

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

*April 22, 1969*

The events of the last eighteen months since we repudiated the neo-revisionists, prove beyond doubt the correctness of our stand. They prove that the line of rejecting the parliamentary path and adopting the path of revolutionary struggle is wholly correct. During this period, the people of India have seen the rank opportunism of all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and their total political bankruptcy. They have lost faith in all the bourgeois and revisionist parties and are convinced of the utter futility of the parliamentary path.

### *Indian Society : Semi-Colonial and Semi-Feudal*

The events have also confirmed the correctness of our assessment as regards the stage, nature and character of our society, state and government. While rejecting the revisionist understanding, we stated that India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, that the Indian state is the state of the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and that its government is a lackey of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The abject dependence of Indian economy on "aid" from imperialist countries, chiefly from U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the thousands of collaboration agreements, the imperialist plunder of our country through unequal trade and "aid", the utter dependence for food on P. L. 480 etc, go to prove the semi-colonial character of our country.

The increasing concentration of land in the hands of a few landlords, the expropriation of almost the total surplus produced by the toiling peasantry in the form of rent, the complete landlessness of about 40% of the rural population, the back breaking usurious exploitation, the ever-growing

eviction of the poor peasantry coupled with the brutal social oppression—including the lynching of HARIJANS, reminiscent of the mediaeval ages, and the complete backwardness of the technique of production clearly demonstrate the semi-feudal character of our society.

The fleecing of the Indian people by extracting the highest rate of profit, the concentration of much of India's wealth in the hands of seventyfive comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, the utilisation of the state sector in the interest of foreign monopolies and domestic big business and their unbridled freedom—all go to prove that it is the big landlords and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists who run the state.

The political, economic, cultural and military grip of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the Indian State, the dovetailing of its foreign policy with the U.S.-Soviet global strategy of encircling Socialist China and suppressing the national liberation struggle, the recent tours of Latin America and South East Asia by the Indian Prime Minister to further the interests of this counter-revolutionary strategy, the total support given by the Indian Govt. for the Soviet armed provocation against China, the fascist approval of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and the active collaboration with the U. S. imperialists against the national liberation struggle of Vietnam clearly show that the Indian Govt. is a lackey of U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The rising tide of the peasant struggles in various parts of our country is further confirmation of our stand that the principal contradiction in our country at the present phase is between feudalism and the masses of our peasantry.

The Indian revolution at this stage is the democratic revolution of a new type—the People's Democratic Revolution—the main content of which is the agrarian revolution, the abolition of feudalism in the countryside. To destroy feudalism, one of the two main props (comprador-bureaucrat capital being the other) of imperialism in our country, the Indian people will have to wage a bitter, protracted struggle against

U. S. and Soviet social-imperialism too. By liberating themselves from the yoke of feudalism, the Indian people will also liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism and comprador-bureaucrat capital, because the struggle against feudalism is also a struggle against the other two enemies.

### *Excellent Revolutionary Situation*

The international developments that have taken place in the recent period vindicate our stand that a very excellent revolutionary situation prevails in the world today. The U.S. imperialists and their chief accomplice, the Soviet revisionists, are facing increasing difficulty in their dirty efforts to re-divide and enslave the whole world. The growing intensity of the armed struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries for national liberation, is destroying the very foundation of imperialist rule.

A new upsurge of struggle of the working class and the toiling peasants have overtaken the capitalist countries and the revolutionary ruling classes are facing an irreconcilable contradiction at home.

An unprecedented wave of struggle of the Afro-American people against racial oppression that erupted with working class action is dealing powerful blows at the rule of the monopolistic classes in the United States. The revisionists, headed by the Soviet Union, are also confronted with an acute crisis and the people in the countries ruled by them are rising in revolt against the restoration of capitalism and national subjugation and for the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the other hand, Socialist China is performing a miracle of socialist construction. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in every sphere of life, has created conditions for the emergence of the socialist man. The victories of the cultural revolution have culminated in the triumph of Mao's Thought, the victories of Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China. The Thought of Chairman Mao is winning ever new

victories. The international class struggle has grown more intense than before and the doom of imperialism and all other reaction is near. The world has created a new era in history—the era of Chairman Mao's Thought.

The events of the last eighteen months have also proved the correctness of our view that the revolutionary situation in India is quite excellent. Today, the ruling classes are enmeshed in a deeper economic and political crises than ever before. Contradictions between imperialism and the people, between feudalism and the peasants, between capital and labour, and between different sections of the ruling classes are growing sharper and sharper everyday. The feudal fetters on the masses of our peasantry have not yet been smashed and as a result of the intensified exploitation of our people by various imperialists, headed by the U. S. and Soviet imperialists and their Indian compradors, the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie are victims of growing pauperisation and unemployment. At least ninetyfive percent of our people are so hard hit due to poverty and wretchedness that they can no longer tolerate it and now they are impatient for a fundamental change. At the same time, a dog-fight is going on between different sections and parties of the ruling classes that have linked their fate with that of the U. S., Soviet or British imperialists.

Everywhere in India, the people are rising in bitter struggles to remove the four mountains that weigh upon them heavily. These mountains are U. S. Imperialism, Soviet Social-Imperialism, Feudalism, and Comprador-Bureaucrat Capitalism.

Armed peasant struggle, which started in Naxalbari, have now spread to Srikakulam, Musahari and Lakhimpur Kheri and are spreading to the new areas. Recently, the peasant revolutionaries of Kerala staged a heroic revolt. The revolutionary struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and Kukis, who have risen with arms in hand, are also dealing hard blows at the reactionary regime. The resistance of our people, both in rural and in urban areas, fast develops and brings about a

new upsurge in the agrarian revolution—the main content of the democratic revolution.

The reactionary ruling classes are resorting to brutal repression in order to beat back the rising tide of people's struggles. They are rushing their armed forces and police personnel to the areas where armed struggles have broken out. Police firing, lathi-charge, tear-gassing, arrest and detention without trial have become the order of the day. The ruling classes are everyday arming themselves with all sorts of 'democratic' legislative power to crush the class struggles. At the same time, every effort is being made to deceive the people and disrupt their struggles. Communalism, casteism, provincialism and all types of parochialism are being pressed into service to destroy the growing unity of our fighting people. National chauvinism is being fanned against Socialist China and neighbouring Pakistan to dupe the people and suppress their struggles. In the name of national integration, the ruling classes are trying to impose Hindi in the teeth of stiff opposition from various nationalities. Equality of all nations and national languages is being denied.

In such a situation when revolutionary struggles are advancing rapidly and when the ruling classes are making frantic efforts to suppress them, the revisionists and neo-revisionists have come forward to serve as the lackeys of imperialism and domestic reaction. By presenting the so-called 'United Front' govts. as "organ of struggle", by raising the slogan of "providing relief" to the people they are trying to create illusions among the people in order to blunt their revolutionary consciousness and divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. These "United Front" govts. are in essence the answer of the reactionary ruling class to the challenge thrown by the people. The neo-revisionists have been shouting that "time is not yet ripe for revolution", "the people are not yet prepared for it", and that "the slogan of armed guerilla struggle is an adventurist slogan." There is no doubt that these lackeys of foreign and domestic reaction are only trying their

best to dampen the revolutionary spirit of our toiling people in order to save their masters from the fiery wrath of the people.

### *Struggle between Two Lines in the Party*

The history of the Communist Party of India is the history of struggle between the line of class struggle and the line of class collaboration and treachery, between the proletarian revolutionary ranks and the bourgeois, reactionary leadership. An appraisal of the Party history will show that the leadership has always acted as conscious traitors to the revolutionary cause of our people. It will also show that the revolutionary ranks failed to overthrow the treacherous leadership earlier because of their inability to make concrete analysis of the classes in Indian society and of their role in the Indian revolution.

With the great victory of anti-Fascist war, in which the Soviet people led by Stalin, played the most outstanding role, and the glorious victory of the Chinese people led by Comrade Mao Tsetung, over Japanese imperialism, the fascist imperialist powers met with their doom, thus severely weakening imperialism as a whole. The world-shaking victory of the great Chinese Revolution under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung breached the imperialist front in the East and the world balance of force underwent a change. It is during the anti-Japanese War of Resistance that Comrade Mao Tsetung's theory of People's War was fully developed: it charted a new path—the path that all the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries like India must pursue, to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialist and domestic reaction. A storm of revolutionary struggles raged over various countries of Asia where the people followed the road indicated by Chairman Mao, the road of People's War. The pent-up wrath of the Indian people found expression in a widespread, heroic revolt against the rule of the imperialists. Led by the working class, India's peasantry took to the path of armed

struggle : the peasants of Punnapra-Vayalar put up resistance against the reactionary armed forces, the peasants of Telengana rose with arms in hand against the rule of the feudal lords, the peasants of Bengal waged the Tebhaga struggle against feudal exploitation. There was an upsurge of working class struggle all over the country. The revolt spread even among the ranks of the police, the Army and the Navy. But the revisionist leadership acted as the lackey of the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries and betrayed these great struggles. Alarmed at the revolutionary upsurge, imperialism struck a deal with the Congress that represented comprador capital and feudalism in India. The country was partitioned, the direct rule of the imperialists changed into their indirect rule. Together with all other political parties of India, the revisionist leadership committed this treachery against the people.

The Second Congress of the Party witnessed the revolt of ranks against the sordid betrayal. The Ranadive clique utilised these revolts to seize the leadership of the Party. The Secretariat of the Andhra Provincial Committee which was then leading the Telengana struggle, correctly pointed out that the Indian revolution could win victory only by following the road blazed by China, the road of People's War. The Ranadive clique opposed this correct formulation of the Andhra Secretariat and adopted the Trotskyite theory of accomplishing both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution at one stroke. Thus, this clique diverted the attention of the Party ranks from the agrarian revolution—the basic task of the democratic revolution. Sectarianism led the Party members into adventurist actions. Though the Ranadive clique followed this wrong and suicidal policy, the peasant revolutionaries of Telengana did not deviate from the path of struggle. They advanced this struggle forward by adopting the tactics of guerilla war. The Ranadive clique formally abandoned the sectarian line when they were forced with a revolt of the ranks. The just intervention of the international leadership helped

this process. But the same treacherous policy was restored with the adoption of the programme of 1951

The programme and the tactical line of 1951 were adopted on the understanding that the Indian big bourgeoisie has a dual character. By this dual character was meant that the Indian big bourgeoisie has an anti-imperialist role as well as a proneness to compromise with imperialism. In other words, the Indian big bourgeoisie is regarded as the national bourgeoisie. Though Comrade Stalin said as early as 1925 that the section of the Indian bourgeoisie which is big and powerful had already deserted to the camp of the imperialists and had formed a bloc with them, yet, while swearing by the name of Stalin and adopting a programme of national uprising, the treacherous leadership of the Communist Party depicted the big bourgeoisie as the national bourgeoisie. This enabled the revisionist leadership to describe the Indian State as an independent bourgeois state. Though they held that the Indian Govt. is the government of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie closely linked with imperialism, they put forward the theory that the big bourgeoisie is the most powerful element in this combination and that it is they who are building the Indian State as an independent bourgeois state. Taking advantage of this theory, the Dange clique adopted the political line that feudalism no longer exists in India and that capitalism has developed in agriculture. Thus, Nehru was described as the representative of the progressive bourgeoisie. The Dange clique adopted a liquidationist policy as they held that India's national democratic government would be set up by forming an alliance with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, they preached that the more Soviet 'aid' India received, the more secure would be India's freedom. That is, Soviet 'aid' would enable India to move out of the orbit of imperialist domination. We learn from the experience of the great Chinese Party that in 1927, after Chiang Kaishek's rise to power, the Chinese Trotskyites declared that the Chiang Kaishek clique had overthrown imperialism and feudalism and were

preaching the path of independent capitalist development. The Right opportunist Chen Tu-Hsiu followed this Trotskyite line. They held that with the completion of the democratic revolution, China had entered the stage of socialist revolution. They raised the demand "Set up the National Assembly", opted for legal movement and deserted the path of revolutionary struggle. They were opposed to all kinds of revolutionary struggle and were expelled from the Party. The treacherous revisionist leadership of the CPI followed the same path and opposed every kind of revolutionary struggle. They forced Telengana's revolutionary peasants to surrender arms and stabbed the struggles of the peasants in the back wherever, in India, they rose in revolt.

When, in 1962, the Indian Govt. launched an aggression against the Chinese frontier guards, the treacherous role of the Dange clique was clearly exposed before the Party ranks. The Party members rebelled against the renegade Dange clique. Taking advantage of their revolt, the Ranadive clique again seized the leadership of the Party, as in 1948. Even in the programme adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1964, they depicted the Indian State as an independent state. Assuming that the Indian big bourgeoisie had an anti-imperialist role, they declared that Soviet 'aid' would safeguard India's freedom and lead to the sharpening of the contradiction with U. S. imperialism. The same Trotskyite theories had been adopted in the programme of the Seventh Congress too. By describing the Indian revolution, instead of directly calling it socialist revolution, the Ranadive clique had resorted to trickery. No sooner had the Seventh Congress been over than it was declared on behalf of the Polit Bureau that the Party would pursue the legal, parliamentary path. So, no revolutionary party but another bourgeois party emerged out of the Seventh Congress. And this Party has today forged unity with world reaction by allying itself with the renegade Dange clique and has become a Party hostile to the Indian masses—an instrument for

suppressing the liberation struggle of the Indian people. Yet, this period has witnessed increasing collaboration between Soviet and U. S. Imperialism. The Soviet renegade clique is opposing every national liberation struggle in the world and has tightened its neo-colonial grip on India. Despite all this, the Ranadive clique not only sing praises of the Soviet Union as a 'Socialist State' but are also loud in praise of Soviet 'aid'. Though the character of the Indian big bourgeoisie is essentially comprador and bureaucratic, the Ranadive clique propagate that they are independent and sovereign and thus try to make India's revolutionary struggle an appendage to the bourgeoisie. By under-estimating the feudal exploitation of the peasant masses they belittle the importance of the agrarian revolution and seek to lead the peasant struggles along the path of compromise. So, the most important task today is to build up a revolutionary Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and the Thought of Mao-Tsetung. Today, the sparks of Naxalbari have spread to many parts of India and will soon spread to newer and newer areas. Without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people—U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress.

### *Task before the Revolutionary Party*

While this revolutionary Party has been formed in India, it should be borne in mind that the Indian Party may commit both Right and 'Left' deviations because the Party of India's working class has never before given serious consideration to the role of the peasants in the agrarian revolution. Chairman Mao has taught us, "Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to

attack real enemies. A revolutionary Party is the guide of the masses and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary Party leads astray. To assure that we shall definitely achieve success in our revolution and shall not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution". If the poor landless peasants, who constitute the majority of the peasantry, the firm ally of the working class, unite with the middle peasants, then the vastest section of the Indian people will be united and the democratic revolution will inevitably win victory. It is the responsibility of the working class as the leader of the revolution to unite with the peasantry—the main force of the revolution—and to advance towards seizure of power through armed struggle. It is on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance that a revolutionary united front of all revolutionary classes will be built up. As the Party of the working class, the Communist Party must take upon itself the chief responsibility of organising the peasantry and advancing towards seizure of power through armed struggle. To fulfil this task the revolutionary Communist Party must study Chairman Mao's Thought, for it is only Chairman Mao's Thought that can bring the peasant masses into the revolutionary front and Chairman Mao's theory of Peoples' War is the only means by which an apparently weak revolutionary force can wage successful struggles against an apparently powerful enemy and can win victory. The basic tactic of struggle of the revolutionary peasantry led by the working class is guerilla warfare. We must bear in mind the Chairman's teaching: "*Guerilla warfare is basic but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions*". Our tactics as described by Comrade Lin Piao are: "You fight in your own way, we fight in ours. We fight when we can win and move away when we cannot". The task

of the Party of the working class is not merely to master tactics but also to rally all the other revolutionary classes behind the basic programme of the agrarian revolution. The revolutionary Party will be able to carry out this task only when it educates itself in the Thought of Chairman Mao, adopts the style of work taught by him, and practises self-criticism.

It is the delay in India's democratic revolution that enables U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to unite the reactionary forces of the world and to oppose the liberation struggles in different countries of the world. The U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are using India as a main base for carrying out their strategy for joint world domination. India is also the centre of conspiracies against Socialist China, the base of world revolution, the hope of the exploited people of the whole world. That is why it is not merely the patriotic duty of the Indian people to accomplish the Indian revolution, it is also their internationalist duty. The international significance of the Indian revolution is very great. Great Lenin dreamt of the day when revolutionary India would unite with revolutionary China and bring about the collapse of the world imperialist system. That is why at the time of the formation of the Party, the Indian revolutionaries must resolve that they shall unite with the great people of China and thus forge unity with the liberation struggles of the various countries, that they shall build up a revolutionary united front and destroy world imperialism and its chief accomplice, modern revisionism. Chairman Mao has given the call :

*“People of the world unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U. S. Imperialism and its accomplices. It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emanci-*

*pation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.”*

Our task is to prepare ourselves to respond to this call.

[Reproduced from *Liberation* Vol. 2, No. 7, May 20, 1969]