Declaration Of The Revolutionaries in the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

[Revolutionary comrades from seven States met in Calcutta on 12 and 13 November 1967, formed an All-India Co-ordination Committee and issued this declaration. It was published in Liberation, Vol. I, No.2 (December 1967).]

[*The formation of the All-India Coordination Committee was hailed by the Peking (Beijing) Radio, which also broadcast the Declaration.*]

An excellent revolutionary situation prevails now in our country with all its classical symptoms as enunciated by Comrade Lenin. But the neo-revisionist leadership of the C P I (M) has betrayed the people and the party. They have betrayed the cause of the Indian Revolution.

Despite all their revolutionary phrase-mongering, it has now become crystal clear that these renegades have chosen the path of parliamentarism and class-collaboration and have shelved for good the revolutionary struggle for political power. The great trust reposed in them by revolutionary comrades, when the latter in their glorious struggle against revisionism repudiated the leadership of the Dange clique, has been shamelessly betrayed. The process of betrayal had, of course, started before the organizational split came. The split itself was brought about not on the basis of ideology, but artificially, through the instrumentality of Dange letters [1] in order to prevent consummation of the inner-party struggle into a genuine revolutionary split, which these neo-revisionists feared most. They, however, succeeded, though temporarily, in their game; this bunch of conspirators was able to incorporate surreptitiously into the Party's Programme formulations alien to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. By disowning, in the name of independent analysis, the neocolonial nature of our country and its semi-feudal, semicolonial character as well as the strategy and tactics of democratic revolution following therefrom, they indirectly indicated that what was being built up in India was an independent capitalist economy and that the Indian big bourgeoisie had not exhausted its anti-imperialist role, and thus they managed to discard Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great blueprint for world revolution, specially for the revolutions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as presented in a concentrated form by Comrade Lin Pi-ao. With regard to the world communist movement their attitude of 'noncommittal' nonpartisanship was a camouflage for their support to Khrushchev revisionism. Thus, nationally and internationally, the seeds of Titoism were cunningly sown, which in course of time sprouted forth into notorious Madurai resolutions.

It is profitable to recall here that since the inception of our party its leadership has been usurped at different phases by revisionists, adventurists and opportunists. As a result, glorious classbattles fought by revolutionary comrades and people under our Party flag have again and again been betrayed. The blood of workers, peasants and other toiling people as well as the blood of invaluable cadres of the Party has flown in profusion in many a sanguinary class-battle, and many a significant victory has been won, of whose fruits, however, the fighters themselves were deprived, thanks to the treachery of the persons at the helm of the Party. Time and again revolutionary elements inside the Party have conducted intense and principled inner-party struggles, time and again they have risen in open revolt; time and again international communist leadership has come forward to help and guide our Party; and every time the opportunist usurpers of the Party machinery-both of the right and of the 'left'-have treated these inner-party battles and fraternal offers of help and advice from the international leadership with utter cynicism and insolence.

Naxalbari came as a turning-point in the history of our Party and country. The revolutionary comrades of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal rose in open revolt against the Party's revisionist leadership and politics as well as against the organizational slavery imposed by this leadership. But, unlike earlier inner-party struggles, this revolt was accompanied by revolutionary practice. It is a typical peasant war modelled on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Thought and led by communists and the working class, opening up the real and only way to India's democratic revolution. This great class battle of Darjeeling peasants at once received the warm fraternal care of the leader of world communism-the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and at once it galvanized long-simmering inner-party struggles into open revolutionary revolt. Simultaneously, Naxalbari unleashed militant and armed peasant battles in different parts of the country, sometimes spontaneous and sometimes led by revolutionaries. But one of Naxalbari's great contributions to the Indian Revolution is that it has stripped naked the leadership of the Party and of other parties mouthing revolutionary slogans and has laid bare before the eyes of the world the utter hollowness of their revolutionism. They even openly joined hands with Indian reactionaries to crush this revolutionary peasant base with utmost military and police brutality.

Comrades must have noted that revolutionary peasant struggles are now breaking out or going to break out in various parts of the country It is an imperative revolutionary duty on our part as the vanguard of the working class to develop and lead these struggles as far as possible. With that end in view all revolutionary elements inside and outside the Party working rather in isolation today in different parts of the country and on different fronts of mass struggle must coordinate their activities and unite their forces to build up a *revolutionary party* guided by Marxism-Leninism, the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. After the final and decisive betrayal at Madurai,, the situation brooks no delay. Hence, this urgent need for coordination.

So we, the comrades of different states, who have been thinking and fighting on the above line, have decided after meeting in Calcutta to form an All-India Coordination Committee. On behalf of this Committee, we declare that its main tasks will be:

(1) To develop and coordinate militant and revolutionary struggles at all levels, specially peasant struggles of the Naxalbari type under the leadership of the working class;

(2) To develop militant, revolutionary struggles of the working class and other toiling people, to combat economism and to orient these struggles towards agrarian revolution;

(3) To wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism and to popularize the Thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is Marxism-Leninism of the present era and to unite on this basis all revolutionary elements, within and outside the Party; (4) To undertake preparations of a revolutionary programme and tactical line based on concrete analysis of the Indian situation in the light of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Thought.

Naxalbari has shown us the way to the Indian people's democratic revolution as much as it has unmasked the true face of the neo-revisionists at present controlling the Party. Now it is time to act and act we must here and now. It is time we start building *a really revolutionary party*. A great responsibility rests upon us and we must shoulder it as true revolutionaries and try to prove ourselves worthy disciples of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

We call upon the revolutionary comrades still within the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to repudiate *openly* the neo-revisionist leading clique and its politics and *openly* to join hands with us who are striving *to build a genuine Communist Party* in our country.

NOTES

 These letters, written by S. A. Dange in 1924 after his conviction in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case and found in the National Archives, New Delhi in 1964, when Dange was Chairman of the CPI, included two addressed to the Governor-General in Council. While praying for his release, he expressed in these letters his willingness to serve as a police-agent.