

**Liquidation-ism or the talk of peace :- debates within and outside revolutionary camp
-an open letter to the CC of CPI (Maoist) by a team of Marxist intellectuals**

Dear comrades;

R/S to all the party leaderships, party members, PLGA brave comrades, JANTANA SARKAR members and leaders and the revolutionary people of DK and BJ.

At the onset we would like to express our humble homage to all the comrades and people who gave their life for the realization of a dream long cherished by different kind of historical classes (slaves, serfs and the modern proletariat), since the advent of private property billions of human in these classes had dream of vanishing off all forms of exploitation and oppression by vanishing all forms of private property. Particularly we pay homage to the recent martyrdom of comrade Basvaraju the GS, Raju Da and Kosa Da who through their martyrdom have shown to the world that in this so called age of post-ideology; there are great people who die for their ideology. The comrades got martyred for the sake of upholding the correct line as against the liquidationist tendencies within the revolutionary camps. The martyrdom of the comrades and the revolutionary people is another bold step of humankind in its historical march toward end of private property by smashing feudal and capitalist private property relationships. Anyone who really cares for the development of humankind and is pro-people will not just express homage to the martyrs but will also express deep anguish and hatred for the opportunist, liquidationist and renegades who hiding behind the red shades have left no stone unturned to make the party toothless. They are the representative of the exploitative, oppressive and repressive ruling class within and around the revolutionary camps. They do not want the stage of Communism i.e. a stage where there would be no sorts of oppression, exploitation and suppression. They are the representative of private property, it is important that they must be exposed and thrown into the dustbin of the history. Only when we struggle against liquidationism we will be able to move toward Communism. For according to our understanding Liquidationism in the communist party is a political, economic and social phenomenon. When the communist party is liquidated we do not have a force strong enough to fight the current form of private property. Liquidationism erupts sharply at the times of crisis. Because at those times ruling class is strong and therefore its ideological influence is dominant everywhere. Hence the question remains how to struggle against it ideologically, politically and organizationally. This letter is to help the communist party in the ongoing struggle. It seeks to participate in the ongoing debates within the country about whether the maoist movement should surrender their arms before the state and join the mainstream that is make the party open following the modern revisionist line of CPI (ML) Liberation, the party which it had declared as revisionist and the chief instrument of the ruling class in sabotaging the revolutionary movement also popularly known as 'Sarkari Naxalite' or should it move ahead with the path laid down by the great Naxalbari uprising despite all the odds.

History of the struggle which the party is leading dates back to the times of Karl Marx who in the struggle against a ruling class element Herr Vogt in the workers movement in Germany, said that the struggle against Vogt is of "decisive importance for the historical vindication of the party and for its future position in Germany". Marx exposed Vogt, a Bonapartist who guided by the liberal bourgeoisie ideology and covered under the groups of workers tried

smashing the party of the communist that existed in the form of communist league in the then Germany. Marx struggle against the liquidation of communist league activities, therefore he was the constant target of the attacks by ruling class and their agents. Vogt used his tongue as a propaganda tool to stop the formation of secret organization of the workers and thereby hinder proletariat revolution. He said, "I was informed that the central festival of workers educational association was to be used to direct the workers to the path which they had absolutely refused to tread. It was hoped to be able to use the festival to form a secret committee.....I immediately decided to oppose such activities, in order to bring home to the workers once more that they should not lend their ears to any proposal of this kind. I express the warning". This is an open renunciation of the underground in the year 1850s. To which Marx said that it is nothing but the "salvation of his own skin". Marx replied to the questions raised on the secret organizations of the workers. He historicised the necessity of forming secret organization among the workers and defended it, he said that this is the only method to give political education to the workers and thereby move to forcibly overthrow the ruling class.

Similarly, in the Russian context, during the crisis of 1907 to 1914, the liquidator Luch editors said "The Social-Democratic Party is not limited to those few comrades whom the realities of life force to work underground. Truly, if the entire Party were limited to illegality, how many members would it have? Two to three hundred? And where would those thousands if not tens of thousands of workers be. who are actually bearing the brunt of the entire Social-Democratic work?" To this Lenin, true to Marx's theory uphold the necessity of UG party. He said that "we have nothing that could replace our "underground." Thus, in opposing the Party, Luch refers to the non-Party workers, or those who are outside the Party. This is the usual method of the liberal who tries to cut off the masses from their class conscious vanguard. Luch does not understand the relation between Party and class, just as the "Economists" in 1895-1901 failed to understand it." Lenin further said that it is only through an illegal underground party that the question of providing relief to the workers and peasants can be fulfilled.

In order to support and extend the peoples movement, we require said Lenin "an illegal Party" without which "it is impossible to conduct this work, and it is quite useless talking about it." The liquidators of Russia changed the social-democratic call for the overthrow of the tsarists autocracy into a fight for the democratic republic that fits the imagination of the liberals. The ruling class elements in the form of liquidators became a severe threat to the revolutionary communists. Lenin completely exposed the liquidationist and termed it the extreme form of opportunism. Perhaps it was he for the first time formulated against it. Leninist struggle against liquidationism, became the core of the Leninist party building politics. This struggle of Lenin against liquidationism becomes live in the struggles within the communist party in India. In China under the leadership of Mao, the revolutionary communist movement struggled against Chen Tu Hsiu, who wanted to make the party and its member a lackey of the bourgeoisie KMT.

In the history of communist movement in India, right from the period of 1947 (when the CPI declared that India is free and the transfer of power in 1947 was a bourgeoisie revolution) to 1969 it can be said that the communist movement in India was in great crisis. This is because it did not even had a communist party. The modern revisionism of CPI and CPI(M) under the leadership of Khrushchev of USSR turned into reformist parties as against the proletarian task

of smashing feudalism and imperialism. Charu Majumdar (CM) and Kanhai Chatterjee (KC), the great communist revolutionary leadership smashed the right opportunist line of the CPI (M) and in 1969 formed CPI (ML) and MCCI respectively. They established that the path for revolution in India will follow the line and path laid out by Mao in China. That is the path for revolution in India will follow the path of Protracted People's War based on area wise seizure of power which will build revolutionary peoples committee in the countryside and would encircle the cities. For this it was established that the party will be armed from the very beginning and for this it will be underground. Charu Majumdar said "Marxism-Leninism holds that the foundational question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed struggle is the central task and the highest form of revolution." Similarly, MCCI was formed in 1969 under the leadership of Kanhai Chatterjee emphasized the need to stick to a revolutionary political line in order to firmly move toward defeating revisionism.

Kanhai Chatterjee said "If in a country the communist revolutionary has no concrete strategic and tactical line to derive their plans and policies then it would be impossible to consolidate the people of the country and move toward the path of protracted people war for the final victory of the proletariat. Considering the unequal economic and political development in India and the presence of large numbers of revisionist parties it becomes all the more important to emphasize that only by firmly relying on a concrete strategy and tactical line we can consolidate the people of the country and move toward the path of the Protracted People War and can achieve the final victory." It is worth noting that when Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee had initiated struggle against modern revisionist there was nothing before the revolutionary communist. That is to say they did not had party, they neither had army nor united front.

There was nothing before the two great leaders but still they had all that was needed to gain the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of the country and the world. They had political line coming from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In our country where for a long time revisionist politics have dominated the mass organization and mass movement there contrary to this, CM and KC said that from the very beginning party should remain underground, form underground activist group, cells and committees, and by centralizing it; should form guerrilla squad and peoples militia through which we can consolidate people in and around the struggle for the seizure of state power. With the leadership of CM and KC, the people of India got the party which is most important of the three magical weapon needed for the revolution; the other being army and united front. The blazing flames of Naxalbari engulfed the sub continent and they could form an all India party, embryonic form of peoples army was developed and a revolutionary united front based on the four class alliance was also formed.

But this euphoria of the high tide in revolutionary movement in India was not to live long. The reign of white terror during decades of 1970s posed a great challenge before the revolutionary communist movement. Many of the cadres and activist of the movement were either arrested or killed by the reactionary state power. In this CM too got martyred in 1972. after which the movement lost its political center. This was a big loss to not just Indian but world communist revolutionaries. The all India party CPI(ML) got disintegrated and everyone was cut off from the rest of the revolutionary movement. There remained no central authority. This was the period of crisis, the liquidationist-opportunist and revisionist forces got stronger and lead into

several splits inside the party. Among the party ranks of MCCI, the period of 1971 to 1978 saw major debates on the nature of the party, revolutionary armed struggle and the continuation of the Chinese path in Indian condition. In MCCI the line laid down by KC was criticized as left adventurist by those comrade who escaped from the battlegrounds of Bengals and there emerged a group that demanded liquidation of party from ug to open. Through the internal two line debates lead by KC, MCCI smashed the opportunist and liquidationist element within it and move ahead with the task of NDR in India. But MCCI was still not a party and had not an all India character. During this decade it also had to retreat from certain struggle areas. But despite all odds it never deviated from the political line and MLM ideology. The question before every communist revolutionary at those times was the same as with the present party CPI (Maoist). That was a most difficult period for the communist movement in India so is the present time. At those time every communist within the camp of M-L-M was undergoing a fiery trial, the present trial is even more severe. For now it is facing an out and out fascist regime. Questions which confront the movements are:-

1. Who is to remain intact while facing severe state repressions and who is going to lay down arms and surrender before the enemy?
2. Who firmly stands integrated with the pains and sufferings of oppressed and exploited masses of the country and who run away from the people to enjoy the luxurious life which the enemy's camp offer?
3. Who follows M-L-M teachings and who tread the revisionist line?
4. Who really take initiative to re-organize the peoples war and who tries to confuse us by irrelevant debates?
5. Who is to emerge as capable and true leaders of people and who is a fake leader?

These are very important questions confronting the present generation of communist revolutionaries. But this is not for the first time that an answer of these questions are to be sought. Earlier too MCCI could historically defeat the liquidationist line that emerged in 1971-78 and the AP state committee of CPI (ML) that later became CPI (ML) PW could isolate the liquidationist and right opportunist inside and outside the communist revolutionary camp. At the end of the decade, the communist revolutionaries emerged out of the crisis. A new party CPI (ML) PU too was formed during the last years of the decade. The AP state committee of CPI (M) too expanded the armed revolutionary movement to DK, Maharashtra, Bihar Jharkhand and Orissa. Similarly through the struggle against right opportunist and liquidationist MCCI could expand in the Bihar-Jharkhand strategic regions. A people liberation guerrilla army was formed and g-zones were developed. Centers of peoples powers emerged in different parts of the country. Which achieved great milestones in 2004 when the two great streams of the communist revolutionary movements MCCI and CPI (ML) PW merged to form CPI (Maoist). From 2004 to 2007 the party was in comparatively stronger position, from 2007 to 2012 the party was facing slow development, in the period from 2012 to 2018 the party was facing tough conditions and from 2018 to the present times the party lead movement faced temporary set-back. At one time the party could coordinate revolutionary movement throughout the country, its ideological influence was at its peak in 2012. Top intellectuals of the world like Noam Chomsky and Jan Myrdal stood firmly with the party lead movement. The party's political ideological firmness attracted every intellectual who was rational enough to seek

answers of the question that confronted people. The world intellectuals collectively opposed Operation Green Hunt against the party lead movement. It is important to point out that the movement could emerge from the crisis because it hold itself firmly on the political line and struggled against liquidationism to uphold the Leninist tradition of building ug party.

But it again crumbled to the position of crisis. The movement had to retreat substantially. The loss of leadership and brave PLGA comrades is immense. The party of thousands have been reduced to some hundreds. History repeated itself “first as a tragedy and then as a farce.” in Aug 2024 the PB of the party CPI (Maoist) in a circular held that the cause of the present crisis is that “from 2007 to 2024 we did not practically implemented the principle of UG party building therefore we lost party leaderships and now we do not have a party which is while remaining among the peoples of cities and villages are able to guide the armed revolutionary struggle.” the circular also identified the presence of right deviation trends within the party, it said that “within the party in Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Northern India among some comrades there is a misunderstanding that we can not build mass movement and mobilize the masses in large number with an underground party.”

The presence of this section got escalated with the escalating attack on the party leaderships, in the recent turn of events a veteran like comrade Sonu Da came out with a statement that said that party is going to temporary surrender armed struggle and join the mainstream. Had it not been the strong tradition of the communist party of struggle against liquidationism, the revolutionary hope of the people throughout the globe might have been extinguished but the party which had drenched its blood in struggle against opportunism, liquidationism and revisionism smashed yet another attempt of liquidationism of the communist revolutionary movement. Comrade Raju and Kosa re-affirmed the party's commitment toward the revolutionary people of the world. They smashed such liquidationist attempt and a latest statement by the CC of the party held that the objective condition of the world had made the path of armed struggle all the more necessary for the people's liberation. Is this not true, world around and particularly in South Asia we are witnessing the emergence of spontaneous uprising be it in Sri Lanka, Nepal or in the recent case Ladakh in India where police opened fire on the people protesting for the autonomous unit of Ladakh region. If it gets organized then the grave of the fascist can be digged out. But in order to do that we need Mao's three magical weapons:- party, people's army and united front of four classes in the struggle against Imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalism and Feudalism. But we also have opportunist and liquidationist within the camp who want to turn the party into a toothless organization by making it open and suggest surrendering of armed struggle for the sake of peace. Peace that resulted from annihilation of communist revolutionaries and party. Peace where the big monopoly capital conquerors the jal, jungle and zameen.

The communist party of Russia in 1908 defined Liquidationism as “the attempts of a certain section of the Party intelligentsia to liquidate” (i.e., to dissolve, destroy, abolish, close down) “the existing organization of the . . . Party and substitute for it an amorphous association within the limits of legality” (i.e., conformity with the laws, “open” existence) “at all costs, even if this legality is to be attained at the price of an open renunciation of the program, tactics and traditions” (i.e., the past experience) “of the Party.” Such was the decision which the

communist party took 117 years before. With this century old experience of struggle against liquidationism, the communist revolutionaries realizes the meaning of liquidationism; it means in the words of Lenin “the renunciation of the “ underground,” the abolition of the latter and its replacement by an amorphous association within the limits of legality (this is very similar to the demand of comrades like Sonu Da who want the party to join the mainstream that is become legal) at all costs. Therefore, it is not legal work, not the insistence on its necessity that the Party condemns. The Party condemns— and unreservedly condemns— the substitution for the old Party of something amorphous, something “ open,” which cannot be called a party.” The present party too much carry forward the great struggle initiated by Marx and developed to its full strength by Lenin. It is pertinent for the party to realize that liquidationist which basically are opportunist represents the ruling class elements in the communist party. These opportunists try to change the policy of the party and convert it into an reformist party and thereby slowly ensure the victory of bourgeoisie over the proletariat. The liquidationist are those who destroy and submerges the party itself. The present communist party in India CPI (Maoist) must remember comrade Lenin who said that “Party cannot exist if it includes those who do not recognize its existence (those who want to make the party open legal organization).” A true Bolshevik party like the present one can never compromise Bolshevik quality over numbers.

There are yet another brand of petty bourgeoisie intellectual who want to travel on a so called middle path. They say that party should focus on both legal and illegal work. That is the party must give equal importance to both the struggle in order to come out of the crisis. They forget Mao who said that armed struggle is the highest form of class struggle and if one do not make the seizure of power through illegal methods central task before the party then how we are to smash the reign of capitalist private property. These groups do not side with the party when the party struggle against those who try to liquidate it. In a perfect petty bourgoisie sense they give a middle path. This is similar to the Trotsky`s line of opportunism. Trotskite groups wrote that “the official Bolsheviks,” i.e., Lenin`s adherents, had excelled all other groups in their circle - factionalism and that the factional policy of Lenin and his adherents had provided justification for the factional activities of the other trends. They openly declared that one of the main obstacles to the unification of the Party elements was precisely this policy, the essence of which, they said, was “ kicking out, expulsion, organizational pressure.” While thus hurling their wrath at Lenin and his adherents, the conciliators took all the opportunists under their wing. Similarly the people who want to lead a middle path on the question of underground, tries to equate legal work with illegal work for revolution. Forgetting the call of CM and KC that legal work should help the illegal work. Equating legal and illegal work of the communist party is a step toward declaring that legal open work is the only method to move ahead. Is this not the same as liquidationism? Lenin therefore called conciliator as right opportunist and similar to the liquidationist.

The communist movement in 1969 could come out of crisis because of the political line envisaged by CM and KC. Again the party could come out of crisis in 1980s because of the revolutionary struggle against liquidationism and opportunism of all kinds. The present crisis too can be turned into a favorable period for the revolution if the party stick to the Leninist principles of UG party building and adopt concrete tactical line to move ahead with the task of PPW. We must remember the letter which comrade Arvind wrote from the prison; “Comrades,

we have to resolve that despite being in enemy's cage we have to roar like a lion. And by firmly resolving ourselves on M-L-M must move ahead with the task of PPW.” Despite all odds and pains which the communists are facing, the world history will remember them as the guiding light for the struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression and suppression. The line which they have establish will inspire yet another generation of committed communist revolutionary which will make the dreams of Karl Marx come true and the world will see a new world where exploitation of human will end. Nature will be humanized and human naturalized for such a great cause death is like living a hundred lives.

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