisionism as well as against the left sectarian line and were wrongly expelled from the AICCCR.

IV. A revolutionary party was required to lead the revolutionary movement and there were conditions and need for a Party.

Viewed in this light, the formation of CPI(ML) on April 22, 1969 on the basis of Peoples War path was a positive step. As the APCCCR was left with no option after their wrong expulsion from the AICCCR, the APRCP was formed on the basis of Peoples' War Path and Mass Line on April 10-12, 1969 and this was a positive step.

V. Struggle against Left sectarianism was conducted from both inside CPI (ML) as well as outside. This political struggle conducted from the angle of Mass Line was basically correct.

VI. In the last two and half decades' period, the Communist-Revolutionaries had gone through many-permutations and combinations. Besides, a basically correct trend, the left trend continued in one form or other and along with it the trends of right opportunism, sectarianism and liquidationism had also manifested and developed in various forms. Some, who went all out in pursuing the left trends took an about turn towards right opportunist trend. Some, who were staunch advocates of Mass Line, fell prey to either sectarianism or Right deviation. There are some who appeared to be on the side of correct policies but ended up with the Right trend moving along the road of conciliation. Some of the self-proclaimed staunch upholders of Marxism Leninism Mao Ze Dong Thought embraced Trotskyism and anti-Marxism. Some, who call themselves as the only adherents of Proletarian revolutionary line, in fact, engage themselves in left phrase-mongering sectarianism and inaction. Some even began to see 'Socialism' in the erstwhile Soviet Union. Thus, in a word, the Right deviation became a main danger in the later period. In this context, we must always be guided by Lenin's warning with regard to wrong trends. Lenin said; The Left and Right trends are alien to Marxism and the two sides of the same-coin. They are twins. Our experience also proved that these trends are harmful to

revolution and they must be opposed and fought unreservedly. At the same time, we must keep in mind that the Right deviation is the main danger inside the Communist Revolutionary Movement in India today.

In the organisational sphere, we saw various wrong trends like factionalism, groupism, bureaucratic centralism, ultra-democracy, negation of inner-Party discussions and struggle and distorted and even vulgarised criticism and ideological struggle. The phenomenon of spillitism has contributed to the growth of opportunism and other unhealthy trends. All these had seriously hampered the building of a well-disciplined, strong and united Party based on correct concept and practice of Democratic Centralism.

In the sphere of unification, the sectarian, opportunistic and subjective approaches and practices had adversely affected the principled unification of Communist Revolutionaries in India.

Despite these wrong trends and their consequences, the revolutionary movement has many positive achievements to its credit. All through, the struggle has been going on in one form or other against the Left and Right trends. Taken the situation as a whole the forces, who are persisting in the adherence and practices of correct Mass Line and who are making a constant and earnest efforts to learn from positive and negative experiences and to rectify the mistakes, incorrect ideas and practices are a growing force today. The experiences show perseverance in mass line; principled struggle against the wrong and alien trends and undeviating efforts to grasp and promote the positive factors and forces is the only way before us to advance the cause of our revolution.

8. In the last two decades we missed the best of the opportunities to build a United and single Party of the Proletariat. As a result, several organisations have come into existence. Many of them are based on a Line and Democratic Centralism. It remains a fact that no one can claim to have united a major part of Communist Revolutionary forces and movement. The unity achieved by our seven organisations is a unity of CPI (ML) Communist Revolutionary forces and non-CPI (ML) Communist Revolutionary forces. This unity is a definite and significant step towards uniting all the Communist Revolutionaries into a single and united Party. This united Party functions on the basis of a Line and the principles of Democratic Centralism. We are fully conscious that the task of Unification is not complete. We consider it our responsibility to pursue this task through to the end with all seriousness it demands. We adopt various forms and steps to achieve this goal.

In our present unification, we proceeded with a clear understanding that we must see the unification not as some organisations joining or merging in a particular organisation, but as the unification of all uniting organisations on the basis of a line and organisational principles and emerging themselves as a single organisation. Here, we were guided by the common urge and realisation that a party of proletariat sufficiently strong enough in terms of cadre, Leadership and Links with the vast masses - is a most urgent and essential need of our revolutionary movement. This unity is at once a unity of people, unity of movements and the unity of vanguard forces of the proletariat.

Our present unity mark as a successful culmination of our prolonged, consistent and principled efforts for unity. We are convinced that the agreement reached by us on the

Political and Organisational issues laid the necessary ideological, political and organisational basis for our unity. Let us protect this basis with all our convictions. We must struggle to deepen and advance the unity and integration through common and undeviating efforts to transform it into the practice of building the Party and the revolutionary movement. We must deepen and advance it in the course of our struggle against all wrong and alien trends and our constant efforts to tackle the problem of divergences in accordance with the principles of Democratic Centralism.

In the course of National Liberation Movement and Peoples Democratic Revolution, several thousands of Communist Revolutionary ranks and leaders and the best daughters and sons of working class, peasantry, middle classes, national and democratic forces had laid down their lives. Still several lakhs of the people had experienced countless sufferings and brutalities in, the hands of the enemy. Their dreams and urges for an India free from the yoke of imperialism and its allies-comprador big bourgeoisie feudalism-are yet to be realised. Let our unity, serve as a fitting revolutionary tribute to them.

The enemy always wanted us to remain divided, weak and quarrelling among ourselves. It even mastered the technics of inciting, engineering and utilising divisions, antagonisms and clashes among us. It considers the emergence of a strong and united Party based on Revolutionary Mass Line as potential threat for it. Let our unity serve as an answer to these evil designs of the enemy.

With this basic understanding, we declare the end of our separate identities and our resolve to build a single organisation which will be known in all spheres of activities as the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) JANASHAKTI. **Janashakti** will be the Central Organ of our party.

9. Our organisation is guided by the ideology of Marxism Leninism Mao Ze Dong Thought as enunciated and practised by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. We consider ourselves as an inseparable part of World Proletarian Revolutionary Movement. As Proletarian internationalists, we consider it our responsibility to extend our fighting solidarity to the working class, oppressed nations and people fighting for Socialism, national liberation, national independence and World peace all over the World.

Our revolution is in the stage of people's Democratic Revolution. Its main axis is Agrarian Revolution. Imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism are the common enemies and the targets of attack for this revolution. We unite all the revolutionary classes and forces, i.e., Working class, peasantry, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of working class and on the basis of firm alliance of working class and peasantry in the course of class struggles and revolutionary movements with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the common enemies through a Protracted Peoples Revolution and establishing a New Democratic Society.

Internationally, we further intensify our struggle against imperialism and the policies of hegemonism pursued by the two super powers – US imperialism and Russian imperialism. It is our international task to strengthen the solidarity, unity and struggle of the working class, oppressed nations and people against imperialism, hegemonism and war policies of

the two super powers in the world today. It is also our national task to lead the masses for their salvation.

10. We are clear that the shedding of masks by the revisionists in the erstwhile Soviet Union, East European Countries and other places by no means put an end to our struggle against revisionism. In reality, this struggle is bound to take more fierce form. We are now faced with naked as well as concealed attacks from revisionism. Attempts are going on to regroup the revisionists who are not yet prepared to denounce Marxism- Leninism openly and the sections of revolutionaries whose commitment to the thorough going struggle against revisionism has shaken to one extent or other into a new international centre of revisionism under the garb of Marxism and Socialism. It will be suicidal to lower our guard against revisionism and right deviation. We must clear that revisionism is always opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Ze Dong Thought. We could withstand and can advance only by waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, legalism, economism and other wrong trends. We must continue this struggle with all firmness it demands.

As in the case of Communist Revolutionary Movement in India, the Right deviation continues to be the main danger in the World Communist Movement. We must oppose and fight against it to advance the world revolution. We must, at the same time, be on guard and carry on the struggle against Left-sectarianism as this trend too is alien to Marxism Leninism and harmful to revolution. We are clear that we have nothing to choose between various wrong trends and we can defend Marxism Leninism Mao Ze Dong Thought only by thoroughly defeating the wrong and alien trends in whatever, form they may manifest. This is the only way to advance the cause of revolution.

11. We appeal to the Communist revolutionaries all over India to rise to the occasion. Let us move in a concrete and decisive way to overcome the hurdles in the way of unification. Let us pledge to put an end to the phenomenon of splits and make the unification of all the Communist Revolutionaries as the main, growing and irreversible trend. We hope, our unification will give an impetus to the process and trend of unification. We call upon the Communist revolutionaries: Let us all combine our efforts to achieve still greater unification.

12. We appeal to the Communist Revolutionaries all over to rise to the occasion. Let us move in a concrete and decisive way to overcome the hurdle in the way of unification. Let us pledge to put an end to the phenomenon of splits and make the unification of all the Communist Revolutionaries as the main, growing and irreversible trend. We hope, our unification will give an impetus to the process and trend of unification. We call upon the Communist Revolutionaries: Let us all combine our efforts to achieve still greater unification.

Signed/-

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Dated 30-7-1992