

HOW THE PEOPLE CAN BE MOBILISED IN GUERRILLA WARFARE

[This is a translation of an excerpt of a section of a long article meant for discussion 'Plunge into Revolutionary Armed Agrarian Struggle' (*June 1971*) enumerating the differences of the *MAOIST COMMUNIST CENTRE* with the CPI(ML) and narrating, briefly, the position of the former regard-

ing 'the primary, principal and basic task of the time' (1971), viz. 'to develop the People's Army and base areas.' *Ed.*]

One thing is very clear. It is that each of the tasks—be it the building of base areas, or the building of the People's Army and the Party as a precondition to building base areas, or developing a solid mass-base in selected areas—is inseparably related to the success or failure in accomplishing the task of developing, consolidating, extending and deepening the struggle for Red resistance as also revolutionary agrarian guerilla warfare in the villages and the cities, particularly in the rural areas of selected regions. So a basic problem facing us is how to make the people conscious and organise them very speedily so that they may be mobilised in the struggle for Red resistance as also revolutionary agrarian guerilla warfare.

In our opinion, if organizer-cadres do not follow the correct line and principle constantly, if they do not work in a planned manner and in the correct method, then it is not possible to achieve expected success in the matter of constantly mobilising the broad masses in guerilla warfare.

There are, in the revolutionary communist camp, certain influential persons who do not care to have any correct lines and principles, plans and methods; as a result they are completely indifferent towards educating new cadres regarding these matters. Many of the CPI(ML) leaders consider it their exclusive prerogative to "rack the brains" about lines and principles and anyone raising questions is immediately branded a "counter-revolutionary". Further, any proposal about working in a "planned manner" is termed "plan-ism," not to speak of pursuing a well-integrated method of work. They have invented a short-cut method to mobilise people in guerilla warfare. From their "fundamental theories" and recent activities, the little that can be understood about this new short-cut method is: There is no question of selecting areas most favourable for the development of the People's Army and base areas and working there with special emphasis according to a plan, or of

developing a cadre-policy commensurate with that plan. Anyone can go to any village according to one's sweet will—this nearly sums up their attitude. On such questions as arousing and organising the masses in revolutionary politics, investigating in the correct method and becoming integrated with the masses, etc., they propound :

(a) "There is no need for intensive political propaganda prior to starting guerilla warfare." (*Deshabrati*, 30. 12. 69)

(b) "Guerilla war can be started without organizing the people." (*ibid.*)

(c) "Struggle may begin with the initiative of even a single landless poor peasant in any single village and that will be the only correct thing to do." (*ibid.* 11-18 June, 1970)

(d) Again, "it is the intellectual comrade who will have to take the initiative." (*ibid* 30. 12. 69)

(e) "Coming from a centre 15 to 20 miles away, the guerilla units are able to direct investigations and annihilate class-enemies in unknown, unacquainted places." (*ibid.* 11-18 June, 1970)

We do not know what these and many similar lines have to do with Mao Tsetung Thought. That the people cannot be mobilised in guerilla war through these types of lines and methods has been proved through the experience of the last few years. In fact, these kinds of theories only encourage isolated, individualistic, terroristic activities.

...In our opinion, it is only by pursuing a correct line and principle, well-integrated plans and a correct method, that more and more people can be mobilised constantly in guerilla war. Basically it is a question of principle. On the basis of this principle and keeping in view the aim of building up guerilla forces and base areas in the villages, the method of work we are advocating is, in short :

In order to go on defending against enemy attacks and attacking the enemy, work in villages, covering extensive areas which are fairly spread-out ; in the matter of building the People's Army, have the determination and courage to reach specific goals within specified time or to surpass the target.

Work tenaciously in the villages, keep yourselves mobile and try to organize the peasant masses as mobile guerilla teams.

Creatively propagate among the broad masses the politics of agrarian revolution as also of protracted people's war.

Investigate, and, on the basis of investigations, further invigorate your propaganda campaigns ; incite intense hatred against the rule and exploitation of the class enemies ; make the people conscious about and organized for the struggle for Red resistance as also the revolutionary agrarian guerilla warfare.

Rely on the poor and landless peasant masses, organize the most advanced and active sections among them as mobile propagandists and organizers or as the backbone of the leadership or as the Party, and organize the broad peasant masses as guerilla teams constituting only those that can be organized around the central programme of revolutionary agrarian guerilla war.

In this way, arousing the people in wider areas and organizing some guerilla squads or teams, initiate the struggle for Red resistance as also the struggle for routing feudalism. Through this struggle alone, continuously strengthen, consolidate and extend the Party and the guerilla forces (the local militia and local regular guerilla forces) on the one hand, and the areas under struggle on the other. Further deepen the agrarian revolution ; build up a central regular guerilla force by constantly centralizing the local regular guerilla forces.

Develop work in the urban areas as subordinate to and around the central task of working in the countryside.

Arouse the people against every incident of exploitation and coercion by imperialism and its comprador capitalist groups. Develop resistance against every aspect of coercion—economic, political, military and cultural. Enrich these resistance struggles with the ideology of agrarian revolution as also protracted people's war. And through these very struggles for resistance build up regular guerilla forces not only for the urban areas but also for participation in the agrarian revolutionary guerilla war in the countryside.

The organizing of the agrarian revolution, the building up of the People's Army and the base area in the countryside are not the exclusive task of the peasants alone ; the worker, the student, the youth—each has to take part in it—as organizer, as soldier.

Apart from sending the best organizers and tested guerilla teams to the countryside in order to develop, consolidate and accelerate the agrarian revolution in the countryside, apart from sending money, arms, medicine, provision and various other help, the urban working class as also the Party has another major task. In order to harass a large chunk of the enemy forces in the cities, in order that the enemy may not employ their entire—or almost the entire—force against the revolutionary struggle in the countryside, and, in order to hinder enemy military activities, the urban working class as also the Party has to organize and mobilize against the enemy the struggling force and the creativity of the people in various methods beginning with the struggle for resistance. But, in trying to do these, they must guard against falling a prey to enemy provocations and must not,—in the name of strengthening urban resistance struggles, or guided by the psychology of organizing insurrections in the cities before the liberation of the villages and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside, or by any other psychology,—pit the forces of the countryside in the cities or lay more emphasis on the urban struggle than on the struggle in the countryside.

In all work, abide by the mass line and the class line. In all work, establish the leadership of the working class and its Party.

In all work abide by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The understanding of and confidence in the correctness of this line of work, which is determined by the line and principle, and the plans and methods of our organization are constantly increasing among comrades at all levels and among the people through objective work.

Self-confidence of comrades is also increasing. Following the method of work directed by the great Communist Party of China (see the article 'Pay Attention to Methods of work', collected from the *Peking Review* and published in *Dakshindesh*), at all levels in the organization, particularly among the leading cadres at all levels, the understanding in these matters has to increase hundredfold, through theoretical discussions and practice.

In order that we can continuously mobilise ever broader masses of the people in the struggle for Red resistance as also revolutionary agrarian guerilla war, and can, in the matter of building up base areas, at least attain the minimum specific goal within the time specified by the Central Committee, we have to wage ideological struggles constantly against the wrong tendencies prevailing within the organization and through that continuously better our modes of work.

[Source : *Dakshindesh* (Bengali), June, 1971, the organ of the Maoist Communist Centre]