

Unit to Build A Single Party"

...llent revolutionary situation in the world as well as in India. A new upsurge has been the revolutionary struggle of the people against the four big enemies—an upsurge which promises to be deeper and higher than any in the country and people have witnessed since 1947. All the basic contradictions of the Indian society have been greatly aggravated. The ruling classes have split each other's throats.

...ative feature of the present situation is that there exist division and disarray in the ranks of the communist revolutionaries. As a result of this division, the reactionary revisionist forces in the country are trying their level best to divert the energies of the people from the revolutionary path. The reactionary revisionist has left no one in doubt that they would strive for causing division among the broad masses of the people by arguing about further splits and disunity in the vanguard i.e., among the communist revolutionaries. The revisionist is the cause of our split.

...very encouraging that an overwhelming majority of cadres of the revolutionary groups are fed up with the revisionist group regimes and an irresistible demand for achieving unity in a single party has overtaken them. However, the revisionist prejudices and sectarianism have placed handicaps and prevented the revolutionary unity from taking concrete shape. Often minor differences that can very well be resolved within the framework of a single Marxist-Leninist party, are exaggerated and attempts at unification get frustrated. This situation must end. If we are to have a revolution, there has to be a revolutionary party.

...statement has been abridged.

The CPI (ML) and the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Party have been seriously striving for bringing about unification and consolidation in the ranks of the communist revolutionaries under the banner of a single Marxist-Leninist party ever since 1972. Their efforts took a concrete shape when together they issued a joint appeal.

After prolonged and thorough discussions the representatives of the CPI (ML) and the APRCP have reached agreement on the following major points of programme, tactics and party building.

Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country in which several imperialist powers contend, the principal being the Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

The Indian Revolution in the present stage is anti-imperialist. It is New Democratic Revolution in nature.

The four major enemies of the Indian people are (i) Soviet social imperialism, (ii) U.S. imperialism, (iii) feudalism and (iv) comprador-bureaucratic capitalism.

Alliance of the four classes i.e., the working class, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, has to be forged for leading the new democratic revolution. The working class is the leader of this united front and the worker-peasant alliance is the core of the united front. The working class absolutely relies on the landless and poor peasants, firmly unites with the middle peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, seeks to win the rich peasants and the national bourgeoisie and directs the main edge of its attack against imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism.

The working class is conscious that the rich peasantry and the national bourgeoisie are vacillating and wavering allies of the new democratic revolution.

There are four basic contradictions in the present Indian society. They are:

(i) Contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

(ii) Contradiction between social-imperialism and imperialism on the one hand and the nation on the other.

(iii) Contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and

(iv) Inter-imperialist (including social-imperialism) contradictions and the inner contradictions in the ruling classes which are led by big landlords and big bourgeoisie.

Out of all these basic contradictions, the principal contradiction at the present phase is the one between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

The axis of the new democratic revolution is the agrarian revolution.

The programme of new democratic revolution recognises the right of nations to self-determination.

The socialist revolution can be achieved only after completing the new democratic revolution.

Party and the Tactical Line

The working class wants the party to rely on the peasants, establish base areas in the countryside in protected armed struggle and use the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities.

The working class and the people must forge three magic weapons without which victory in revolution is impossible—a Marxist-Leninist party, a people's army and a revolutionary united front. It is the party that commands the army and it is the party that leads the united front.

All the struggles of the people against economic, political, cultural and military policies of the reactionary State are revolutionary struggles and the revolutionaries must initiate, conduct and lead these struggles. The broad masses of the people can be organised for revolution only through complementing the armed struggle by mass struggle. It is reformism to confine struggles of the people to economic and partial demands only and it is adventurism to ignore or boycott the mass struggles of the people on economic and partial demands on the pretext of conducting political struggles. Marxist-Leninists strive to forge a united front of all democratic classes from the very beginning of their activities and they strive to develop the united front in course of sharp class struggles of the people against their oppressors.

Marxist-Leninists must resolutely op-

pose parliamentary cretinism and individual terrorism as they obstruct the development of people's war and isolate them from the people.

Marxist-Leninists must take the countryside as the centre of gravity while not abandoning work in the towns and cities.

While working in the countryside for building the base areas and the people's army, they must give top priority to concentrating on the mountainous and forest regions and the river valleys in a planned manner. The people in the plain areas and adjacent to such zones should also be organised.

While working in the countryside and the urban areas efforts must begin to build the people's army. The party must command the gun and the gun must never command the party. The experience of the Chinese Communist Party, other fraternal parties and also our own experience teach us that a people's army is built in course of politically arousing the broad masses of the people, in course of mobilising them for realisation of their economic and political demands, in course of fierce class battles against their exploiters and by drawing the countless militants from the working class, the peasantry and the urban intelligentsia. Our experience teaches further that attempt to build a people's army by killing indiscriminately landlords and other exploiters in a conspiratorial manner, through a campaign of annihilation of class "enemies" alienates the fighters from politics, people and party and causes disaster. It is only a terrorist band that we get and not a people's army out of the theory and practice of individual terrorism. The party must integrate with the landless and poor peasants and firmly unite with the middle peasants, it must politically arouse broad masses of the peasantry on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; it must arm peasant masses and disarm the landlords it must form village defence corps and armed guerilla squads from among the peasantry. It must form revolutionary peasant committees and develop them as organs of people's rule. It must lead the pea-

sant masses to seize landlord's land and other properties for distribution among the peasants as it is the key issue of the agrarian revolution, and it must punish the despotic landlords, usurers, local bullies and corrupt officials. And in course of carrying out the above-mentioned tasks it must recruit and train innumerable militants born out of class struggles and make them good soldiers and commanders of the people's army and lead them to attack and smash the armed forces of the enemy following the strategy and the tactics of people's war formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The working class which leads the new democratic revolution, while fighting class battles on economic and political issues, on national and international issues will act as the inspirer and unifier of other revolutionary classes by launching solidarity mass actions in support of their struggle, specially the struggles of the peasantry.

Special attention will be given to organising the working class employed in the strategic industries.

They must utilise the contradictions in the camp of their enemies, at a given time and unite all the forces that can be united and develop revolutionary struggles of the people in the country while retaining their independence and initiative.

Party Building

The Marxist-Leninists must unite in a single party that takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as its theoretical guide and adhere to proletarian internationalism.

The party is to be built by giving top priority to work in the countryside while giving proper importance to work in the towns and cities also.

The party must master various forms of struggle and organisation and style of work. It must strive to combine the legal with illegal, open with secret, mass organisation with armed organisation and mass struggle with armed struggle.

The party must adhere to mass line i.e., it must pursue the style "From the masses to the masses" in all its activities. It must combat tailism and com-

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Unity

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mandism in its style of working.

The party must adhere to the principles of democratic centralism in its functioning. It must strictly adhere to the four disciplines: individual is subordinate to the unit; lower committees are subordinate to the higher committees, minority is subordinate to the majority and all the party members are subordinate to the Central Committee. The party must not permit establishment of personal regimes. It must function on the basis of the "committee system" and the "method of leadership" laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Factions are incompatible with the party,

In view of the common understanding between the two parties on all the major points of programme, tactics and party building, we have decided to unite into a single party i.e. Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

We believe, this approach will be welcomed by all the communist revolutionaries in our country, and they too will come forward to unite in the CPI (ML) without further delay.

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