

NAZARIYA



COMBAT REVISIONISM!



Nazariya Magazine, Issue 5

COMBAT REVISIONISM!

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INTRODUCTION

By Nazariya Magazine Editorial Board

"Members will have to think anew about every mass movement. In the style of our movement, in our organizational thinking, in other words in almost every sphere of our lives, revisionism has built its nest. As long as we cannot uproot it, the new revolutionary Party cannot be built, India's revolutionary possibilities will be hindered. History will not forgive us."

-Charu Majumdar, 1965

Marxism is the proletarian class ideology based on the principles of scientific socialism; it is the science which studies the objective laws that govern the development of nature and society, and it is the science of the revolution for the liberation of the proletariat, which will pave the way for the complete liberation of humankind. It is an ideology which expresses the philosophical worldview of the most advanced section of society—the proletariat. Marxism is the call for class war, for the just cause of the people and their rule over themselves and over the hitherto ruling classes—the exploiter and oppressor classes—i.e., over society. It is the concrete expression of the ideology and practice necessary for the liberation of the people in this world.

For as long as Marxism has existed, revisionism has reared its head alongside it. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the ruling classes and the exploited and oppressed; it is the clash between the world outlook of those who desire a free world, and those who will subdue the majority to benefit a few. As people grow ideologically, politically, and organisationally on the just path of Red Resistance, the ruling class grows weary of the possibility of its defeat. They cower at the possibility of a world wherein state power lies truly in the hands of the masses. This is where revisionism benefits them—under the garb of Marxism and the poison-laced honeyed lies of the promise of a "better world," revisionists are a political force in service of the ruling classes: they declare themselves to be "Marxists" in order to defang its revolutionary essence and derail it from the path of revolution. Revisionists are the petty-bourgeois fellow travellers who have moved into the camps of the ruling classes. Revisionism is the philosophy which serves the interests of capitalism-imperialism, of the ruling class, and revisionists are therefore placed firmly within the enemy camp—the camp of the bourgeoisie, of the ruling classes.

Utopian Socialism: The Origin of Revisionism

To understand what revisionism is, we must first understand the origins of revisionism in utopian socialism. Utopian socialism as an ideology emerged in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, in the struggle between the old ruling class (the feudal lords, nobility and clergy) and the emerging ruling class (the bourgeoisie), from the process of desensitisation through which peasants were becoming industrial workers in greater numbers. The emerging contradictions led to a crisis in society, which Marxists identify as emerging out of undeveloped economic relations.

The utopian era of socialism emerged during a period marked by the unresolved contradiction between the bourgeoisie, whose class dictatorship was rising through capitalist expansion, and the feudal ruling class, whose class rule remained intact in many regions. This era was defined by crude capitalist production, where feudal remnants persisted amidst the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The proletariat had not yet consolidated itself as an organised revolutionary force.

Under these conditions, feudal socialism arose as a reactionary form of collectivisation, aimed at protecting feudal class rule, particularly in the countryside. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie, grappling with capitalism's internal crises—such as overproduction, the immiseration of the proletariat, and the falling rate of profit—advanced bourgeois socialism: mechanised

collectivisation under bourgeois class dictatorship, intended not to liberate the working class, but to stabilise the system.

It was in this context of dual class dictatorship—of both feudal and bourgeois ruling classes—that utopian socialism emerged. Thinkers such as Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, and Henri de Saint-Simon belonged to the petty bourgeoisie. They recognised the exploitation inherent in capitalism and advocated for collectivisation of society. However, due to their class position and fear of sacrifice, they refused to align with the proletarian revolutionary movement, which would have required them to abandon their class interests. Instead, they turned to mechanical materialism—the belief that social change could be brought about through rational designs and ideal communities, without confronting class antagonisms or smashing the existing state apparatus. They rejected class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, choosing instead to pursue isolated model experiments disconnected from the mass line. As a result, their efforts were quickly co-opted or collapsed under the pressure of dominant classes.

In the dearth left by utopian socialists, there were different ideologies and people who were attempting to organise the working-class movement. These included famous examples like the reformist Lassalle, anarchists like Bakunin, and the Blanquists, as well as Proudhon, before the German Social Democratic Party (SDP). Struggling against all these philosophies, Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848, in which Marxism was espoused and accepted as the revolutionary social science for the liberation of the proletariat. The Manifesto established that state power needs to be under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the proletariat is a class for itself and not merely a class in itself, and that the proletariat is an international class. Having firmly established scientific socialism, utopian socialism was thrown into the dustbin. However, like cockroaches, they continued to crawl out of the dustbin and hide themselves under the garb of Marxism, coming to be known as revisionists.

As Lenin (1908) wrote in *Marxism and Revisionism*:

"The revived international organisation of the labour movement—in the shape of periodical international congresses—from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials. But after Marxism had ousted all the more or less integral doctrines hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in those doctrines began to seek other channels. The forms and causes of the struggle changed, but the struggle continued. And the second half-century of the existence of Marxism began (in the nineties) with the struggle of a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism itself."

Revisionism is, in essence, a reappearance of utopian socialism, dressed in Marxist language. Revisionism, Lenin said, was not a theoretical mistake—it was a political expression of the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie, an essential characteristic it shares with utopian socialism.

Both utopian socialism and revisionism show philosophical trends of mechanical materialism, i.e., reducing revolutionary transformation to technical reforms. Utopian socialists thought that building ideal communities—Fourier's phalansteries or Owen's cooperatives—would magically dissolve capitalism and ignored the antagonistic class interests persisting in society, which can only be resolved through class struggle. Today's revisionists make the same error: they argue that better laws, social programs, or alliances with "progressive" capitalists will peacefully evolve capitalism into socialism. In doing so, they deny the historic necessity of the proletariat seizing state power and smashing bourgeois rule, as well as the antagonistic nature of class contradictions.

Like utopian socialism, revisionists also take reformism as their political form. Take an example of classical revisionists like Bernstein, who famously wrote, *"The final goal is nothing; the movement is everything."* Just like the utopians before him, Bernstein replaced the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat with dreams of transforming it from within. Lenin categorically refuted this liberal

fantasy in State and Revolution, where he demonstrated that the bourgeois state—no matter how democratic in form—is always a machine for the suppression of the working class. To speak of a peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means, Lenin wrote, is to deceive the masses and to retreat into the utopian dreams of pre-Marxist socialism.

The origin of revisionism can be traced to the fact that crises are inevitable in capitalism. Lenin (1908) in *Marxism and Revisionism* writes:

"Realities very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past: prosperity was followed by a crisis. The forms, the sequence, the picture of particular crises changed, but crises remained an inevitable component of the capitalist system. While uniting production, the cartels and trusts at the same time, and in a way that was obvious to all, aggravated the anarchy of production, the insecurity of existence of the proletariat and the oppression of capital, thereby intensifying class antagonisms to an unprecedented degree. That capitalism is heading for a break-down—in the sense both of individual political and economic crises and of the complete collapse of the entire capitalist system—has been made particularly clear, and on a particularly large scale, precisely by the new giant trusts."

Liberalism and Revisionism

Faced with this unrelenting turbulence, the petty-bourgeois layer recoiled from the prospect of revolutionary change—i.e., a qualitative and decisive change from one mode of production to another. Instead of mobilising the working class for a decisive break, these revisionists sought accommodations within capitalism, transforming Marx's insistence on proletarian dictatorship into a call for parliamentary conciliation and piecemeal reform. This accommodationist trend, far from securing temporary reprieve, betrayed the working class by entrusting its fate to the very class whose accumulation of wealth depended on the intensification of its exploitation.

The struggle between Lenin and the Mensheviks under Plekhanov crystallised this historic tension. The Menshevik programme—open party enrolment, procedural democracy as the core of democratic centralism, and uncritical alliances with the bourgeois class—reflected the petty-bourgeois appetite for respectability and incremental change. In their view, socialism could be achieved through Russia's existing constitutional and electoral frameworks, sidestepping the revolutionary, violent, and illegal party functioning necessary to bring about liberation of the proletariat. The intelligentsia feared that revolutionary change would unleash uncontrollable upheaval (for the ruling class). Lenin countered that such liberal-opportunist tactics were not neutral expressions of democratic principle but ideologically laden choices that subordinated the proletariat to bourgeois rule. The Mensheviks' economism, he argued, was the greatest internal threat to the Party: by prioritising immediate material improvements and legal entitlements, they sapped the revolutionary will and left the working class exposed to repression.

The events of Bloody Sunday in 1905 stand as a tragic testament to revisionism's dangers. When trusting workers petitioned the Tsar for redress of their grievances, they were met not with concessions but with a hail of bullets. Rather than sparking dialogue, the massacre ushered in a brutal wave of state repression against unions and soviets—an outcome predictable to any analyst of Tsarist power but overlooked by those who equated formal liberal procedures with genuine emancipation. Historicised in this way, Bloody Sunday reveals revisionism's fatal flaw: its roots in the petty-bourgeois fear of upheaval predisposed it to misread the forces arrayed against the proletariat and to assume that legalism and compromise could temper the violence of class rule.

All this is in line with the fact that Marxist theorists have long insisted that revisionism derives fundamentally from bourgeois liberalism, with its faith in gradual reforms, individual rights, and compromise with the ruling classes. In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels demonstrates how Eugen Dühring's "revolution in science" smuggles liberal abstractions—"the kingdom of free competition, of

personal liberty"—into what he claims to be a materialist analysis of society, thereby subordinating class struggle to utopian ideals and undercutting the dialectical method that alone reveals contradictions in class society. In critiquing Bernstein, Lenin too lays bare the relationship between liberalism and revisionism. He argues that compromise in insisting on "peaceful" parliamentary evolution is a betrayal of the proletariat's revolutionary interests, which mirrors liberal pluralism and individualism at the expense of class unity, *"sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority... an alliance... between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie."*

This analysis is taken further by comrades Mao Zedong and Charu Majumdar. Mao Zedong warned that any embrace of bourgeois-style "liberal" practices—such as half-measures or procedural compromises—within the Party amounted to revisionism and would ultimately restore capitalism, a point he drove home in both *Combat Liberalism* and his writings on contradiction. Charu Majumdar applied this critique in the Indian context, condemning parliamentary tactics like elections and coalitions as liberal opportunism that betrayed revolutionary goals, and instead called for sustained armed struggle.

Therefore, liberalism and revisionism share a direct, causal relationship rooted in the petty-bourgeois class outlook: bourgeois liberal ideas of gradual reform, individual rights, and compromise inevitably seep into Marxist organisations as revisionism, diluting revolutionary aims in favour of procedural concessions and alliance with capitalist forces. Originating in the petty-bourgeoisie's fear of radical social upheaval, liberalism becomes the ideological basis for revisionism's watering down of class struggle and adoption of reformism, ultimately betraying proletarian interests and paving the way for capitalist restoration.

Opportunism, Revisionism and Liquidationism

The struggle against revisionism in the communist movement cannot be separated from the fight against opportunism. Opportunism, at its core, is the tendency to sacrifice revolutionary principle for short-term gain, to subordinate ideological clarity to personal or factional agendas. When this tendency emerges within a communist party, it weakens the collective discipline and ideological unity necessary for revolutionary transformation. Opportunism pushes ideology to the background, fragments the organisation into factions, and undermines democratic centralism. In this environment of ideological looseness and organisational disarray, revisionism finds fertile ground to grow. The weakening of the Leninist structure of the party—its backbone—is thus not just a theoretical problem but a material condition for the rise of revisionism.

Lenin consistently emphasised that only a disciplined, ideologically united party, guided by democratic centralism and rooted in class struggle, could withstand the pressures of revisionist and opportunist currents. The Leninist model—a strong committee system with the Central Committee at its head, centralism as the primary component of democratic centralism, and membership (to the communist party) based on active work, ideological commitment, and organisational contribution—was forged precisely to prevent the kind of degeneration that opportunism breeds. The 3rd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1905 (and reaffirmed in 1908) made it explicit that liquidationism and opportunism were the main internal enemies, as they sought to dissolve the revolutionary organisation into legal, reformist channels.

Opportunists tend to adopt a line of class compromise. They advocate for peaceful transition rather than revolutionary change, for legal methods as the primary arena of struggle, and for winning over the bourgeoisie through compromise with the ruling class via dialogue and communist propaganda, rather than mobilising the proletariat for revolution. In this line of thinking, the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes irrelevant or unnecessary, and the bourgeois-democratic revolution is imagined as something that can be led by the bourgeoisie with the support of communists, rather than being a terrain of acute class antagonism. This leads to a utopian vision in which socialism is achieved

through reforms, negotiation, and legal struggle, without fundamentally challenging the capitalist state. To embed this line within the party, opportunists establish parallel structures, cultivate inner-party compromise, and undermine collective discipline—laying the groundwork for revisionism and, eventually, for liquidationism.

In sum, opportunism is the ideological and organisational opening through which revisionism enters and corrodes the revolutionary movement from within. Without combating opportunism, any critique of revisionism remains hollow. The Leninist party form is not an optional structure but a necessary weapon in this fight. Only through centralised leadership, ideological clarity, and active class struggle can the communist movement resist the temptations of compromise and the slow death of revisionist decay.

On Modern Revisionism

Modern revisionism emerged after the betrayal of the USSR following Stalin's death in 1953, with Khrushchev introducing an ideological and political line deviating from Marxism-Leninism. He downplayed class struggle, promoted the peaceful existence of different classes within the country, and subsequently advocated peaceful coexistence with capitalist states. He denounced Stalin's legacy in his 1956 'Secret Speech' which tarnished the USSR's revolutionary achievements without sieving the good from the bad, without recognizing that Stalin's work must be defended, but not the mistakes that had been made in the course of building socialism and defeating Hitler's fascism resoundingly. The Communist Party of China, under Mao Tse-tung, critiqued Khrushchev's revisionism, identifying it as a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, emphasizing ongoing class struggle under socialism, and warning of the danger of capitalist restoration. This led to the Sino-Soviet split and inspired anti-revisionist movements worldwide, as pro-Soviet and anti-revisionist forces became increasingly divided.

By 1966, Soviet revisionism had become a major concern for revolutionary forces. The USSR, under Khrushchev, increasingly collaborated with U.S. imperialism, transforming Soviet socialism into social imperialism. This partnership between the US and the Soviets contradicted Marxism-Leninism and undermined global national liberation movements.

After Khrushchev's turn toward peaceful coexistence, Enver Hoxha presented himself as the defender of Marxism-Leninism in Albania but in practice fused bureaucratic state control with a line that antagonistic classes and class struggle do not exist under socialism. By elevating top-down policies and administrative decrees over the leadership of the proletariat and active participation of the masses in waging class struggle to build socialism, he sidelined the mass line and the need for two-line struggle and a cultural revolution. This was a retreat from Lenin's call for proletarian dictatorship and Mao's emphasis on continuing the revolution and class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Meanwhile, both Prachanda Path and Gonzalo Thought betray the worker-peasant alliance by substituting revolutionary mass lines with petty-bourgeois commandism ("revolutionary authority"). Prachanda Path dilutes agrarian revolution into parliamentary horse-trading, subordinating landless peasants to urban petty-bourgeois interests. Gonzalo Thought replaces collective revolutionary authority (the primacy of democratic centralism in party structure) with the cult of an individual leader, eroding democratic centralism and the mass line. This concentration of leadership into a "strategic genius" turns proletarian revolution into a militarised command structure—mirroring revisionist tendencies that sever leadership from the masses. In both, the petty bourgeoisie replaces the proletariat as the leading force, leading to conciliation with feudal and comprador forces under the guise of revolution.

Revisionism in India

In India, the impact of Soviet revisionism became clear by 1965 as the communist party was split into two factions—the split between CPI (pro-Khrushchev) and CPI(M) (pro-CPC) reflected the

ideological divide. However, revisionism in India continued to dominate the ideology of the communists as despite this split, the Indian communist party continued to be revisionist in essence. Therefore, the difference between CPI and CPI(M) was only a difference in form, not essence. The leadership of the Indian communist movement sought to avoid alienating the people by downplaying criticism of Soviet revisionism to maintain the image of the USSR as the only socialist power. However, without exposing Soviet revisionism for what it was—an agent of imperialism—genuine anti-imperialist struggle was impossible. Consequently, India adopted two incorrect lines: accepting Soviet aid as essential for “self-reliance” and supporting comprador nationalism.

Soviet aid, far from advancing India’s independence, was strengthening reactionary forces aligned with imperialism and feudalism. The ruling Indian government, supported by Soviet aid, reinforced the power of monopolistic capitalists, particularly in the steel and petroleum sectors, where monopolists controlled production rather than the state. This exposed the fact that Soviet support was not contributing to India’s liberation but instead fortifying forces that sought to preserve exploitation and inequality. Charu Majumdar criticized the notion that Soviet aid was strengthening India’s “independence”, arguing that this perspective lacked proper class analysis. He highlighted that Soviet aid reinforced reactionary forces aligned with imperialism and feudalism, thus encouraging India’s semi-colonial, semi-feudal society.

At the time, comprador nationalism emerged as a tool of the ruling class to maintain monopoly capital exploitation. Slogans like “national unity” served to obscure the true objective—protecting imperialist interests and contributing towards India’s agenda of becoming a regional superpower, i.e., an expansionist power propped up to serve imperialism. Unless the anti-imperialist struggle is also anti-feudal in nature, national liberation cannot occur. R. S. Rao (1995) explains this well in the chapter ‘*On the Character of Nationalism: A Hypothesis*’ in the book *Towards Understanding Semi-Colonial Semi Feudal India: Studies in Political Economy*, where he lays bare the relationship between the two. He argues that nationalism is the product of the development of capitalism and the defeat of feudalism. Capitalism leads to socialization of production which converts individual and familial production units into collective production units (commodity production) through factories, and this necessitates the reorganization of the State. This requires a unified market wherein the flow of labour and capital is not hindered, through a nation-state. Stalin defines this nation as “*a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.*” Therefore, if the comprador nationalism of the Indian ruling class had been truly nationalist, it would have been anti-feudal. This is because it is through a democratic bourgeois struggle that the relations of production can be freed from feudalism, which allows for their expansion and qualitative development. By retaining the feudal elements as the ruling class in India, the British hampered India’s growth as a capitalist country which would have allowed for the progressive development of capitalism and subsequently nationalism in comparison to colonial India which remained feudal. As Marxists, we reject such notions of comprador nationalism (a nationalism which serves imperial capital through the comprador and feudal ruling class) and instead emphasize the right of all nationalities to self-determination and support the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nationalities like Kashmir and Nagaland. Genuine unity in India could only be achieved through collective resistance against imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

Comrade Charu also criticized the use of comprador nationalism, which was manipulated by the ruling class to perpetuate foreign finance capital. He rejected slogans like “national unity” and the claim that Kashmir was an “*inalienable part of India,*” seeing them as tools for exploitation. Marxists, he emphasized, must support self-determination for oppressed nationalities and oppose the reactionary unity promoted by the ruling class. In *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, Lenin (1914) writes: “*If we do not advocate the right of nations to self-determination, we are playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie and abandoning the proletarian policy in the national question for that of the bourgeoisie. If in our political agitation we do not advance and advocate the freedom of*

secession for oppressed nations, we are violating democracy and playing into the hands of the nationalists of the oppressor nation."

Revisionism claims to fight imperialism, feudalism, fascism, and their agents, but in practice, it expands the path of collaboration with these forces. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by contrast, opposes these forces, mobilizing the masses through long-term struggle to dismantle them. The Chinese Revolution's leaders predicted that those who remained neutral in the international debate in the communist movement would soon adopt opportunistic positions, crossing over to the reactionary camp. This prediction holds true in India, evident in the CPI-M's role during the Nandigram and Singur agitations, where they sided with state forces to suppress the people's movements, aligning with imperialism's interests.

Revisionism has continued to plague the Indian communist movement. In its history of splits, the movement continues to fight opportunists-revisionists-liquidationists from within it. In the CPI (ML) Janashakti, revisionism wore the mask of strategic caution: cadres were told to "build political and military consciousness" before actually starting armed struggle. This may have sounded careful and wise, but in reality, it was right opportunism as it evaded class struggle against the ruling classes in essence by delaying action against them. It broke the essential connection between understanding and action, causing the revolution to stall endlessly in preparation instead of moving forward with the real fight.

At its heart, Balraj's political line is a right-opportunist and liquidationist break from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It abandons the revolutionary path of protracted struggle in the countryside—led by the poor peasantry and rooted in mass work—and replaces it with a reformist strategy of legalism, parliamentary talks, and peaceful co-existence with the state. Instead of organizing the rural masses to build base areas and wage class struggle against the landlords, his line hides compromise behind slogans of negotiation and alliance-building.

This approach erases the main contradiction in India's semi-colonial, semi-feudal society: the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses, especially the landless and poor peasants. By shifting focus to anti-imperialism alone and ignoring feudal exploitation, Balraj ends up calling for unity with landlord and comprador classes, diluting the class basis of revolutionary struggle.

Politically, this gives the upper hand to the enemy classes. Ideologically, it attacks the need for two-line struggle inside the movement, replacing it with bureaucratic unity that favours revisionism. The so-called "Three Ps"—peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, and peaceful struggle—are used to dress up this retreat in revolutionary language. In practice, they serve to block the path of armed class struggle and tie the masses to the state's framework, disarming revolution and promoting reform over revolution.

From Balraj's revisionism has sprung a Punjab offshoot, Punjabnama, led by an expelled former member of SFS, who claims continuity with the revolutionary movement. They echo the Three Ps by insisting that anti-imperialist struggle need not confront feudal landlords. Their "people's unity" amounts to a pact with local zamindars—transforming peasant revolt into polite petition. By denying the semi-colonial, semi-feudal character of Indian society, Punjabnama buries class struggle beneath a veneer of national solidarity, betraying both the peasantry and the promise of revolution.

Revisionism is a trend of both right opportunism—that is, a philosophy which abandons all the basic principles of Marxism and negates its universal truth in order to serve one's own interest—and left opportunism i.e. opportunism that overestimates the role of subjective will, rejects the united front and mass line, and prematurely pushes revolutionary actions without sufficient objective conditions, thereby isolating the proletariat from the broad masses. Revisionists do so by conjuring away the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It often manifests itself as reformism—that is, the tendency to accommodate, compromise, or collaborate with bourgeois forces, imperialism, or fascist elements, often in the guise of seeking immediate or superficial gains for the working class or the party. A clear example of this is the CPI(M)'s use of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) in Kerala to repress dissent, as seen in the case of Thwaha, or the support of parliamentary so-called communist parties like CPI ML Liberation etc. to the semi-fascist Congress-led INDIA Alliance.

The distinction between Marxism and revisionism is central to determining the correct political line. Marxism involves adhering to proletarian principles, scientifically analyzing class relations through dialectical and historical materialism, and leading the masses to revolutionary victory. Revisionists, guided by idealism and metaphysics, promote incorrect lines that sabotage the revolutionary cause. They reject the scientific approach of Marxism, relying on subjective interpretations and abstract ideas. Their idealism fosters illusions like “harmony between classes,” ignoring the material contradictions that drive historical development. Furthermore, revisionists adopt a metaphysical, rigid view of society, which leads to strategies that preserve the status quo rather than advancing revolutionary change. Comrade Mao emphasized consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and carrying the socialist revolution to completion. Adhering to this basic line ensures progress on the socialist path, while deviation risks a return to capitalism. By ignoring the material basis of exploitation and oppression, revisionists pave the way for capitalist restoration, derailing the revolutionary potential of the working class. Revisionism promotes measures that serve the ruling classes, helping them maintain their state power through exploitation and oppression, which is against the basic interests of the revolutionary movement.

Why this Theme?

Nazariya has chosen “Combat Revisionism” as the theme for its fifth issue to highlight the critical importance of combatting revisionism in the struggle for liberation from exploitation and oppression. Revisionist forces are in state power as well. They are giving a greater challenge to US imperialism through the policy of Social Imperialism. They are striving to become the number one imperialist force at the world level. At such times it becomes very urgent to check the propaganda of social imperialist revisionist forces among the revolutionary section of the masses. Hence Nazariya is bringing this issue before the revolutionary masses. Comrade Charu Majumdar warned, *“If in a socialist country the revisionists succeed in usurping power in the party and the state, history can turn back, the country can change color, and the proletariat and other working people will once again know suffering.”* This warning underscores how revisionism undermines revolutionary movements by aligning with reactionary forces, perpetuating exploitation rather than dismantling it. By exposing the dangers of revisionism and reaffirming the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), Nazariya seeks to inspire renewed commitment to the revolutionary path, essential for achieving genuine liberation and defeating the forces of imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucratic capitalism that continue to exploit and oppress the masses.

To the Youth and the Students

By Charu Majumdar

After the death of the great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the leadership of the state, party and the army and established a bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the land of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This revisionist renegade clique has become the leader and focal point of the revisionists of the world. Naturally, after the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship, they have become the No. 1 accomplice of the imperialists; particularly, they have advanced far along the road of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. This is because U.S. imperialism is today the leader of the imperialist camp, and is pursuing even more fiercely and widely the aggressive policies of the German, Italian and Japanese imperialists. The traitorous leaders of the Soviet Union are supporting these aggressive activities and even use Lenin's name to belittle them and are themselves carrying on colonial exploitation with various imperialist powers and, in particular, with U.S. imperialism. By acting in this way, the leaders of the Soviet state and party have turned into enemies of all liberation struggles of the world, enemies of the great Socialist China, enemies of communism and even of the Soviet people. In India also they are acting as No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and are directing the state power and exploiting the people of India. As in various other parts of the world, they are allies of the reactionaries in India and support them. That is why India's liberation struggle can win victory only by fighting against the guns of the Soviet revisionists and by hitting out at the Soviet revisionists' state power. This explains why the Dange clique and the neo-revisionist leadership have, by their actions, joined the Indian reactionary clique and have turned into enemies of all democratic movements. They consciously and zealously support the bourgeois and imperialist propaganda.

It is because of these world developments that the thought of Chairman Mao has emerged as the only Marxism-Leninism,

Marxism-Leninism which he has greatly developed and enriched through the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is why the world has entered today into the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Therefore, the thought of Chairman Mao can be called Marxism of the era of the total collapse of imperialism.

So, the political task of the student and youth workers is to study this new and developed Marxism, the thought of Chairman Mao, and put it into practice. He who shuns this task can never acquire the knowledge about the principles of Marxism. They must, therefore, study the Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As Chairman Mao has said, there can only be one criterion by which we should judge whether a youth or a student is a revolutionary. This criterion is whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants, does so in practice and carries on mass work.

The *Quotations of People's War* published by the Central Committee of the great Communist Party of China is now available with us, a Bengali translation of which has also been published. This book is meant for revolutionary workers and peasants. We should make this our propaganda and agitation material. Whether a worker is revolutionary or not will be judged on the basis of the number of workers and peasants to whom he has read out and explained this book.

We have seen how good agitators in the student movement, how even students who fought in the barricade over some student demand or political issue, subsequently sat for the I.A.S. examination and became administrators, that is, went over to the enemy camp. As Chairman Mao teaches us, only those students and youth who can integrate themselves with the masses of peasants and workers are revolutionaries; those who cannot are at first non-revolutionaries and may in

some cases join the counter-revolutionary camp afterwards.

This is a lesson which we get not only from China but from every country in the world. From my own experience I can say that unless the revolutionaries in the towns and cities undertake this task, they will eventually become demoralized and degenerate.

The political organization of the youth and the students must necessarily be a Red Guard organization, and they should undertake the task of spreading the Quotations of Chairman Mao as widely as possible in different areas.



Comrade Charu Majumdar

Who was Comrade Charu Majumdar?

Charu Majumdar, also known as CM, was a key figure in the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in India. Born in Siliguri to a progressive landlord family, he broke with his class background and joined the Communist Party of India (CPI), organizing among poor peasants and tea workers. Disillusioned with the CPI's revisionism, CM became a fierce critic of modern revisionism within the Indian communist movement. After the 1964 split that formed the CPI(M), he maintained that both CPI and CPI(M) had abandoned the revolutionary path and adopted the path of modern revisionism. He declared that India, as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, required a New Democratic Revolution through the path of Protracted People's War. Between 1965 and 1967, he authored the *Historic Eight Documents*, laying out a Maoist strategy of agrarian revolution, armed struggle, and rejection of electoral politics. CM hailed the 1967 Naxalbari uprising in Bengal as the beginning of the Indian revolution. In 1969, he led the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), or CPI(ML), which led the NDR. His leadership inspired thousands of youth, workers, and students to join the revolutionary cause. He was arrested and murdered by the Indian state on 28 July, 1972 but his legacy still lives on in the revolutionary masses carrying the revolution forward.

What is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism?

By Nazariya Magazine Editorial Board



"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."

-Comrade Lenin

2025 marks 131 years since the birth of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The ideology of Marxism was developed under him through the concrete experience of the Chinese Revolution and its subsequent universal application to colonies, semi-colonies and other oppressed countries. Today, we are living in the era of imperialism and revolutionary movements under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The distinction between Marxism, Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism may beg the question for those of us who are new to theory and its related discourse, or those of us who are interested in the nuances of forming the correct political and organisational line via sharpening and developing their ideology - what is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? Further, is it so different from Marxism that we have to give it another name? Is it a departure from the great teachers of Marxism and their teachings, namely Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin? Another question which might arise in the people's mind is why is there then a distinction between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (to be referred to as MLM-T) and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (to be referred to as MLM henceforth)? With respect to this demarcation between MLM-T and MLM, Nazariya upholds the line of Kanhai Chatterjee (KC) that there is no distinction between Mao Thought and Maoism, "no Chinese wall between the two"; this means that in essence, MLM and MLM-T are the same. Nonetheless, a distinction was adopted by the genuine

Indian revolutionaries in January 2000 who have called the ideology as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism for strategic and tactical reasons. They wanted to clearly demarcate themselves from modern revisionism of the likes of organisations like CPI (ML) Liberation (I) etc while aiming for national-international unity with other genuine Maoist forces. Therefore, the ideology as developed by Comrade Mao is MLM while the philosophy of MLM-T is the distortion of Comrade Mao and his revolutionary teachings under the garb of MLM as was adopted by revisionist forces. Therefore, when we refer to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we are referring to the most scientific, most advanced ideology of the proletariat of our time.

Even experienced progressive-minded individuals and revolutionaries might answer "what is MLM?" to say that it is the study and understanding of communism as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. They might argue that to answer this question is not practical for everyone to deliberate as activists must concentrate on studying the concrete material conditions, they must concentrate on struggling on a day-to-day basis with the people's issue and leave theoretical questions of philosophy to the intellectuals/scholars and advanced/or experienced sections of professional revolutionaries and activists. However, such an understanding is against the very basic principles of dialectical materialism which requires us to not only analyse the conditions of society, but to analyse them in its dialectical relation to the ideology. At the same time, we will also meet activists who refuse to take action before they are able to "perfectly" answer and define what MLM is because "I have not read everything!". The approaches shown by both these types of activists, i.e. when they act without thinking properly or when they do not do anything due to overthinking, are both wrong as they both lead to the adoption of the incorrect line.

In *On Practice*, Mao (1937a) correctly defines the approach between knowledge and action, "Marxists hold that man's social practice alone is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by "failure is the mother of success" and "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit". The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice. Thus Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality"...". Therefore, to be able to advance class struggle and the revolutionary movement, it is necessary for an activist to not only engage in reading and studying theory, but to apply that knowledge to their work. To be able to undertake this crucial task, the first essential step is to know what MLM is. To know MLM is not to merely read everything that is written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as such an understanding is incomplete, superficial and insufficient. We understand by communism the essence of what is meant by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism drawn from the experience of those revolutionaries and movements in particular material conditions which came before us and to apply that knowledge to our everyday lives.

THE ROOT OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

"Communism is the doctrine of the prerequisites for the emancipation of the

proletariat," writes Engels (1847). Therefore, to understand Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we have to understand what is the revolution, how to go about it and who is it for. Marxism is a living and social science, a theory in constant motion. This means that the scope of its development is not limited—it evolves with the evolution of society, it changes with relations of production, class struggle and advanced stage. In the Indian context, MLM has emerged through the synthesis of the experience of the revolutionary movement starting from the Tebhaga Movement to the spring thunder of Naxalbari to the merger of the erstwhile CPI (ML) People's War (henceforth, CPI (ML) PW) and Maoist Communist Centre of India (henceforth, MCCI) to CPI (Maoist) in September 2004. The roots of MLM lies in the Great Debate (2) against modern revisionism between the Soviets and the CPC led by Mao in the world social system. MLM is the ideology formulated through the application of Marxism-Leninism to the experience of waging Protracted People's War (PPW), fighting against revisionism as well as right and left opportunist trends in the revolutionary movement and building a stable and consistent movement in various countries and their particular experiences.

MLM developed in the struggle against capitalist roaders (3) in China, it developed in the debate between the path of parliamentarism and Protracted People's War. Inspired by the Great Proletariat Revolution, the Naxalbari Revolution of 1967 not only presents a rupture in the Indian communist movement (a qualitative leap) but also the universal applicability of MLM (at that point, MLM-T was still thought to be particular to the Chinese Revolution, another reason why the movement later adopted the term MLM to emphasize the universality of Mao's contributions).

Since then, MLM is characterised as the ideology which propagates that the Communist Party must move forward with the task of completing the New Democratic Revolution through the strategy of encircling the cities from the countryside, with the content of the revolution being agrarian revolution through the establishment of Base

Areas in the countryside (PPW). This is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception that in countries dominated by imperialism and feudalism (semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and colonies), the objective conditions for initiating and developing PPW from the very beginning are already mature.

THE THREE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

1) Contributions by Marx and Engels

Marxism is the living guide to action which is bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life; an ideology which gets enriched in the process of class struggle for production and scientific experimentation. This leads to its development as a scientific theory as first concentrated by Marx and Engels which laid the foundation of the new science and its establishment since the last decade of the 19th century.

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Dialectical materialism defines the motion of social development (i.e., how society is structured) by analyzing the contradictions in material conditions—physical and economic factors that shape society, such as tools, resources, and the ways people organize work and production—and class relations as the driving forces of historical change. This stems from the belief that philosophy must be practical and connected to the real world, achievable only by prioritizing materialism. Marx and Engels defined matter as an objective material reality, which gets reflected in human consciousness. The essence of dialectics is that things are understood in their inter-connections and contradictions. This

means that materiality comes before consciousness, although both influence and struggle with each other in their interrelation. The Marxist theory of knowledge asserts that social practice is the source of knowledge. This dialectical method of understanding history established that the basis of social changes and political revolutions is not the result of the ideas of a few brilliant individuals, but rather the product of deeper processes within society itself.

Marx showed that economics deals not with things (i.e. exchange of commodities) but with the relations between people, and in the last analysis, between classes. Any exchange of commodities is an expression of the relationship between the individuals and classes linked by a market. For example- in a factory, workers make toys but don't own them, while the capitalists earn profits by exploiting the labour-power sold by the worker in the process of production. This shows how people's relationships and roles affect the structure of society, determined by class relations formed as a result of the production process. This leads to the fundamental contradiction in capitalism due to antagonism between the two classes. While production is social, the ownership of means of production is individual. Comrade Mao (1937b) explains it this way: "*In his Capital, Marx first analyzes the simplest, most ordinary, and fundamental relation of bourgeois (commodity) society—the exchange of commodities. In this simple phenomenon (this 'cell' of bourgeois society), analysis reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (both growth and movement) of these contradictions and of society, from its beginning to its end.*"

Out of this theory and through the concrete experience of the Paris Commune, including its fall, the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat came to be introduced. It was based on the premise that capitalist rule needs to be overthrown by (revolutionary) violence to replace it with the rule of the proletariat as "*the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie*" (Marx and Engels,

1848). The most important principle derived from the experience of the Commune, according to Marx (1871), is that *'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and use it for its own purposes.'*

2) Contributions by Lenin (and Stalin)

Stalin (1924) mentioned two causes for the specific features of Leninism. "...*firstly, to the fact that Leninism emerged from the proletarian revolution, the imprint of which it cannot but bear; secondly, to the fact that it grew and became strong in clashes with the opportunism of the Second International.*" Marxism-Leninism was developed in the stage of monopoly capitalism i.e. imperialism in the initial decades of the 20th century, in the concrete conditions and practice of the Russian Revolution and the World Proletariat Revolution in the course of ideological and political struggle against revisionists like Bernstein (4) and Kautsky (5), simultaneously opposing opportunists like Plekhanov (6). Lenin's contributions were in enriching the three component parts of Marxism (philosophy of dialectical materialism, political economy and scientific socialism) as well as elevating our understanding of the proletarian Party, revolutionary violence, the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, imperialism, the peasant question, the women's question, the national question, world war, and tactics of the proletariat in the class struggle to a higher stage of conception. Through Lenin and Stalin, the dialectical method of Marx was applied to almost every subject and sharpened the struggles against the anti-materialist trends amongst the Marxists. In developing the theory of reflection of matter, Lenin strengthened the foundation of Marxist philosophical materialism to make it impregnable to attacks by idealism (the philosophy that consciousness or ideas are primary in the relation between idea and matter) and affirmed that contradictions are *"the essence of dialectics"*. Lenin states, *"In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites"* and it was this concept of contradictions to which Mao made significant and qualitative contributions in the

experience and practice of the Chinese Revolution.

Capitalism had not developed to its highest stage (imperialism) in the times of Marx and Engels, though the kernel of truth of the laws of motion of capitalism (process of centralisation of capital) was theorised to a certain extent by the two. By studying its full development during the course of World War I and how imperialism bred both war and revolution, Lenin (1916) analysed the economic and political essence of imperialism. Imperialism is characterised by 3 features. Firstly, monopoly capitalism (concentration of capital through cartels, syndicates etc, the merger of industrial and bank capital i.e. finance capital, capital export from capitalist countries to colonies/scmi-colonies etc, global economic partition by cartels, and territorial (political) division among dominant powers). Secondly, parasitic/decaying capitalism (due to stagnation in expansion of production, growth occurs through extracting superprofits through rent, financial speculation, and exploitation of weaker nations, leading to economic decay and societal inequality). Thirdly, moribund capitalism (i.e. capitalism in transition to socialism- the contradiction between the social character of production and private ownership is at a point that it can only be resolved in the next stage in the process of development of society). Lenin established firmly that the essential fundamental economic feature of imperialism is the replacement of free competition by monopoly, and politically, imperialism lays bare the myth of democracy and showed how it *"is always a striving towards violence and reaction"* as its nature is to breed war due to contradictions and struggle amongst capitalists to establish their dominance in an industry/colony. This will lead to the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in different countries. As a result, socialism will be achievable in different phases in different countries and will not be simultaneously achieved in all countries, due to which imperialist economic system will also persist i.e. in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, both capitalist and socialist

models will exist simultaneously.

Lenin and Stalin have contributed to the qualitative development and application of the Marxist understanding of the national question by showing that it is in the interests of the proletariat to support the right of all nationalities to self-determination, including the right to secession. They also established that the national and colonial question is a part of the general question of the world proletarian revolution and can only be finally resolved through the world-wide elimination of imperialism. This means that any progression of society towards socialism will be brutally met by counter-revolution by the capitalists, and to safeguard the interest of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential. It is an expression of the interests of the majority of the masses, a democracy rooted in the special form of class alliance of those exploited and oppressed under imperialism under the leadership of the proletariat and is also therefore the highest type of democracy achievable at this stage of development of society. Lenin points out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative - against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it means all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. He firmly asserted that this can be only achieved by the Party which is the highest form of class organisation that directs all struggles. In their struggle against Mensheviks (7), the Bolsheviks also established that the Party should consist of a stable nucleus of professional revolutionaries i.e. revolutionaries whose only purpose to exist is to serve the revolution.

Comrade Stalin, comrade-in-arms of Lenin, played a pivotal role in defending, creatively applying, and developing Marxism-Leninism in the concrete condition and practice of establishing socialism in the USSR. He played a glorious role in defeating Hitler Fascism during World War II and led the International Communist Movement for 3 decades after Lenin's death. He made theoretical contributions through his writings to the topics of dialectical and historical

materialism, the nationality question, the Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, the history of CPSU(B) and linguistics. Stalin's lucid presentation of Lenin's ideas, particularly in *The Foundations of Leninism*, made Marxist-Leninist theory accessible to revolutionaries worldwide.

3) Contributions by Mao

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was developed by applying the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution and the world proletarian revolution and in the struggle against modern revisionism led by Khrushchev and co. However, till the 1980s, the universal significance of Mao's contributions and the development of Marxism to a higher stage was still grasped in a partial and fragmented manner. In the course of application of Marxism-Leninism and contributions of Comrade Mao to the concrete practice of the Peruvian New Democratic Revolution, the Communist Party of Peru contributed to the synthesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third stage of Marxism. It declared and laid down the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in a systematic manner.

a) Marxist Philosophy

A major contribution by MLM to Marxist philosophy was a conceptual leap in understanding and developing the law of contradictions which Mao said is the fundamental laws of motion governing nature and society, including human thought. He explained how unity and identity of opposites in all things and processes is temporary and relative, but the struggle between opposites is constant and absolute and lead to "breaks in continuity" and new leaps in understanding, *"the study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and the non-principal contradictions and of the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political Party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies both in political and in military affairs"* (Mao, 1937b). In *On Practice*, Mao (1937a) explained how matter can be transformed into consciousness and then

consciousness back into matter, thereby further developing the understanding of the conscious, dynamic role of man in every field of human activity, elaborating on what knowledge is, *"Practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialistic theory of the unity of knowing and doing"*.

b) Political Economy

In developing socialism in China, he contributed to the field of political economy through deep and critical analysis of 'Soviet Economics', taking lessons from both the positive and negative experience of socialist reconstruction in Soviet Russia. In *"Ten Major Relationships"*, Mao (1956) elaborated on the importance of the relationship between the system of socialist ownership with other aspects of relationships of production since this system can be a hindrance to the full development of productive forces in the long-run. Therefore, he proposed three major economic policies for the New-Democratic Revolution: confiscating the land of the feudal class and redistributing it among the peasantry, confiscating the capital of the comprador bourgeoisie, and protecting the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie. In this process, Mao said that there will be continuation of the law of value and "bourgeois right" still operating in the period of socialist transition. Therefore, the correctness of the ideological and political line determines whether the proletariat truly owns the means of production and repeatedly asserts that if revisionists seized political power, they could easily restore the capitalist system. He concluded that the superstructure and consciousness can transform the base and, by placing politics in command in every field, productive forces can be constantly developed.

c) New Democratic Revolution (NDR)

The theory of New Democratic Revolution is rooted in the fact that under the world-

imperialist system, the revolution in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries will generally pass through distinct but inseparably interlinked stages. This is because due to the incomplete bourgeois democratic revolution in these countries, the relations of production are dominated by both imperialism and feudalism. Mao writes on the character of semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries, *"This monopoly capitalism, closely tied up with foreign imperialism, the domestic landlord class and the old-type rich peasants, has become comprador, feudal, state-monopoly capitalism. Such is the economic base of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism oppresses not only the workers and peasants but also the urban petty bourgeoisie, and it injures the middle bourgeoisie. This capital is popularly known in China as bureaucrat-capital. This capitalist class, known as the bureaucrat-capitalist class, is the big bourgeoisie of China."* Therefore, NDR will be directed against overthrowing imperialism (determining the national characteristic of the revolution), feudalism (determining the democratic character) and comprador bureaucratic capitalism (determining the class relations) with agrarian revolution as the axis of this revolution. This will be achieved through a four-class alliance through a United Front of those classes oppressed in these countries (proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeois, national bourgeoisie) under the leadership of the proletarian ideology.

d) Path of Protracted People's War (PPW)

Before the Chinese Revolution, insurrection (Soviet model of revolution through abrupt and quick uprising) was considered the general path for the seizure of power by the proletariat. However, this path was not possible to implement in colonies and semi-colonies—a problem Mao solved by laying down PPW as the main path. In PPW, the countryside will be the main centre of revolution from where it will encircle and capture the cities from liberated base areas in the countryside. For the establishment of a flow of armed revolutionary forces and the consolidation into a People's Army, armed agrarian revolution will be key. In the path of PPW, victory will be dependent on building a

people's army (i.e. expansion of mass base of people who will be willing to join the armed agrarian forces) as well as establishment of base areas in areas of strategic importance in order to enhance and expedite the revolutionary high tide. In base areas, transformation will occur through the structures of the party and the army via reliance on the masses which will strengthen the areas on political, economical and cultural front and therefore contribute to further victory and establishment of Red Power i.e. pockets under the control of the vanguard party instead of the reactionary ruling class state apparatus (i.e. White Power) (Mao, 1938).

e) Military Line

The dialectical relationship between the political and military line is very important in formulating the correct military line. Mao (1936) says, *"Our revolutionary war has proved that we need a correct Marxist military line as well as a correct Marxist political line"*. A correct military line can only be formed on the basis of a correct political line, which can only be implemented through the correct military line and such is the dialectical relationship between the two. Therefore, it is the Party which should command the gun and not the gun which should command the party. Due to this inherently political nature of the Red Army and the path of PPW, it is the people and not the weapons which play a decisive role in carrying out people's war.

In class struggle in colonies and semi-colonies, the principles of building up the Red Army are to rely on the masses, establish an army of the people and for the people and establish sound strategy and tactics through thorough study of the material conditions of the society (Mao, 1936). Under the circumstances wherein the enemy is numerically and technologically more advanced than the revolutionary movement, the strategy is to utilise guerilla warfare to achieve victory through Protracted People's War. Before Mao, guerilla warfare was considered not a strategic (overall plan or

approach designed to achieve a long-term objective) but only a tactical (specific actions or steps taken to implement the strategy) question. The reason that Mao argued that guerilla warfare is not merely tactical but a strategic problem is due to the broad goal of guerilla warfare i.e. to support regular warfare and to eventually evolve into mobile and regular warfare itself. The core principle is: *"You fight your way, and we'll fight ours"*. In other words, guerilla warfare is rooted in the basic principle of self-preservation (due to being a comparatively weaker force) and enemy destruction. This will be achieved on the basis of three tactical guidelines- advance when the enemy retreats, retreat when the enemy advances and harass when at a stalemate with the enemy (Mao, 1937c). Therefore, Mao was one of the first to strongly and forcefully state, *"It is imperative that we arouse interest in the study of military theory and direct the attention of the whole membership to the study of military matters"* as it is the military strategy which will help one to achieve revolution and guide it to higher and higher stages.

f) Mass Line

Comrade Mao gave the principle that it is the people who are the motive force behind making world history. The 1945 CPC document titled *'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party'* summarised the mass line: *"As comrade Mao Tse-tung says, the correct line should be 'from the masses to the masses'. To ensure that the line really comes from the masses and particular that it really goes back to the masses, there must be close ties not only between the Party and the masses outside the Party (between the class and the people), but above all between the Party's leading bodies and the masses within the Party (between the cadres and the rank and the file); in other words there must be a correct organisational line. Therefore, just as in each period of the Party's history Comrade Mao Tse-tung has laid down a political line representing the interests of the masses, so he has laid down an organisational line serving the political line*

and maintaining ties with the masses both inside and outside the Party." (CPC, 1945)

g) Three Magical Weapons and the United Front

Mao emphasized the interconnection between the United Front (UF) and armed struggle as the two primary weapons for defeating the enemy. In his words, *"Our eighteen years of experience show that the united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. That is how the three are related to each other."* (Mao, 1939). Mao also developed a crucial guideline for understanding the relationship between different forms of struggle and organization. He stated, *"War is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war."* (Mao, 1938). This reflects Mao's view that while various forms of organization and struggles, such as mass movements, are essential, their ultimate goal is to support the broader revolutionary effort.

The concept of building a united front among four anti-imperialist, anti-feudal classes—the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie—on the foundation of a worker-peasant alliance marked a significant advancement in Marxist-Leninist theory. Key tactical principles of this united front include isolating and destroying the primary targets of the revolution—imperialists, feudal forces, and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie—while ensuring the working class maintains its hegemony within the alliance. It is crucial for the working class to maintain independence and initiative, relying on its own conditions. The united front must serve the armed struggle, with the Communist Party playing a vanguard role to guide and lead the movement. Additionally, the participation of

the national bourgeoisie is acknowledged as conditional and temporary, requiring careful handling of this relationship to uphold the party's proletarian leadership and revolutionary goals.

h) The Communist Party

The communists developed at an early stage the understanding that if there was to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Comrade Mao developed the vanguard role of the Leninist concept of the Communist Party even further- he established that a communist party must be armed with the scientific ideology of MLM, it must be built on revolutionary style and should be well disciplined, use the method of criticism and self-criticism and closely link itself with, and rely upon, vast masses of the people. The method of criticism/self-criticism should not be merely to correct one's understanding, but must be internalised to the point of strengthening the party organisation and increasing its fighting capacity. In correcting alien class tendencies (class tendencies which are detrimental to the interest of the communist party and its cause i.e. non-proletarian trends), Mao recommends communists must *"learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones"* and *"cure the sickness to save the patient"*. In applying the method of criticism-self criticism. Mao warned particularly against subjectivism, arbitrariness and vulgarisation of criticism and emphasised that during this process statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side. We recommend reading Vicki Legion's *"Constructive Criticism: A Handbook"* (FLP, 2022) for a detailed understanding of the topic. Mao also emphasised how the party and its members must set an example in *"simple living and hard work"*, integrate with the masses and be bold in unleashing their initiative and creativity.

i) Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is a necessary principle of organisation as without it, the dictatorship of the proletariat can never be consolidated- without a broad democracy for the various classes and people, the

consolidation of the political power of the people will be impossible. Without democratic centralism, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively. Mao (1957) writes, "a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness"... What is meant by centralism? First, there must be concentration of correct ideas. Unity of understanding, of policy, plan, command and action is attained on the basis of concentrating correct ideas. This is unity through centralism. But if all those concerned are still not clear about the problems, if their opinions are still unexpressed or their anger is still not vented, how can you achieve this unity through centralism? Without democracy, it is impossible to sum up experience correctly. Without democracy, without ideas coming from the masses, it is impossible to formulate good lines, principles, policies or methods."

j) The People's Army

Mao Zedong emphasized the critical role of a people's army in revolutionary movements, asserting that "without a people's army, the people have nothing." He elaborated that the people's army is not merely a military force but an armed body tasked with carrying out essential political objectives. These tasks include, first, destroying the enemy while preserving its own strength, particularly through guerilla warfare during the current stage of fighting. Second, it must engage in political propaganda among the masses, ensuring that revolutionary ideas are disseminated widely. Finally, the army is responsible for mobilizing the masses, organizing them, arming them, and assisting in establishing revolutionary political power. This, in turn, contributes to the development and strengthening of the party, aligning the military and political goals to achieve revolutionary success.

k) On the Women's Question

On analysing the reason for suicide amongst women, Mao (1919) writes to critique the semi-colonial, semi-feudal China and its

decadent feudal-patriarchal ideology and system, "If Miss Chao is dead today, it is because she was solidly enclosed by the three iron nets (society, her own family, the family of her future husband): she sought life in vain and finally was led to seek death. Yesterday's incident was important. It happened because of the shameful system of arranged marriages, because of the darkness of the social system, the negation of the individual will, and the absence of the freedom to choose one's own mate." Comrade Mao summarised that women are subject to three systems of authority- the political, the clan and religious as well as being oppressed by men (the authority of the husband). Like all communists before him, Mao sees women's struggle as a part of class struggle. Class struggle is class war on the path of PPW in semi-colonies and oppressed countries, which means that to overthrow the imperialist-feudal patriarchal system, women must actively take part in revolutionary war. We must understand that when we echo Mao's saying that women hold up half of the sky, we refer to those struggles as undertaken under the Tebhaga Movement wherein 13 women comrades were martyred in the struggle for New Democracy; we acknowledge that women are the participants in larger numbers than men in the people's armies in the world. Mao and his teachings have taught us that without unleashing the fury of women as a mighty force of revolution, victory in the revolution is impossible. That equality between men and women can be realised only in the course of revolutionary war and "in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole." At the same time, Mao warned that the final solution to the women's question will require a fairly long period of time even after the establishment of socialism due to how deeply ingrained is the ideology of patriarchy in backward countries of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature. Therefore, Mao stressed on the continuing need for class struggle in the institutions to eradicate the old reactionary feudal and bourgeois ideas, culture, customs and habits related to patriarchy and male domination.

l) Art and Culture

There is no thing such as art for art's sake.

There is no thing such as art for art's sake. When Mao (1942) declared, "*all our literature and art are for the masses of the people*", we saw how the culture, art and literature are not merely things to be enjoyed by the bourgeoisie alone, but an important aspect of the social and political life of the people. Not only did Mao encourage literary and art workers to "*move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat*", but actively encouraged their importance in even the People's Army by asserting, "*an army without culture is a dull - wetted army; and a dull-wetted army cannot defeat the enemy*" (Mao, 1944).

m) Imperialism and National Question

Mao Zedong expanded on Lenin's theses regarding national and colonial questions by developing the concept of national liberation struggles in colonies and semi-colonies, particularly in the post-World War II context. He analyzed the neocolonial methods of imperialist rule during this period and explained how the struggles of oppressed nations like Asia, Africa, and Latin America were delivering significant blows to imperialism and challenging its dominance. Mao also advocated for the creation of a united front between national liberation movements in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and proletarian revolutionary movements in capitalist countries to defeat imperialism and advance global revolution. In his famous analysis, Mao proclaimed, "*Imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries looked at in essence from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can devour people. On this we should build our tactical thinking*" (Strong, 1946).

n) The Great Debate and the Ideological Struggle Against Modern Revisionism and the Theory of Continuing Revolution

Mao's response to Khrushchev's theories, introduced at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, was centered on a vigorous defense of Marxism-Leninism against Khrushchev's revisionism. Khrushchev's theories—such as "peaceful transition to socialism," "peaceful competition with capitalism," and "peaceful co-existence with imperialism"—were fundamentally at odds with the core tenets of Marxism-Leninism i.e. imperialism breeds war. These ideas suggested that socialism could be peacefully achieved without revolutionary struggle, and that capitalist and socialist states could peacefully coexist at once.

In response, Mao initiated what became known as the Great Debate, a struggle within the international communist movement. Mao not only defended the foundational elements of Marxism-Leninism but also sought to develop it further, particularly in the context of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He believed that the state power in socialist countries must be directed by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party, and that this dictatorship was necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and secure their interests under socialism. This would allow for the development of the conditions for the transition to communism from socialism. Mao critiqued Khrushchev's view that the contradictions between capitalist and socialist states could be resolved peacefully, stressing that the ruling class under imperialism would never voluntarily relinquish their class interest (the root of its dominance), and therefore, revolutionary war (a qualitative leap from one mode of production to another) is necessary to overthrow imperialism.

Mao proposed a new general line for the international communist movement that would not only defend Marxism-Leninism but actively resist revisionism. He emphasized the necessity of establishing new Marxist-Leninist parties worldwide, grounded in the principles of scientific socialism. According to Mao, the struggle against revisionism was essential to the survival and growth of revolutionary movements, and it was crucial to ensure that Marxist-Leninist parties remained committed

to the foundational doctrines of class struggle, revolution, and proletarian dictatorship. His call to action sought to unite genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and help them break free from the influence of revisionism that was creeping into the world communist movement.

At the same time, Mao did not shy away from critically analysing the history of the international communist movement. One of the key elements of this analysis was his reflection on the role of Joseph Stalin. While Mao defended Stalin's major contributions, such as his leadership in the victory over fascism during World War II and his role in building the Soviet Union into a global socialist power, he also acknowledged Stalin's mistakes. In his *"On the Question of Stalin,"* Mao discussed these errors and how some of his policies had led to negative consequences for the international communist movement and the Soviet state. Mao argued that Stalin's flaws should not overshadow his achievements, but they also offered important lessons for future leadership in the communist movement. He sums up, *"While defending Stalin, we do not defend his mistakes"* (Mao, 1963). Mao's dialectical method of criticism was part of his broader effort to ensure that the international communist movement stayed

true to its revolutionary ideals while learning from its history.

In his ideological struggle against modern revisionism, Mao initiated what is known as The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) which marked a significant and qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed primarily against the capitalist roaders who had emerged from within the socialist society itself, with many of their leaders concentrated in the Party's leadership. During this period, Mao Tse-tung's powerful slogans, such as *"It is right to rebel!"* and *"Bombard the Headquarters!"*, reverberated throughout China, serving as a rallying cry against these capitalist roaders and the growing threat of modern revisionism.

The GPCR was not only a campaign to expose and combat capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi but also a direct struggle against modern revisionism, which sought to erode the fundamental principles of socialism and pave the way for capitalist restoration. Modern revisionism emerged as an internal threat, cloaked in the language of socialism but undermining its revolutionary essence. Mao Tse-tung identified this as the principal contradiction in socialist China, reaffirming that the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie must continue as a central task. Through this, he laid the ideological and practical foundation for combatting the influence of revisionist tendencies within the Party and broader society.



*Chinese Poster from 1967
It reads "Defeat American Imperialism!
Defeat Soviet Revisionism!"*



*Poster: "The Great Proletarian Cultural
Revolution must be waged till the end"*

To prevent the restoration of capitalism, Mao developed a revolutionary method rooted in the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

(MLM). This method focused on continuing the revolution and remoulding the world outlook through ongoing class struggle and two-line struggles, which often proved to be complex and obscured by competing tendencies. Mao's teachings were vindicated during and after the GPCR, particularly in the case of Lin Biao, who, despite being at the forefront during the movement, was later revealed as a conspirator attempting to propagate a revisionist line.

According to dialectical materialism, all objective phenomena are knowable, but understanding them requires more than natural perception—it necessitates the use of tools like Marxist theory, described metaphorically as the “telescope and microscope” in political and military matters. To truly grasp and apply these principles, Mao urged the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and his own works, alongside active participation in struggles and efforts to reshape one's worldview.

The GPCR also represented a higher leap in defending and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat while introducing the most extensive and profound exercise of proletarian democracy in world history, carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Beyond its practical achievements, the GPCR stands as one of Mao's most significant contributions to the theory of scientific socialism. It is a historic framework for preventing the restoration of capitalism, combating modern revisionism, and advancing socialist society toward global communism. Through the GPCR, Mao not only addressed the immediate threats posed by capitalist roaders but also provided a strategic approach to safeguarding socialism against the ideological decay of revisionism, ensuring the continuous revolutionary advancement of society.

MLM IS AN INTEGRATED WHOLE

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) stands as the most advanced and scientific ideology of the proletariat, offering a comprehensive framework to defeat bourgeois ideology and counter all forms of revisionism, including those that may masquerade as being MLM.

It is not merely a theory restricted to a specific discipline but a science representing a holistic philosophical system. It encompasses political economy, scientific socialism, and the strategy and tactics essential for the proletariat to comprehend and transform the world through revolution.

The historical development of Mao Thought, now recognized as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, was analyzed in depth during the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1969, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung. This congress declared Mao Thought a higher stage of Marxism-Leninism, establishing it as a qualitatively new development of proletarian ideology. Since the Great Debate, Marxist-Leninist forces worldwide have acknowledged the significance of Mao's contributions, particularly in the context of the post-World War II era. This period was characterized by the emergence of a socialist camp, the rise of national liberation struggles, the advent of neo-colonial exploitation, and the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe under the Khrushchev-led modern revisionist clique. Against this backdrop, Maoism emerged as the most comprehensive and dynamic development of Marxist-Leninist science, integrating its principles into the revolutionary praxis of the present day. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole. The integration of Mao into Marxism is Marxism-Leninism of the present-day. To negate Mao's contributions is to negate Marxism-Leninism itself.

There has never been a rigid division between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought and MLM. However, the term Maoism provides a more precise and scientific articulation of Mao's contributions. Mao's insights addressed several critical shortcomings in traditional Marxism-Leninism, particularly when applied to colonial and semi-colonial societies with predominantly agrarian economies. While Marxism-Leninism emphasized the urban proletariat as the leading revolutionary class, Mao highlighted the revolutionary potential of the peasantry in agrarian societies where the working class was relatively small. His theory of Protracted People's War (PPW) redefined revolutionary

strategy by prioritizing the countryside as the base for revolutionary action, gradually encircling and capturing urban centers. This adaptation proved instrumental in the Chinese Revolution and has since influenced revolutionary movements worldwide.

Mao also advanced the understanding of class alliances by recognizing the complex role of the national bourgeoisie in semi-colonies and colonies. Unlike traditional Marxist-Leninist views that treated the bourgeoisie uniformly as a counter-revolutionary class, Mao advocated the united front strategy, aligning the working class, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie and sections of the national bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism to achieve New Democratic Revolution. Furthermore, Mao's emphasis on guerrilla warfare as a strategic approach, rather than it being only a question of tactics, addressed the limitations of traditional urban insurrection models. His recognition of the protracted nature of revolution underscored the need for a sustained, step-by-step approach to building power in rural areas before seizing urban strongholds.

In the contemporary world, characterized by unprecedented turmoil and intensified struggles against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, MLM remains the guiding ideology for revolutionary forces. Millions of people are drawn into these struggles, and it is the duty of Maoist forces globally to propagate MLM among the masses. In India, where protracted people's war continues under the leadership of the communist party, MLM serves as the ideological foundation for advancing the New Democratic Revolution. By applying this ideology to the specific conditions of India and the broader global context, revolutionary forces aim to complete the new democratic revolution, build socialism, prevent capitalist restoration, and advance toward communism.

The application of MLM is not limited to theoretical analysis; it is a living science enriched through the creative synthesis of revolutionary practice. Building a strong proletarian party, a powerful People's Liberation Army, and a revolutionary united front are critical tasks for spreading MLM

across India and internationally. By deepening the ideological and practical grasp of MLM, revolutionaries can successfully navigate the challenges of the class struggle, enrich the science of the proletariat, and carry forward the struggle for a just and egalitarian world.

ENDNOTES

(1) The CPI (ML) Liberation claims to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought but follows the path of parliamentarism, which is a departure from the revolutionary path of Naxalbari and Marxism. This shift is a compromise to the commitment to the path of protracted people's war and revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, diluting the movement's revolutionary objectives i.e revolution through armed struggle. By engaging in parliamentary cretinism, the Liberation group is legitimizing and working within the very system it once sought to overthrow. This compromises the revolutionary objective of dismantling the semi-colonial, semi-feudal state machinery, as participation in electoral politics often necessitates pragmatic adjustments, alliances, and compromises that can blur ideological clarity and weaken the focus on revolutionary goals i.e. Liberation strives to fight within a system which it can only do through class collaboration with the enemies of the people.

(2) Refer to section "*The Great Debate and the Ideological Struggle Against Modern Revisionism and the Theory of Continuing Revolution*" in article.

(3) *Ibid*

(4) Lenin struggled against Bernstein for his revisionism, which rejected the necessity of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, favoring gradual reforms within capitalism. Bernstein's views betrayed Marxism by rejecting class struggle and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, essential for achieving socialism.

(5) Lenin struggled against Kautsky for abandoning revolutionary Marxism and

adopting a centrist position that effectively supported the bourgeoisie. Kautsky betrayed the proletariat by supporting German imperialism during World War I, opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, advocating for parliamentary reformism, and opposing the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin labeled Kautsky as a "renegade" for distorting Marxism to justify opportunism.

(6) Lenin criticized Plekhanov for his rigid adherence to outdated, reformist views and his opposition to revolutionary change. While Plekhanov was a key early Marxist, he had failed to understand the necessity of a violent revolution to overthrow capitalism and instead advocated for gradual reforms. Lenin also critiqued Plekhanov for his compromise with the bourgeoisie and rejecting the worker-peasant alliance in the Bolshevik Revolution.

(7) The debate between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks focused on the composition of the Communist Party. The Mensheviks favored open membership, advocating for a broad-based, inclusive party of workers and activists. In contrast, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, supported a smaller, disciplined party of professional revolutionaries who would provide strong leadership. Lenin believed that a tightly-knit party was essential to lead the working class effectively and prevent infiltration by reformists. This difference in political line reflected their differing strategies for revolution.

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Exposing the Modern Revisionist Line of 'Balraj' and Lackeys as the Ideological Wing of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar (Firmly Resolve to Forge the Path of NDR!)

By Rudra Roy, Republished from Nazariya Magazine's Website

The present political conditions at the international level are the manifestations of the crisis inherent in the capitalist mode of production at the stage of imperialism. The imperialist bourgeoisie has not been able to come out of the crisis faced since 2008 in general, and that during the COVID-19 pandemic in particular. Even in the capitalist-imperialist countries, the working class is organizing itself against the exploitation of capital. There have been calls to strike by the US working class in various big industries. This indicates a condition in which the ruling class of imperialist bourgeoisie is incapable of resolving the contradictions within the capitalist imperialist economy. We notice how the large financial institutions of the world are collapsing and are unable to recover the money which they loaned. Under these worldwide conditions, the working class and even the middle classes are losing their jobs.

In order to resolve the contradictions, the imperialist forces are looking for methods to ensure the multiplication of their superprofits. The Russia-Ukraine war and the Zionist aggression on Palestine fit this requirement of capital. War means capital multiplication. Through the regular supply of weapons, the US and the other imperialist powers try to strengthen their imperialist bourgeoisie. For example, the USA is one of the biggest suppliers to Israel in its settler-colonial agenda against Palestine, the benefits of which will be reaped by the USA through its relationship with Israel. Besides, the imperialist bourgeoisie is also heavily investing into the economy of oppressed countries like India. The imperialist powers are reclaiming their hold over the oppressed countries. We are witnessing re-groupings at the world level. While China and Russia have

been trying to include new oppressed countries into the BRICS, the G20 group led by US imperialism is also re-grouping itself by adding the oppressed countries of the African continent. The comprador bourgeoisie of India has been playing an important role in these re-groupings. True to its comprador character; it is taking the middle path and is incapable of taking a stand of its own. It has not taken a stand on the Russia-Ukraine war and neither has it accepted the US sanction on Iran. It has maintained a dual diplomatic position regarding the Zionist war in Gaza, sometimes posturing in favour of US-Israel, sometimes in favour of Gaza.

In the 2023 G20 summit, the comprador bourgeoisie of India has received heavy investments in their companies from the imperialist bourgeoisie. The G20 meeting at this time was an effort to resolve the crisis of world imperialism. By creating new avenues for capital investments in terms of road building, a new lease to life for US imperialism is to be granted. The US has always used India as the base for their imperialist expansion in South Asia and now it has increased the role of Indian comprador forces—it wants to spend its capital in the African and western Asian economy through India. The comprador Indian state has decreased the import duty of apples from the US, this would cause a great blow to the peasants who cultivate apples in the states of Jammu& Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Former J&K Chief Minister, in an interview on the effects of the 20% slash in tariffs said, *"We don't want imported apples, walnuts or almonds here. It is hard to believe that the government is increasing hardships on the people of Kashmir in order to please the US and other countries. Kashmiris are put in*

agony only to receive applause from the foreign countries" (Ali, 2023).



Along with the ties of the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie with the US imperialism, it has thousands of ties with the emerging imperialist alliance of Russia and China. It is highly dependent on Russia for oil and also dependent on China for electronic equipments. It is through the shoulders of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie of India that the Russian oil reaches European soil.

Further, the loot of the basic natural resources is exponentially rising; the government recently amended the Forest Rights Act in order to facilitate the loot of *jai, jangal and jameen* by the imperialist and comprador bourgeois forces. In the countryside, the big landlords—the contractors, moneylenders and zamindars are exploiting the poor and landless peasants. The struggle for increase in wages of the agricultural laborers has developed in several regions of North India. The movement for village common land which is under the occupation of the big landlords has also intensified. The comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal ruling class are trying to strangle the masses in order to amass profit and monopolize resource loot over oppressed countries through which they exercise their hegemony. For this, the most severe form of fascist onslaught on democratic movement is unleashed. Attacks on Muslims, Dalits, Adivasis and women are on rise. Attacks on democratic movements for the right to self-determination are rising. The Indian state is using aerial bombing to crush

the right to self-determination movement in Kashmir, and arming fascist militias in Manipur to intensify the genocide of Kuki-Zo tribals in order to facilitate loot of resources. Under these conditions, the attack on revolutionary forces unified under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism becomes tactically important for the ruling classes.

The ruling class knows that the only power in the subcontinent which can defeat the reactionary plan and desire to completely transform the Indian state into a Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist state (Hindu Rashtra) is the revolutionary movement and the masses who are militantly resisting under its guidance. Rising to this need, the Indian ruling classes under the direct guidance of US imperialism, have unleashed its most ferocious attack on the revolutionary movement. Under Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, Operation Kagaar and the Surajkund Scheme, the state has been regularly targeting its leadership. Through the use of aerial bombing, it has been trying to harm the revolutionaries. The arrests of Pramod Mishra and Sanjoy Deepak Rao (Central Committee members of the unlawfully banned CPI(Maoist), arrested in 2023) and brutally orchestrated fake encounter of CPI(Maoist) General Secretary Comrade Nambala Keshava Rao are also a part of their nefarious design to annihilate the revolutionary movement. Besides this, they have unleashed attacks on democratic mass organizations. Raids on mass organizations and harassment/arrests of the democratic voices sympathetic to the revolutionary movement only display the utter desperation of the ruling classes.

In addition to this, ideological warfare is being carried out through the use of counter-revolutionary modern revisionist forces that were once a part of the movement at any level. Baccha Prasad Singh aka Balraj and his lackeys are one such force. It is being seen that the state is sparing such forces, with Balraj roaming free openly after coming back from prison for being a member of the CPI (Maoist). Yet he is publicly declaring himself a Central Committee (CC) member of the banned revolutionary party even in highly surveilled and state-infiltrated institutions like the Press Club of India, Delhi without any

repercussions. How is it possible that after being sent to jail for being a member of CPI (Maoist), he is able to declare himself a CC member after his release without being arrested again? These modern revisionist forces create confusion among the masses and try to create disillusionment among the revolutionaries in order to lay them astray from the correct political line. In this fashion, the modern revisionist forces are helping the ruling class. Therefore, it becomes important to wage struggle against such modern revisionist groups and dismantle them. To better understand the nature and tactics of such counter-revolutionary right opportunist forces, it is important to trace their history.

The history of struggle against the revisionist forces in communist movement can be traced back to the times of the birth of Marxism. Comrade Marx struggled against the class pacifists and reformist idealists who propounded the theory of utopian socialism and bourgeois reformism. Comrade Marx and Engels famously propounded the theory of socialist revolution in *Communist Manifesto* and said, *"The communist disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can only be achieved by forcible overthrow of all the existing order of the society"* (Marx and Engels, 1848). In the *'Victory of the Counter-Revolution in Vienna'* comrade Marx (1848) wrote, *"The purposeless massacre perpetrated since the June and October events the tedious offering of sacrifice since the February and March, the very cannibalism of the counter revolution will convince the nations that there is only one way in which the murderous death agonies of the old society can be shortened, simplified and concentrated, and that way is revolutionary terror."* As explained in the writing of the great teacher comrade Marx, the bloodiest war between the ruling class and the oppressed class is the necessary stage in the transformation of society. To deny the necessity of force in revolution is to deny the transformation of the society, is to attack against the inevitability of the development of productive forces. Comrade Marx in his talks with the correspondent of *'The World'* journal held that the transition to socialism from capitalism will have to be akin to the slave holder war of the antiquity. Marx and Engels

fought against the reformist and anarchist lines within the First International. In the First International, Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were influenced by the Lassallean line. It is important to note that the socialist ideology at this stage was at its infancy hence the socialists of that time were influenced by the bourgeois ideology. In Marxism one finds the complete rupture from this bourgeois ideology.



Ferdinand Lassalle

While fighting the reformist Lassallean socialists, Marx exposed the reformist line of the Lassalleans and established the theory of scientific socialism based on the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat. Ferdinand Lassalle was the father of modern revisionists, he envisaged that the old state was to be persuaded, or pressured, to bring socialism into being. This idea was smashed to pieces; the historic success of the Paris Commune proved that the correct path towards Socialism laid in armed struggle. After the collapse of the Paris Commune in the Fifth Congress of the International, the anarchist Bakunin characterized Marx as authoritarian and said that the proletarian state would be as dangerous as the bourgeois state. To this, Marx replied that without dictatorship of the proletariat the formation of classless society is impossible. He termed the position of Bakunin as rhetorical without any political

substance in it; he said that Bakunin lacks a theory of state and an understanding on the social class formations. This difference led to the split of the First International in 1872.

THE HISTORY OF REVISIONISM IN COMMUNIST HISTORY

Following the ideology of Marx, communist parties emerged around the world. The bourgeois class ideology present in the society infiltrated within the communist party and manifested itself in the form of revisionism. The characteristic feature of revisionism is its vague, amorphous and elusive nature. It tries to hide one wrong word between two correct positions. It tries to conceal its identity unless and until it has come into a position where it can influence the large majority. The revisionists would pretend to have debates on ideological questions, but in practice, they would secretly conspire against the communist forces and their leadership. One very serious and usual mark of revisionism is the usage of the terminology like 'change in situation' and 'in light of changing situation'. Using these phraseologies, revisionists try to rob Marxism of its basic essence of class struggle—both internal and external. Revisionism came up in the international platform only under disguise of their supposed allegiance to the Marxist founders i.e. Marx and Engels.

The first man to revise the theory of Marxism in the service of the bourgeoisie was Bernstein. It is worth noting that earlier Bernstein used to defend Marxism against the reformist theory of Lassalle whom he termed a social reformer. In the German Social Democratic Party, it was he who appeared to follow the Marxist theory. Best example of the revisionist practice of Bernstein is exhibited when he along with Karl Kautsky, edited Engels' introduction to Marx's *Class Struggle in France*. He inserted the lines which said that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism was possible. To this Engels rebuked him, "I was amazed to see today an extract from my introduction... That tricked out in such a way as to present me as a peace-loving proponent of legality". Bernstein, the first among the first generation of revisionists, started saying that the ruling class rule is not to

be smashed but it is to be developed to such a level that socialism is achieved.

Karl Kautsky became the true successor of Bernstein. He propounded the theory that under bourgeois rule, armed struggle is not needed. He said that it would be ridiculous to preach the violent overthrow of the state. Kautsky distorted Marx and asserted that in his writings Marx talked about peaceful transition to socialism through parliamentary means. Comrade Lenin (1918) in his writing '*The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*' smashed the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky he said, "*Kautsky beat the world record in liberal distortion of Marx*". Lenin smashed the revisionism within the Second International and asserted that "*civil war without which not a single Marxist has conceived of transition from capitalism to socialism*" is the path for revolution. Comrade Lenin thus defended the Marxist theory from the opportunists and developed Marxism to the concrete condition of the monopoly age of capitalism i.e. imperialism. Under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, Russia saw the earth-shaking proletarian revolution; this smashed the revisionism which later on re-emerged in different forms.

Khrushchev became the new figure in which the spirits of Bernstein and Kautsky were imbibed. He propounded that the peaceful coexistence of different classes is possible. Along with that he also said that the transition of capitalism to socialism is possible through peaceful means. This sort of revisionism in the communist movement after the martyrdom of comrade Stalin came to be known as modern revisionism. The great communist revolutionary comrade Mao, under whose leadership the Communist Party of China (CPC) successfully completed revolution in semi colonial, semi feudal China, waged relentless struggle against modern revisionism. Comrade Mao laid down the correct Marxist-Leninist path for the revolution. CPC (1964) exposed the Khrushchevite revisionism and asserted that "*events since World War 2 have also shown that if the communist leadership believe in the parliamentary road and fall victim to incurable disease of parliamentary cretinism, they will not only get nowhere but will*

inevitably sink into the quagmire of revisionism and ruin the revolutionary cause of proletariat". Though modern revisionism was exposed by the CPC, this form of revisionism managed to assert great influence in many countries. Modern revisionism took different forms including Browder revisionism, Soviet revisionism, Titoist revisionism, Hoxhaism, Lin Biaoist revisionism, Dengist revisionism etc. The revisionist forces use the writings of the great teachers of the proletariat (Marx and Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee) in order to deceive the masses from the path toward communism and keep them under the yoke of bourgeois dictatorship. This is what makes the revisionist a handy tool in the hands of the ruling class. Throughout the history of the communist parties around the world the ruling classes have used these forces against the genuine revolutionary forces. The revolutionary movement in our country too has seen the manifestation of these debates. It was after the great Naxalbari rebellion that comrade Charu Majumdar (to be referred to as 'CM' throughout the article) and Kanhai Chatterjee (to be referred to as KC throughout the article) fought against modern revisionist CPI(M) and envisaged that the revolution in India will have an agrarian axis and that it shall follow the Chinese path. Thus, the Protracted People's War based on area wise seizure of power was declared as the path of the revolution.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM IN INDIA

Comrade CM (1965) in his article '*Carry on the Struggle against Modern Revisionism*' said, "*No movement of the peasants on basic demands will follow the peaceful path*". He called upon the masses to give active resistance, he formulated that any form of mass movement has to be militant and not just in passive form but in active resistant forms. He quotes comrade Mao saying, "*Mere passive resistance against repression drives a wedge in the fighting unity of the masses and invariably leads to the path of surrender*". The programme of active resistance has to be organized before any mass movement. This formulation of Comrade Charu has become

even more important in the times of rising fascistization of the Indian state under the openly reactionary, hard-core Brahmanical Hindutva forces. Comrade CM endorsed the tit for tat method of avenging the attacks of class enemies on masses and revolutionaries. Based on the line laid down by Comrade Mao, Comrade CM held that the main task of the workers in a semi colonial semi feudal country like India is to "*collect arms and build up bases of armed struggle in rural area, this is called the politics of working class; the politics of seizure of power*." Opposition to this basic task of the communists comes from the modern revisionists who are for reformism and not for revolution. In order to achieve this, it becomes important to organise the revolutionary movement in the most secret way, which is indelible to the ruling class.

For this, comrade CM (1966) in his writing '*Our Tasks in the Present Situation*' has asked the revolutionary communists to form underground (UG) activist groups in large numbers. He said that the UG comrades of the party must give leadership to the party members who shall form these groups of activists among the masses. The basic line laid down by comrade CM guided the revolutionary movements in India. But after the martyrdom of comrade CM, the revolutionary movement got split into different groups. Amid confusions with regard to the revolutionary paths, MCC (Maoist Communist Centre) under the leadership of comrade Kanhai Chatterjee (KC), after opposing the modern revisionist line of CPM, carried on the revolutionary movement in Bihar's Chota Nagpur region. MCC formed guerrilla zones in these regions based on which it started armed agrarian movement in the plains of Magadh region. Similarly, comrade K. Seetharamaiah formed CPI ML (PW) and after some critical reviews carried the line of comrade CM.

THE PRESENT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Through the creative implementation of the Chinese path in Indian concrete conditions, the revolutionary movement has proved that the line laid down by comrades CM and KC

stands true. In accordance with its practice, the revolutionary movement has been struggling against left and right deviations within itself. At the same time, the revolutionary movement has established the correct politico-military line for revolution. In an exception to the general development elsewhere in the world, it was in India that a Lin Piao group under the leadership of Madhav Mukherjee was formed. This Lin Piaoist group was based on the theory of revolutionary authority. This group specified that the line of CM was completely correct. They uncritically accepted CM's line. This was a left-deviationist line in the revolutionary movement which later on turned into right opportunism, at present they are active under the banner of modern revisionist party CPI ML 2nd CC.

Lin Piao was the greatest conspirator against the CPC. He used the shrewdest technique to establish leadership over the party. He can be called as the father of conspiratorial revisionists. Adding Lin Piao's name to that of comrade Mao, new slogans were given to proclaim, "*Long Live Comrade Mao and his closest comrade in arms comrade Lin Piao*". A slogan to glorify Lin read "*while our great leader comrade Mao is the founder leader of People's Liberation Army Vice-Chairman Lin is directly leading it*" to which comrade Mao had sarcastically replied, "*as if I am incapable of leading the army*". This slogan was tactically raised in order to establish the leadership of Lin Piao in the party. For Lin knew that Mao cannot say "*do not build your cult, take my name alone*". Lin also used to say that anyone who opposed Mao's view must be expelled from the party and everyone must follow Mao's view even if they do not understand those views. But it was Lin himself who opposed the Cultural Revolution; he wanted to bring the party under the leadership of the army and opposed the participation of party cadres in the production process.

Revisionists in general are opportunists. They tend to use different tactics in order to win over the cadres and masses to their side. Comrade Lenin (1904) said, "*When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget the feature characteristics of present-day*

opportunism in every sphere namely its indefiniteness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist by its very nature always evades formulating an issue definitely and decisively, he seeks a middle course, he wriggles like a snake between two mutually exclusive views, trying to agree with both and to reduce his difference of opinion to the level petty amendments, doubts, righteous and innocent suggestions". We have revisionists who vow to work on the revolutionary line and claim to be more revolutionary than any of the comrades working under the discipline of the revolutionary movement but in practice, they implement revisionism and wait for a chance to assume leadership of the revolutionary movement. Such revisionist forces spread different political lines among the masses and try to organise the masses on a counter-revolutionary basis. However, when confronted with questions on ideology and political line they vow 'true' allegiance to the revolutionary line or sometimes might try to evade the question. They never clearly state their ideological differences for they know that the clear revisionist line can easily be smashed in a truly revolutionary movement. In order to organise on the basis of their line, they adopt conspiratorial methods, they deploy methods of targeting the leadership, and they spread falsehood among the masses about the leaderships. Using such conspiratorial methods they try to break the unity of the revolutionary movement. They fear stating their ideological positions. Such has always been the case of revisionists be it Lin Piao or Harman [refer to the article on *Punjabnama*] or Balraj.

BALRAJ AND LIN PIAO: SAME ESSENCE, DIFFERENT FORM

Such was the general trait of every revisionist; such is the specific traits of Baccha Prasad Singh aka Balraj and his lackeys. He had been a member of the Madhav Mukherjee group and had gained a basic training in conspiracy hatching from this group. This is clearly manifested in the way he moves among the masses by calling himself a CC member of CPI (Maoist); this is despite the fact that he has been officially expelled by them. His pretense of allegiance to the revolutionary movement is similar to the conspiracy which Lin Piao

hatched against the CPC. As we have seen, Lin Piao used to associate his name with comrade Mao—the same is true for the counter-revolutionary element Baccha Prasad. Balraj is using his past association with the revolutionary movement in order to deceive the masses and break the ideological unity of the revolutionary movement. At a time when the ruling class has unleashed the most dreaded offensive against the revolutionary movement in particular and the masses in general, the right opportunist forces like Baccha Prasad are the ruling class agents of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, Operation Kagaar and Surajkund Scheme plotting to destroy the revolutionary movement.



*Lin Piao—ideological father
of Balraj revisionism*

He has been meeting the masses and trying to create the impression that he represents the revolutionary movement. As the masses develop faith in him, he starts his propagation of the counter-revolutionary line and petty bourgeois politics of class pacifism. Baccha Prasad is a Lin Piaoist and a grandson of Bernstein in spirit. The political issue which he is raising is nothing new. These are issues that have already been raised and refuted multiple times within the revolutionary communist movement in India and internationally. Instead of directly presenting his political ideological positions, he is persistently attacking the revolutionary leadership in the most hapless and timid manner with no political substance in it.

REFUTATIONS OF BALRAJ REVISIONISM

At a time when the state repression on the revolutionary movement is strong, Baccha Prasad, a trained Lin Piaoist, is opportunistically exploiting the condition to infuse disillusion among the cadres. Mao says that revisionism is the main danger. Modern revisionism is one of the chief enemies of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the New Democratic movement and revolution. The anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the people cannot be established without fighting against modern revisionism. In this respect, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the strongest weapon in the fight against modern revisionism. Therefore, it becomes important to expose his ideological, political and organisational positions. Following are the main questions/issues raised by Balraj. The author attempts to present a refutation of these by summarising the main ideological and political points in the debate:

1. "It is not possible for the current revolutionary movement to guide the mass work openly and therefore a different structure or committee which has to be open for guiding the mass work is needed."

This argument is not new. MN Roy, the revisionist who was expelled from the Third International for his pro-bourgeoisie stand, had propounded this idea. In his book *The Future of Politics in India*, he stated that there has to be two parties—first, the legal, democratic and open party which he named the Workers and Peasant Party of India and another, the proletarian party i.e. Communist Party of India. The former shall be used to mobilize the broad masses. This was criticised by the Comintern and the CPI changed it. Comintern urged the need for forming an independent party of the proletariat. Comrade Lenin in his debate against Menshevik revisionists laid down the theory of party building. A Bolshevik party has to be united and disciplined. Without the strong unified Bolshevik party under a strict discipline the revolution in Russia would not have been successful. Comrade Lenin had firmly held the position that socialists need to have a

separate party from the petty bourgeois reformists. The open party which is being advocated would be the platform for the dissemination of petty bourgeois reformism. The legal democratic mass work without an active militant resistance within it would be an apologia for modern revisionism (Lenin, 1904; Lenin, 1907). As quoted above, Comrade Charu Majumdar in his work '*Carry on the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism*' (CM, 1965) stated that only those mass work which has an active resistance group within it can be of any use to the revolutionary movement. A party for mass work without an UG leadership is basically a modern revisionist group preparing for elections. This is a step toward demolishing the cause of the proletarian class in general and communist party in particular.

The plea by Balraj and his lackeys for a separate party is basically to disassociate themselves from the path of Protracted People's War (PPW) (1) and falls into the mire of bourgeois parliamentary politics as propounded by their forefather Karl Kautsky. The transition to new democratic society and thereafter to a socialist and further to a communist society as envisaged in the political program of a New Democratic Revolution demands a single and united party which works in service of armed struggle from the very beginning of their work in any area. As the history of the International Communist Movement has shown, the UG leadership of a communist party is in a position to give the highest sacrifice for the cause of the party, revolution and people. The leadership of the most advanced communists is necessary to guide the movement. This will instill the motivation among the cadres to move in the path towards a position of leadership in a revolutionary communist party.

An open center for the party, if it has to be revolutionary and genuinely leading a revolutionary, cannot survive openly—this is because an open communist party structure would leave it open to attack by the enemy. This would allow for the state to arrest, encounter and disappear both the leadership and cadre of the party, without which the revolutionary movement would weaken and

may come to be in a position of severe backfoot. This is a trend that we are seeing since Operation Green Hunt and in its intensified form in Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, Operation Kagaar and Surajkund Scheme as well, developed through the 'Hearts and Minds' strategy and integral to the state's psychological war against the revolutionary movement, and the party which leads it. It is only when a party is reformist in character that such an open structure as propagated by Balraj can work. This way, the so-called revolutionary party is not a threat to the larger interests of imperialism and its running lackeys. In fact, the illusion of class struggle and resistance, which embodies the essence of these so-called parties, benefits the interests of the ruling classes—if the masses are deceived into believing that they are contributing towards revolutionary change while in reality pushing for reformism, these parties will remain a non-threat to the ruling class. This is because their ideological and political position will be dulled due to the lack of class struggle, and when the masses are weakened, so is a revolutionary party and its capacity to propagate revolution and expand its cadre. Is the Balraj group suggesting forming a new modern revisionist party?

Balraj very well knows that a revolutionary communist party needs to be UG from the very first day of its formation because without secret functioning, such a "party" will be destroyed by the enemy. Therefore, this demand is rooted not in ideological, political and organisational correctness but in the subjective, individualistic frustration born out of Balraj's inability to undertake the difficult life of a revolutionary. This is a result of Balraj's own political degeneration, his failure to rise up to the occasion and guide the revolution wherever he is needed by the people. Due to his petty bourgeois weaknesses, he is trying to craft a theory that best suits his own class comfortability, and the conditions created due to lack of internal struggle. The life of a revolutionary will be a life of constant vigilance against the state and its agents, which means that one's existence would come at the cost of personal comfort with one's existence having no meaning except for the sole purpose of serving the communist party and advancing the

revolutionary movement till they are martyred in the process of class war.

There is a very popular idiom in the subcontinent which says that a bad dancer blames the floor. In order to hide his personal shortcomings, Balraj is using a mask of upholding MLM. He wants to lead the party despite his weakness. That is, despite him not being willing to develop the capacity of going UG, he wants to establish himself as a leader among the party cadres and wants to keep guiding the party as a CC-M (Central Committee Member, the group of the most advanced and developed organizers in a communist party) by instead propagating an anti-revolutionary theory. This debate was soundly settled in Lenin's seminal *'What is to be Done?'* (Lenin, 1902) already. That is the reason why he wants an open party for open work. This is nothing short of a feudal supremacy manifested under the garb of MLM. He is acting like that feudal lord who does not want to lose hold over his land but is incapable of raising defense for protecting the land from the peasant force. The hold of Brahmanical feudalism over Balraj makes him unable to politically comprehend the two line struggle within the party. For him the two line struggle is a way to establish his feudal supremacy over others instead of an avenue to advance the interests of the most exploited and oppressed people and their revolutionary allies by advancing the party's collective understanding in the process of criticism-self criticism and debate.

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2. Balraj alleges, "The party is not giving due importance to mass work and the military line is dominating."

Comrade Mao (1938) said: *"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application by the Party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to the varying conditions"*. For every Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, the question about armed struggle, the military line, is of central importance. Comrade Lenin said that the only thing which differentiates a communist from a social-democrat is whether or not they accept the dictatorship of the proletariat and without an armed struggle, it is not possible to smash the most reactionary ruling classes. This question of laying stress on mass movement was raised in different forms by Parimal Dasgupta, regarding which comrade Charu Majumdar (1969) wrote in *'On Some Current Political and organizational Problems'*: *"the question is if everyone concerns himself with building mass organizations, who is to build upon the underground party organization? Do we expect the mass organization to build an agrarian revolution?"*

Rebutting the stress on mass organizing, comrade CM said that trends to form open mass organization without the formation of clandestine party structures guided by a UG leadership would invariably lead into the formations of open mass organization in the interest of rich and middle peasant like that of the Kisan Sabhas. This stress on mass work at the cost of surrendering the politics of PPW is modern revisionism and economism in politics. In 2007, the CPI (Maoist) highlighted this in its document titled *'Political and Organisational Review'*. The document is accessible on public domain but, like all Maoist documents banned and censored by the world's largest democracy, is not accessible for a broad section of Indian people. However, the Indian state's organ, the Supreme Court itself, in the case of *G.N. Saibaba and Ors. v. Union of India* has clarified that reading and possessing banned literature (including literature of banned

Maoist parties), adhering to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and promoting it is not a crime. Therefore, the author is reproducing what the POR states: *"We should always keep 'Politics in command'. The seizure of state power should be the goal of all our activity—whether in building the three instruments of revolution [Party, Army, United Front], or in conducting our day-to-day mass work, or in building the mass movement. Neglect of this central task will lead to economism in the movement and will confine the masses mainly to reformist practice."* This sums up the actual MLM position on this question and is in accordance with what the great teachers of the proletariat have taught us on the question of economism and the relation between partial struggles and the ultimate goal of seizure of state power.

The leadership of the poor and landless peasant on the peasant movement can only be organized through party organizations among the peasants. In a time of the rising threat of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism, and a clear cut support from US Imperialism to these reactionary forces of comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal ruling classes, any communist party (if it is actually communist i.e. serious about leading a revolution to victory) will be concerned primarily on the military question. Only with an active resistance against fascism through a correct military line would they be able to smash the fascist state and build a New Democratic state. As quoted above, comrade CM (1965, 1966) had said that active peoples resistance to the rising repression should be the method of the revolutionaries. Comrade CM (1965) guided us to use the method of 'tit for tat' in order to weaken the military offensive of the ruling class.

However, in the name of mass work, Balraj is propagating an anti-people politics of bourgeois pacifism. There is no dichotomy between the mass work and the military line. The document *'Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution'* written by the CPI(Maoist) which is publicly available on the government platform *'South Asia Terrorism Portal'* says, *"Before the outbreak of a war all organization and struggle are in preparation for the war and will serve it*

directly or indirectly after war breaks out. The path followed by the Chinese revolution is also applicable in semi colonial, semi-feudal India due to basic similarities in the conditions between India and pre-revolutionary China. It is the principal characteristics of the objective conditions of India that determine the Path of the Indian Revolution as the path of protracted people's war". The politics of PPW relies on the masses and mass work but not in the form of bourgeoisie tailism but as the vanguard. No PPW can be carried through without the masses; it is the sea of the masses in rural areas that would hold weapons to destroy the ruling class fort in villages. The political line as envisaged in the S&T document states, *"People are getting mobilized in various parts of the country into armed agrarian revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the Party, which is growing in strength day by day. People's guerrilla army is getting expanded and people's war is spreading to new areas. Since our agrarian revolution is a just one, and since it defends the interests of the majority of the people, the support of the people is increasing day by day."* The political line which Balraj and his lackeys are propagating is most harmful for the revolution. This chest thumping for mass organizations is nothing other than an excuse to avoid the task of building secret party structures. The avoidance of party building is to avoid the task of armed agrarian revolution.

3. *"There is capitalist development in Punjab, Haryana and elsewhere"*

The argument is basically to claim that in India it is impossible to establish liberated areas, to build the Red Army and to carry out protracted people's war because there is relatively more industrial development, capitalist relations in agriculture and better transport and communication facilities, and because the Indian government has a strong centralized administrative system with a very big modern army when compared to pre-revolutionary China. These arguments are wrong, sprouting from the modern revisionist line. However strong the enemy's military power may be and however weak the people's military power, by basing itself on the vast backward countryside—the weakest position

of the enemy—and relying on the vast masses of the peasantry, eager for agrarian revolution, and creatively following the flexible strategy and tactics of armed guerrilla struggle—as a full meal is eaten up mouthful by mouthful, exactly in the same way—by applying the best part of its army (a force few times stronger than that of the enemy) against different single parts of the enemy forces and following the policy and tactics of sudden attack and annihilation, it is absolutely possible for a communist party to defeat the enemy forces and achieve victory for the people in single battles. It is thus possible for them to increase the people's armed forces, attain supremacy over the enemy's forces and defeat the enemy decisively. While taking into account factors favorable to the enemy, such a party must, in the course of carrying out the protracted people's war, take many more precautions and it should establish liberated areas by developing guerrilla zones keeping in mind that it is not possible to build liberated areas in quick succession.

The revolutionary communist movement working towards a New Democratic Revolution (NDR) will have to mobilize people into class struggle more skillfully and cautiously based on class line and mass line. Some changes have indeed taken place since 1947 in the production relations in India. Nobody can deny that. However, these changes are only quantitative in character and the relations of production continue to be semi-colonial semi-feudal in nature because the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlord classes and their imperialist masters do not have it in their interests to allow any qualitative transformation of production relations in India. While according to these changes, communists must formulate concrete tactics that suits the peculiarity of each specific region, the character of the revolution in India still remains New Democratic and the path of revolution still remains area-wise seizure of power through armed agrarian struggle in the countryside to surround the cities. As Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, we must uphold the dialectical and historical materialist method and base ourselves on the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and not make subjective analyses.

The Spring Thunder of Naxalbari in 1967, for the first time in the history of the Communist movement in India, made a rupture from revisionism and gave a clear-cut answer to what the path and character of the Indian revolution will be and what the nature of the Indian state is. Since then, forces deserting the path of revolution have been giving the same argument—that India is no longer semi-colonial semi-feudal and PPW is no longer valid. Once again, revisionist Balraj and his lackeys are bringing up this argument to make ideological attacks on the revolutionary movement and deviate comrades from the path of revolution. Hence, it is very important for us to struggle against this form of revisionism.

4. *"There is no place for debate in the party"*

Any MLM party follows the method of two-line struggle to resolve debates. In fact, there is a rich history of debates within the CPI(Maoist) as well. The debates between the erstwhile Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Party Unity and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War in the process of their merger into CPI(ML)PW; and the debates between the CPI(ML)PW and the erstwhile Maoist Communist Centre of India to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist) gave rise to a lively two line-struggle on many important specific questions of the Indian revolution and the international global situation. A historiography of this and other debates within the revolutionary communist movement is beautifully provided in Prof. Amit Bhattacharyya's (2014) *'Storming the Gates of Heaven- The Maoist Movement in India: A Critical Study 1972-2014'*.

Debates within a communist party are based on the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist method of party functioning. The principles of Democratic Centralism, as laid down by Com. Lenin and developed by Com. Mao has to be followed in all situations. All forms of debate and differences can be placed within the structure of which the comrades are part of. A communist party is not a debating society, it debates not for the sake of debating or in revisionist perspective of breaking up the

unity of the party but in order to devise the correct political path to move ahead towards the goal of establishing New Democracy-Socialism-Communism.

In the name of freedom to debate, the party cannot grant freedom to spit venom on the party line in the most opportunistic manner in order to carry forward the task of modern revisionists which Balraj and his lackeys are clearly guilty of. Instead of presenting their differences inside the structures of the party, Balraj and his lackeys are moving around the country propagating their revisionist line. The question for debating space is therefore a conspiracy to weaken the party unity and facilitate the ruling class offensive of Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar, Operation Kagaar and Surajkund Scheme against the communist revolutionary party and the entire New Democratic Revolutionary movement.

In actuality, Balraj's argument is used against the leadership of the party, the leadership which is guiding the people in building guerrilla zones and base areas, the party which the Indian state has proclaimed as its No. 1 enemy. We must not forget that the leadership whom Balraj and his lackeys are targeting has shown to this world the methodology through which we can liberate masses from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. But all Balraj has to present to the oppressed and exploited masses is class compromise and foot worship of the most reactionary ruling class and their institutions. This is traitorous to the cause of revolution and the masses.

Balraj and his lackeys have exposed their anti-revolutionary modern revisionist tendencies among the revolutionary forces of the country. They have proved traitorous to the cause of revolution. Comrade Mao had propounded the theory of three magical weapons for the completion of NDR. These three magical weapons are the party, army and united front. Balraj and his lackeys have failed as communist revolutionaries on all the three parameters. Firstly, under the modern revisionist practice of giving greater stress on mass movement over the task of building the people's army, they have belittled the need and the most urgent task of forming a

revolutionary party. Secondly, they have deserted the path of PPW. This is reflected in their criticism over what they call "*too much militancy*". They have no vision for '*forcible overthrow of the existing order of the society*' (Marx&Engels, 1848). Thirdly, if they lack these two weapons (Party and Army) then what is left for the United Front (UF)? Their UF would be the rest house for liberals and soft Hindutva fascists forces. UF, devoid of armed struggle, is a platform of reformists to serve the ruling class interest. Thus we have a Balraj who slipped from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal. He has turned away from Maoism to modern revisionism.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the revisionist lines of the Balraj clique have been proving extremely harmful to the revolutionary communist movement. They are propagating the politics of the same old Lasalles, Bernsteins, Kautskys, Khrushchevs and Lin Piaos which the communist revolutionaries of yesteryear had to fight tooth and nail against. Today, it is our task to smash the line of the Balraj revisionist clique. As comrade CM had said, "*In joining the revolutionary struggle the very first thing you should understand is that revisionism is the main danger in the world today. Even when suffering defeats one after another revisionism does not relent but continues to launch new attacks in different ways.*" And we must continue waging the struggle against revisionism and crush revisionism in the course of class struggle. At the present juncture, the revolutionary movement must expose the Balraj revisionists and consign them into the dustbin of history.

ENDNOTES

[1] Protracted People's War (PPW): PPW is the path of revolution in oppressed semi-colonial/colonial and semi-feudal countries where the democratic revolution remains unfinished and hence the axis of the revolution remains agrarian. In such countries the model of area-wise seizure of power and surrounding the cities from the countryside is followed as had also been proclaimed by coms. CM and KC as the path of revolution in India.

IMPORTANT DISCLAIMER: This is a purely theoretical article which is written in accordance with resources found online largely based on the principles of what a communist party should be like as given by Charu Majumdar in the book '*Eight Historical Documents*' (FLP, 2020). Nazariya only takes responsibility for the publication and circulation of the article to the extent of upholding Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles.

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On Punjab

By Advocate Ajay Kumar

This article is the translation of some portion of an unpublished book by comrade Advocate Ajay Kumar titled "पंजाब में नक्सलवादी लहर गर्जन और जद्दोजहद".



INTRODUCTION

Punjab has been a storm centre of people's movements in the form of active armed struggle. From the times of feudal era to the time of the spring thunder of Naxalbari revolt that painted the Indian communist movement red, Punjab has been the concrete ground for the development and practice of revolutionary ideologies. It is no surprise that just after the Russian revolution, the revolutionaries in Punjab were some of the few revolutionaries in India to accept Marxism. It was here that the Gadar Party, Kirti Kisan Party and finally the Communist party took birth. Similarly, when the Chinese revolution carved out the path for revolution in semi colonial and semi feudal societies, Punjab followed it. The line developed by com. Mao against the revisionism of Khrushchev found fertile soil in the plains of Punjab. With the march of history of class struggle, the geography of Punjab saw the different shades of communist revolutionaries. Punjab became an important centre from where the communist revolutionaries could purify Marxism from the attack of the revisionists. After the Naxalbari Spring Thunder, the communists within the revisionist CPM came out of it and organized the first meeting of communist

revolutionaries against modern revisionism of CPM in 1968 in Bathinda district of Punjab's Birk village. The leaders of this group were Jagjeet Singh Sohal, Harbhajan Singh Sohi and Mangal Singh Dhuri. Later on Baba Bujha Singh and Gandharv Sen joined this group. This group was named Preparatory Committee for Coordination of Revolutionaries in CPM.

NAXALBARI AND THE AFTERMATH IN PUNJAB

It is important to note here that at an all-India level structure under the leadership of Com. Charu Majumdar (henceforth, Com CM), AICCCR (1), was formed earlier than this coordination group in Punjab. To ensure the larger unity within the communists in India, the preparatory committee held a meeting with AICCCR in Delhi. In this meeting, Jagjeet Singh Sohal, Hakim Samaun and Babu Ram Bairagi were present. Later, a larger meeting was organized in Bathinda in which Harbhajan Sohi dissented to the proposal of forming committees to propagate the Naxalbari struggle in Punjab villages. He said that Punjab is not Naxalbari and that we should not try to make a Naxalbari like struggle in Punjab as the people are not ready

for this. This was the first manifestation of modern revisionism of Punjab. Even today, his words find its echo among the ranks of people very close to Balraj alias Bacha Prasad Singh. This sounds similar to the often heard sentence that DK injection should not be applied in Punjab or Haryana.

Harbhajan Singh left the Coordination Committee. Thereafter, Baba Bujha Singh became the president of the Punjab Coordination Committee in 1968. This committee was the council to guide the agrarian struggle in Punjab. Later on after the formation of CPI (ML), there developed two factions of the party in Punjab—one was the CPI (ML) Punjab unit and the other was CPI ML Punjab Himachal Unit. The latter criticized the urban guerrilla movement in Bengal. Therefore, it was declared a revisionist group by CPI(ML)'s magazine *Liberation*. At the same time Harbhajan Singh Sohi did not join the AICCCR and instead found his allies in Nagi Raddy, CP Reddy and D.V. Rao group. They too had similar revisionist positions. **Their common position was:** 1) **The Chinese path cannot be India's path for revolution.** 2) **They opposed the Srikakulam struggle and termed it left adventurism.** 3) **They did not declare the Soviet State as social imperialist.** 4) **They did not accept the line of election boycott.** They said that where we do not have a strong struggle, we should participate in elections. This group merged with some sections of Punjab Himachal state committee and later on, with the merger of some smaller nominal groups, formed CPRCI (ML).

After the martyrdom of Com. Charu Majumdar, within the Punjab State Committee, a section of comrades, was influenced by J&K state secretary R.P. Sarauf leading into a split; they started a debate in which they took the position that the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people is the principal contradiction.

The main points of R.P. Sarauf were: 1) **The contradiction between the feudalism and broad masses of people is no more the principal contradiction;** 2) **The city should be the center of revolution;** 3) **CPC is a**

revisionist party because it gave more importance to peasantry than the proletariat; 4) **Armed struggle will follow the path of general insurrection;** 5) **Communists should focus all their work on proletariat in factories.** The R.P. Sarauf group later turned into environmentalists.

PUNJAB: BACKTRACK IN THE PATH OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

The communist revolutionaries in Punjab lost their organizational unity after the martyrdom of com. CM. At the efforts of some of the comrades of Bengal, the Party Unity Organizing group was formed in Bengal prison. The main task of this group was to organize the communist revolutionaries who got dispersed into several sections. Punjab became an important center for re-organizing them. On 1 Jan, 1982 the COC group of Punjab merged with the Party Unity Organization group to form CPI (ML) Party Unity. The CPI (ML) Party Unity organized its first conference in 1987, in which its general secretary Jagjeet Singh Sohel presented a paper on the party line. He said that India is no more a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and here the path for proletarian revolution will be the line of insurrection. But this line was defeated by Com. Narayan Sanyal and Com. Arvind. They firmly held that the line of the protracted people's war (PPW) is the only path. Due to this division on ideological lines, a faction within the party which included the General Secretary, remained in the minority and left the party. The conference then passed a new program and constitution. The conference also declared that the party in Punjab should work among the poor and landless peasants. In 1997, the Party Unity group presented a central POR which had some important observations with regard to Punjab:

1. In Punjab, the movement has been consciously limited to legal struggle. Therefore, the whole of the party structure in Punjab is open.

2. The prevalence of legalism and reformism within the party is due to the serious liberal stand which the leadership took.

3. Therefore the party's strategic line is in deep crisis wherein, the comrades give more importance to mass organization and mass struggle than underground (UG) party formation and armed struggle.

4. The central leadership of the party has not been able to lead a strong determined ideological struggle against the comrade of Punjab.

5. The central leadership concluded that if the politics of PPW did not find roots among the organizational structure of the Punjab unit then the whole of Punjab would be engulfed in legalism.

These observations of the 90s have their reflections in the present too, in fact it is no exaggeration to say that the communist movement in Punjab has been in crisis ever since. The lack of subjective forces that have the abilities to grasp the three magical weapons of revolution—the (underground) party, the people's army and the united front, has caused the crisis of leadership in Punjab. It has pulled back the movement in Punjab to at least a decade before Naxalbari.

The CPI (ML) PU in Punjab for a long time has been working among rich peasants and big landlords. This was largely because of the influence of R.P. Sarauf group. It was because of this influence that they declared capitalism to be the main production relation in Punjab. They said that the programme of land to the tiller is not applicable in Punjab. They did not build any struggle against caste atrocities and money lending in Punjab. Clearly, if one stands with the rich peasants and big landlords then the question of caste or feudal exploitation becomes invisible. PU was very active in Khalistan Movement which too was led by the rich peasants and big landlords. Even in the conference, Com. Arvind commented that as communists, the party should have been more active in class struggle and not in the struggle related to the nationalities, he said that the communist should not build any nationality movement.

In August 1998, CPI ML PU merged with CPI ML PW. PW was the true successor of Com. CM in Andhra. They critically accepted the

line of com. CM. After this merger, new documents were published in 2001. In these documents a new understanding with regard to Punjab and Haryana was built. The document said that after the Green Revolution, the conditions of peasants in Punjab and Haryana did not improve. A large section of the peasantry is still under the feudal hold of the traders, moneylenders, landlords and banks. In some pockets, there has been development of capitalist landlords and it is here that agricultural labor has independently grown. Therefore, according to this understanding, capitalism in agriculture in Punjab and Haryana is present, though in small pockets. With a changed perspective on production relations, the communist revolutionaries in Punjab changed their organizational line too. The new document said that the cause of legalism in the Punjab unit is due to the leadership working in open mass organizations for a very long duration. Due to this, the document suggested that only the individuals who are underground and working as professional revolutionaries should be taken in the party committee. This was also the understanding developed by the Bolsheviks in their debate with the Menshevik faction.

The RCCI (Maoist) group which got formed in the course of struggle regarding the production relation merged with MCC to form MCCI. In their document titled MCCI-POR, the party states that: *"On the question of building and spreading the revolutionary struggle in Punjab, we have to advance in the face of such thinking as 'There would be no armed revolution or armed struggle in Punjab and that there would only be some mass movements'. We have to struggle vigorously against such thinking. In our understanding, whatever development has taken place in Punjab in the name of capitalism, is distorted capitalism, and the semi-feudal basis still exists in various forms. In reality, the problem of land for the peasants has not yet been solved, and among the peasants there is a strong desire for land. In our view, distorted capitalism has developed in Punjab to some extent, but the semi-feudal mode of production still maintains influence and control.*

Therefore, it is possible to develop and spread armed struggle in Punjab as part of the strategy of protracted peoples' war, taking into account the specific economic-political and social aspects of the state”.

When CPI ML PW merged with MCCI, CPI (Maoist) was formed. This party conducted a survey of the production relations in which they concluded. “So, to say that Punjab has basically changed into a capitalist system but that the basic slogan still remains ‘land to the tiller’ and the task/path still remains going to the strategic areas to build base areas is contradictory. The basic tasks and the path are closely integrated with the stage of revolution, the condition prevailing in society. We maintain that though the predominant relations of production continue to remain as semi-feudal the significant changes will demand a more elaborate working out of our tactics as compared to the areas where big landlordism predominates. Our basic strategic slogan will remain; ‘land to the tiller’ and ‘power to the peasant committee, under the leadership of the landless and poor peasants’; and the basic path will remain to choose some strategic areas with a favorable terrain for guerrilla war towards building guerrilla zones and Base Areas’. The land of the pro-capitalist landlords and absentee landlords will be seized, as also government land, land of the Gurdwaras and other religious institutions, etc, and re-distributed to the landless and poor peasants on the basis of ‘land to the tiller’”.

Conclusion

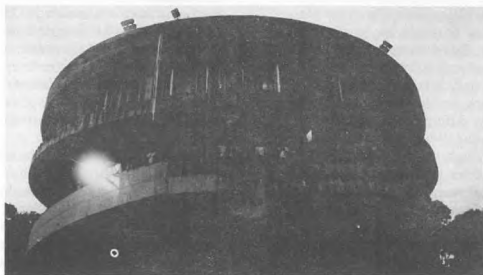
The objective condition for revolutionary upsurge is very sharp in Punjab. People are up in arms against the contradiction of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, due to which it is most likely that, with a correct political line, Punjab can become the storm centre for yet another Naxalbari-like uprising. Provided one follows the line demarcated by comrades CM and KC against modern revisionism. The entire attempt to consider Punjab as distinct unit from the rest of revolutionary struggle in DK will only pull back the wheels of history unto the roads of Harbhajan Sohi, the first revisionist after Naxalbari.

**RELEASE COMRADE AJAY KUMAR!
SCRAP THE LUCKNOW CONSPIRACY CASE!
RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
REPEAL NIA!**

Advocate Ajay Kumar is a seasoned human rights lawyer, grassroots activist, writer, and intellectual—nearly three decades into his unwavering commitment to defending peasants, Adivasis, Dalits, slum dwellers, students, political prisoners, and environmental defenders. He began organizing as a student at Kurukshetra University, defending canteen workers and slum dwellers, and later championed peasant and Dalit rights across Haryana, opposing arrests and conducting fact-finding missions. In Chandigarh, he resisted slum demolitions and amendments to tenancy laws in 2016. He supported campaigns against corporate-led displacement by Electro Steel (Jharkhand), Grabanda Bera (Jharkhand), and POSCO (Odisha), and co-founded the Vistapan Virodhi Jan Vikas Andolan (VVJVA), serving as its all-India convenor from 2007-2016, to unify anti-displacement struggles nationwide. He was also active in the Forum Against the War on People, opposing Operation Green Hunt and Salwa Judum. As a member of the Indian Association of Peoples' Lawyers, he defended Bhima Koregaon detainees, opposed pellet-gun use in Kashmir, supported protests against the revocation of Article 370, opposed the CAA-NRC-NPR, and took part in the farmers' and anti-caste movements. A prolific writer, he has published extensively on agrarian structures, caste panchayats, reservation politics, militarization, social boycotts, and more, co-editing Lalkar and contributing to Jan Pratirodh. In the early hours of August 31, 2024, the NIA arrested him in Chandigarh under FIR RC-01/2023/NIA/Lucknow, accusing him of Maoist conspiracy—a charge CASR and other human rights organizations assert is part of a systematic “witch-hunt” aimed at silencing democratic dissent by intimidating lawyers and activists. His release is demanded not only as a matter of justice, but also to protect legal advocacy for political prisoners, preserve democratic dissent, and uphold the rights of marginalized communities across India.

Renegade Harman and his Punjabnama

By a sympathiser of SFS



INTRODUCTION

At present, throughout the world, the imperialist crisis has been on the rise and the imperialist forces have been struggling to come out of it. Consequently, the possibility of a third world war is looming up. This crisis has its impact on the economic, social and political life of the society and individuals. Comrade Lenin had said that imperialism means war, and the imperialist forces have used this method of waging war to come out of its crisis but, far from coming out of it, they continue deepening the crisis. The only way to come out of this crisis is the destruction of imperialism and the establishment of communism at the world level through proletarian revolutions in countries around the globe. It was Lenin who said that there can be no revolution without a communist party. Therefore, the role of the communist party in bringing the people out of this crisis is very important. Along with this important role, we must also analyze the impact which the social crisis has had on the communist party. If this crisis is not understood in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist method then the revolution will become impossible. Comrade Lenin had pointed out long ago that there can be no revolution without a party. There is a dialectical relation between the revolutionary forces and the crisis in the society. If the revolutionary forces do not properly

understand and resolve the crisis then the question of revolution will be postponed. This has made it impertinent for every revolutionary force to maintain a good hold on the ideology of MLM. But some elements in the revolutionary movement go bankrupt due to the crisis existing in the society and therefore there is a rise in the opportunist-liquidationist-revisionist forces within the revolutionary organization and communist party.

EXPOSE THE OPPORTUNIST-LIQUIDATIONIST HARMAN AND HIS GURUS

One such victim of ruling class ideology is Harmanpreet, an ex-member of SFS (Students for Society), a revolutionary organization committed to the cause of the New Democratic Revolution in India. Under the influence of the ruling class, he turned into an opportunist and initially floated around, drifting further and further away from the politics of "Land to the Tiller!" and "All power to the Revolutionary People's Committees!". Not only this, he even started speaking against the revolutionary ideology of MLM, the ideology which is the single determining factor for the liberation of the people of the world from the shackles of the imperialist forces. His turn to opportunism was a natural lead towards his

liquidationism—he started propagating malicious rumours against SFS and he even said that the organization has become defunct and there is no one in the leadership. His intention was plain and simple—regardless of whatever way he might try to disguise his thoughts, we, the revolutionary people, know that he wanted to dissolve the organization; he wanted to destroy it. Is the state also not trying to break such revolutionary organizations? How are they different from the state and its ruling classes? When this did not prove effective enough, he turned into an open revisionist under the influence of some old revisionist elements and formed a group named Punjabnama.

Following is the important points of departure of the Punjabnama group from the communist revolutionary political line as expounded by Lenin and practiced by communist parties and revolutionary organizations:-

1. Like every other opportunist of the time, Harman started his opportunism by violating the organization principle of the proletarian organization i.e. Democratic Centralism. He stopped coordination with the leadership of the organization and started forming groups against the organization and its leadership. In the name of having autonomy, Harman and his lackeys wanted to turn a proletarian organization (SFS) into a club-house of the petty bourgeoisie (like Punjabnama).

2. The principal contradiction of the society for them is the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people; due to which they do not recognize the land issue confronting the vast masses of people; they give farewell to the anti-caste politics for new democratic revolution. Unless and until there is no direct occupation of the country by some imperialist forces, the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of people will remain the principal contradiction of Indian society.

3. Toeing the opportunist line of class collaboration, they say that feudal forces should be exposed and isolated and not be annihilated. Their class analysis method is to see the land-holding of the individuals. This is

non-Marxist method. The correct Marxist method was laid down by none other than the architect of the struggle against modern revisionism in the Indian subcontinent, comrade Charu Majumdar. In the historical article 'Carry on the Struggle against Modern Revisionism' (Majumdar, 1965) he established that "The mistake that is often made while analyzing the class of the peasants is to determine it on the basis of the title deeds of land. This is a dangerous mistake".

4. Every opportunist, says comrade Lenin, is basically a chauvinist. That is every opportunist has a bourgeois ideological push due to which they have national chauvinist ideology in them. Similarly our opportunist-liquidationist-revisionist hailing from Punjab's bourgeois class background says that Punjab's struggle is with Delhi (i.e. the central government) but they forget to present a class analysis of Punjab. They consider the nationality struggle as their own struggle. But we communists should understand that nationality issue is not our issue, our proletarian perspective is to smash the ruling class in the countryside and set up alternate people's power in the form of RPCs. As Comrade Charu Majumdar (1968) had demonstrated in his article 'The United Front and the Revolutionary Party', "The Communists should not be the leaders of national struggles. The Communists should, however, forge unity with the national struggles but the duty of the Communists is to develop class struggle and not national struggles... We, Communists, can never become leaders of the national struggles, even if we try. By trying to become leaders we can only reduce ourselves into mere appendages of the petty bourgeoisie of various nationalities." Every opportunist in their vain attempt to demolish the revolutionary organization and its political line brings such data to prove that production relation has changed hence the need is to change the form of organization and political line. Lenin (1908) in 'Marxism and Revisionism' said that "attempts were made by the right opportunist to influence the public by "new data on economic development" ...it was said that cartels and trusts would probably enable capital to eliminate them [crisis] altogether".

5. In accordance with the opportunists of the time of comrade Lenin, Punjabinama is saying that the production relation has changed in Punjab and Haryana and there is capitalism in India. By saying so, these opportunist forces present their alibi for not participating in land struggles. Today the land question stands unresolved hence it is an immediate question for anyone working anywhere in the Indian subcontinent. One only needs to look into the most precise compilations of the debates on the production relation in India. Was the debate not clinched there? To avoid confusion, one can refer to the second issue of Nazariya which contributed to the debate on production relations; all these writings established that semi-colonial semi-feudal production relations largely persist throughout the Indian subcontinent. What very important change has taken place in the society that would lead us to conclude change in production relations? The opportunists never name them; all they do is to find alibis to avoid the struggle for land and political power by the poor, landless peasantry and the working class of the subcontinent. Has Punjabinama produced any document to explain their opinion? If yes then we are eager to read and reflect on the sudden change in Harman and his lackeys' stand. Or is it that when the state repression has increased, the petty bourgeoisie cry out "*excuse me comrade, I have a debate, I think that production relation has changed and therefore we should not raise the question of feudalism as this would invite more repression*"? It is not just about the Punjabinama group. In fact, there are many such opportunists concealed under the cover of public intellectuals who, with every sort of state repression on the revolutionary movement, cry out that production relations have changed. Their main leader is Balraj who, after facing state repression, changed his formulation of production relations. He started saying that there is a need to reconsider our analysis of production relations and that there is capitalism in Punjab and Haryana and the principal contradiction has changed in India. It would be no exaggeration to say that for the petty bourgeois elements in the revolutionary movement, the police's bullet decides mode of production in India: when the police gun is unloaded, these elements cry out

louder than even the revolutionary forces that India is semi-colonial, semi-feudal. But when the police load their guns and point bullets toward them then suddenly these petty bourgeoisie fellow travellers start doubting the formulation and assert that India is now capitalist— hence, the strategy and tactics of revolution needs to be changed. In essence, the whole matter is that these opportunists want to preserve their private property and skin and therefore they are raising such unnecessary useless debates that were decisively settled some 15 years back.

CONCLUSION

During the times of crisis, revolutionary theory is the main target of the attack by the ruling class. Hence it has become very important for the revolutionaries to smash all the attacks on the political line developed under the ideology of MLM. We should take lessons from Lenin's struggle to revive the revolutionary movement from the crisis period of 1908-1914. In the times of crisis, it is very commonly observed that people start doubting the revolutionary theory, possibility of revolution, the leadership leading the movement, and also their own ability to be of any use to the revolutionary movement. Regarding this, comrade Charu Mazumdar (1970) said that "*Doubtism Is another name of revisionism today... You should destroy here and now the germs of this doubtist thinking and propaganda. Never belittle the harm caused by such thinking and propaganda, because if their germs are left to themselves they will, in times of storms and darkness gain strength and spread highly dangerous contagions and thus harm the revolution*".

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On Armed Revisionism

By Anil Kumar



INTRODUCTION

The current global political landscape indicates that the objective conditions for a proletarian revolution are intensifying. The deepening crisis of imperialist powers has led to heightened aggression against oppressed countries such as India. Additionally, inter-imperialist rivalries are sharpening, particularly with the rise of China and the increasing competition between factions led by China and the United States to control global resources. Domestically, contradictions between feudalism and the broad masses have deepened, as the big bourgeoisie and large landlords intensify their attacks on the working class. This is most evident in the brutal repression of the communist movement in central and eastern India, carried out in the interests of imperialist powers and the domestic ruling class. Brahmanical Hindutva fascist forces are consolidating their position to fully capture state power.

Under such conditions, revolutionary communist organizations bear a historic responsibility to uphold the ideology and politics of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). As the ideology of the proletariat, MLM advances through struggle against the ruling classes in ideology, politics, military affairs, culture, and the daily fight for

production. On the ideological front, communists, as the vanguard of the proletariat, must combat both the ruling-class ideology and revisionism, which masquerades as MLM while serving the interests of the bourgeoisie. The struggle against revisionism has both political and military dimensions, and to fully understand its development, both aspects must be considered.

REVISIONISM AND ARMED REVISIONISM

Revisionism is the primary enemy of the communist movement. As formulated by Comrade Lenin, revisionism is the means by which the ruling classes infiltrate proletarian organizations and parties with their ideology. This infiltration is facilitated by the presence of the petty bourgeoisie within the working-class movement, providing fertile ground for opportunism to take root and eventually evolve into full-fledged revisionism. The petty bourgeoisie serves as a conduit for bourgeois politics, maintaining a Marxist appearance while fundamentally adhering to bourgeois ideology. The existence of a significant petty-bourgeois element within the communist movement creates material conditions for the development of opportunism, which ultimately poses a grave threat to the proletariat and the broader

communist struggle.

Lenin aptly stated: *"Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism. Practice has shown that the active people in the working-class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not have remained in power"* (Lenin, 1938). Opportunism undermines the fighting capacity of the proletariat, transforming Marxism into a tool for bourgeois interests. Particularly dangerous is the infiltration of opportunism into the strategic framework of the communist party's efforts to seize state power. The strategy for capturing state power must be directed toward a class war in the interests of the proletariat and the vast exploited masses. Revisionism at this level is especially harmful, as it often appears aligned with the communist movement politically but reveals its true bourgeois nature when it comes to the implementation of revolutionary strategy.

The history of proletarian-led class struggle is also a history of conflict between revisionists and Marxists in both military science and political practice. Early reformists argued that the proletariat could not lead a class war; however, the Paris Commune demonstrated that the working class could indeed wage such a struggle and move toward seizing state power. Summarizing the lessons of the Paris Commune, Marx emphasized that the elimination of class rule and oppression requires the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of which is a proletarian army (Marx & Engels, 1871).

Building on this, Comrade Lenin led the historic October Revolution in Russia, developing a proletarian military line and forming a disciplined Red Army. Further advancing this theory, the Chinese Revolution refined the military science of the proletariat. Mao famously asserted, *"Without a people's army, the people have nothing. Without armed struggle, neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China, and it*

would be impossible for the revolution to triumph" (Chien-Ying, 1978). Thus, both political and military lines are indispensable for a communist party waging revolution against the ruling class.

WHEN IDEOLOGY BECOMES A MATERIAL FORCE: THE JANTANA SARKAR AND ITS VISION

Learning from the teachings of Mao, the Naxalbari revolt in our country demonstrated to the ruling class forces of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie that their days were numbered. This country was in its way to become yet another shining example of proletarian state power. The ruling big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie were panic-stricken by the revolt and attempted various tactics to suppress the movement, but all their efforts were in vain. Communist revolutionaries like Comrade Charu Majumdar (CM) and Sushital Roy Chowdhury were murdered in police stations or in secret locations operated by state agencies. Yet, these brutal actions could not deter the communists. The struggle against feudalism and imperialism, under the leadership of communist revolutionaries, advanced as communist parties began organizing among the peasants in the DK and Bihar-Jharkhand regions. As a result, communist forces in this country established a people's army and a people's state known as the People's Democratic Government or Jantana Sarkar (Azad, 2010). They correctly applied Mao's "Three Magical Weapons" principle in the Indian context—building a revolutionary communist party, a people's army, and a united front in the form of the Jantana Sarkar. The advancement of the Jantana Sarkar is of objective significance for the world proletariat.

The objectives of the Jantana Sarkar, as expressed in Amit Bhattacharya's book (Bhattacharyya, 2016), include:

1. Establishing a People's Democratic Government based on the collective dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie under proletarian leadership. This Four-Class United Front is essential for the success

of the People's Democratic Revolution. It will mobilize all oppressed nationalities, religious minorities facing harassment, and other oppressed social sections. The Jantana Sarkar will strengthen this united front at all levels and strive for nationwide success.

2. Guaranteeing all fundamental freedoms and rights of the broad toiling masses, including:

- Freedom of speech, writing, and publication.
- Right to assemble and form organizations.
- Right to conduct strikes and demonstrations.
- Right to live according to one's wishes.
- Right to primary education and medical care.
- Right to minimum employment.

3. Granting people the right to elect government representatives and recall them if they fail to adhere to the manifesto.

4. Ensuring no discrimination based on tribe, caste, religion, nationality, gender, language, region, education, or social status, treating all citizens as equals.

5. Maintaining a secular state, separating religion from governance, and opposing religious fundamentalism and chauvinism.

6. Dismantling the semi-colonial, semi-feudal economic system and laying the foundation for socialism by confiscating land from landlords and religious institutions and distributing it to landless peasants.

7. Confiscating industries, banks, and businesses owned by imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie while allowing small and middle-level industries to function under state control.

8. Implementing an eight-hour workday, abolishing contract labor and child labor, and ensuring equal pay for equal work.

The Jantana Sarkar is a direct threat to the

ruling classes, which is why they seek to eliminate it entirely.

LET THE RULING CLASSES TREMBLE AT A COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

For this reason, the party leading this movement, CPI (Maoist), has been banned. It remains the only party that has demonstrated the power of the proletariat in contemporary times. While imperialist forces like the US direct the comprador Indian government to eliminate the party's leadership and cadres using drone strikes and aerial bombardments, the CPI (Maoist) continues its struggle for a society free from oppression and exploitation. When all bourgeois parties can exist legally, why should the proletariat's party be outlawed? This exposes the autocratic nature of the state, while the Jantana Sarkar embodies progressive democracy in the struggle toward a classless society. The Jantana Sarkar signifies the downfall of imperialist capital in India, which is why the US directly aids the Indian state in suppressing the communist movement.

Apart from direct state repression, right opportunist forces within the movement have historically aided imperialists in weakening the armed revolution in India. Revisionism regarding armed struggle, particularly as a means of seizing state power, is termed armed revisionism. Various tactical and strategic debates have been formulated to roll back the achievements of Indian communists. The communists of India have travelled a long and arduous journey before reaching the stage of Jantana Sarkar. However, armed revisionists now attempt to reverse historical progress. They attack the idea of forming alternate class power through Jantana Sarkars and challenge the military strategy of seizure of political power, particularly Mao's concept of Protracted People's War (PPW).

The struggle between Marxists and armed revisionists has spanned from the rise of CPI (ML) to the formation of Jantana Sarkars in DK. The ideological foundation of the Jantana Sarkar was laid in the struggle against the modern revisionism of CPI (M) by Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee. The key

points of demarcation with modern revisionism were: (a) The central task of revolution is to seize political power by armed force. (b) The path of revolution in India aligns with the path of the great Chinese revolution, not the Russian model. (c) The vast countryside is the enemy's weakest area and the storm center of revolution, with the agrarian revolutionary war as its backbone. (d) The focus of all work must be to establish Protracted People's War, with the immediate task of forming a People's Army and Base Areas in rural regions. (e) The principal area of work should be the countryside (f) The primary forms of struggle and organization are the People's War and the People's Army. (g) A firm hold must be maintained on class line and mass line, prioritizing work with the working class and poor landless peasants.

Communist revolutionaries across the country waged concrete struggles against feudalism and imperialism based on these principles. This ideological legacy underpins the People's Democratic Government or Jantana Sarkars in DK. The CPI (ML) and MCCI, under the leadership of Comrades CM and KC, initially established guerrilla zones that later developed into guerrilla bases, forming the foundation for Jantana Sarkar units. Through this line, poor and landless peasants gained land, Dalits and Adivasis broke free from centuries of oppression, and feudal landlord control over the masses was dismantled, paving the way for a People's Democratic State.

The Naxalbari movement provided the crucial ground for testing and practising this theory.



Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee led the party towards the correct military and political line

leading to a nationwide expansion of revolutionary struggles. Struggle units were formed in states like Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and beyond. To coordinate these movements, CM established the All India Coordination of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCR), which later evolved into CPI (ML). Similarly, KC founded MCCI. Both parties adhered to the ideological demarcation set by CM and KC and applied Mao's military science to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal conditions of India, following the example of the successful Chinese Revolution in 1949.

SMASH ARMED REVISIONISM

Armed revisionism emerged during a critical period when the question of seizing state power by the proletarian party was still being defined. In India, it developed after Comrades Charu Majumdar (CM) and Kanhai Chatterjee (KC) demarcated the revolutionary path from modern revisionist tendencies that promoted reformism and the parliamentary road. Based on these demarcations, communist forces began advancing toward state power by establishing Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) in the countryside, which later evolved into Jantana Sarkar units through Protracted People's War (PPW), following the Chinese revolutionary path.

Among the various communist factions, CPI (ML) PW and MCCI correctly identified the emergence of armed revisionism among groups that, despite breaking from CM's revolutionary line, deviated into right opportunism. These parties waged ideological and political struggles against the armed revisionism of Satyanarayan Singh (SNS), D.V. Rao, T.N. Reddy, C.P. Reddy, and the CPI (ML) Liberation group. This struggle exposed militant reformism and reaffirmed the correctness of the Chinese path, which was validated through practical revolutionary work, particularly in the Jantana Sarkars of Dandakaranya (DK) and Bihar-Jharkhand.

FORMS OF ARMED REVISIONISM

Armed revisionism manifests in two primary forms.

1. The Opportunist Postponement of Armed Struggle

One trend within armed revisionism argues that the masses are not ready for armed struggle and lack the necessary consciousness for seizing state power. This led to the formulation of a so-called "stage theory of resistance struggle" which reduced PPW to militant economism. Adherents of this line insist that armed actions should only take place when large numbers of people spontaneously participate. However, they fail to recognize that mass consciousness is developed through struggle itself. Unlike vanguard cadres, who gain understanding through the study of revolutionary theory and historical experiences, the masses primarily learn through practical engagement. Only when revolutionary action clearly unfolds before them do they embrace self-sacrificing struggle with confidence.

When the vanguard adopts the same level of consciousness as the masses, it loses its leadership role and reduces communist political tasks to mere economic reforms. In a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society like India—where the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the broad masses—the state functions autocratically. It operates under the principle that "might is right," reflected in the Hindi saying *jiski lathi uski bhai*s (whoever holds the stick owns the buffalo). In such a context, armed struggle is not an option but a necessity.

This was decisively established after the Naxalbari uprising. Revolutionary parties must be armed from the outset, as demonstrated by the CPC-led revolution against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. The military line is directly linked to the political line, and revisionism in either sphere leads to revisionism in the overall class struggle.

Following the Naxalbari revolt, the ruling bourgeoisie attempted to introduce revisionist politics into the movement. The first major casualty was the SNS group, which retreated into reformism after CM's martyrdom. In Andhra Pradesh, TN, DV, and CP Reddy broke from the CPI (M) to form APCCR but

refused to join the AICCR under CM's leadership. Their reasoning included:

- a. TN's refusal to resign from the Andhra Pradesh assembly within the agreed timeframe.
- b. Their reluctance to advance the Srikakulam struggle.
- c. Their opposition to the attack on a Kerala police station by revolutionaries.

Later, in the Godavari plains, a struggle emerged where cadres, in self-defense, attacked landlords and state forces, forming resistance squads. DV and TN, who were imprisoned at the time, condemned these actions as "left sectarian" and distanced themselves. CP Reddy, however, supported the resistance squads and later formed his own party based on "resistance struggle" theory.

CP Reddy's theory—also known as the "phase theory"—argued that legal struggle should come first, followed by defensive armed struggle, and only then, when the masses achieved armed consciousness, would full-fledged struggle commence. This effectively turned PPW into a postdated cheque. When the Srikakulam District Committee proposed launching armed struggle to build liberated areas and Jantana Sarkars, the leadership of TN, DV, and CP rejected it with excuses such as:

- a. *"We are not yet ready for armed struggle."*
- b. *"The season is not right for armed struggle."*
- c. *"We lack proper military training."*

These armed revisionists endlessly postponed revolutionary action under various pretexts. They argued that since repression was severe, armed struggle should wait for "normal" conditions, during which time they would focus on economic demands. The local leadership rejected this opportunism and intensified the movement. When the leadership sought to limit actions to eliminating class enemies while avoiding state forces, the local cadres defied this restriction by organizing people's militias and targeting enemy forces. The armed revisionists then declared that guerrilla actions should only occur when "large numbers of people" were mobilized—exposing their role in

undermining the revolutionary fighting capacity of the masses.

Today, the CPRCI (ML) carries the legacy of this armed revisionist line, leading factions such as the Ugrahan group, Janashakti group, ND group, and Red Star. These groups continue to assert that the masses are "not yet prepared" for PPW-based state seizure. The truth is, no "season" will ever come that compels these revisionists to take up arms against the bourgeoisie. Their armed revisionism is nothing but a bourgeois attempt to neutralize revolutionary energy under the guise of struggle.

2. The Adventurist Deviation: CPI (ML) Liberation

Another form of armed revisionism is represented by CPI (ML) Liberation. Initially, the party adopted an ultra-left adventurist approach, uncritically following CM while claiming to oppose Lin Biao's erroneous theories. However, their opposition to Lin Biao was only a formal one. Lin Biao had promoted a revisionist concept of revolutionary authority, rejecting the Party Committee system and fostering a cultist approach—contradicting the principle of democratic centralism (FLP, 1978). After CM's martyrdom, a faction led by Johar declared CM the "revolutionary authority" and dogmatically followed his path, reducing PPW to a simplistic strategy of annihilating class enemies. Lacking mass support, this strategy led to organizational splits.

An openly pro-Charu pro-Lin Biao faction, led by Madhav Mukherjee, known as the CPI(ML) 2nd CC also emerged around this time. However, a section of this faction later corrected its Lin Biaoist errors and merged into MCCI. Meanwhile, after Vinod Mishra took control of CPI (ML) Liberation, the party abandoned armed struggle as its principal aspect and subordinated it to electoral politics—shifting from left opportunism to right opportunism.

While left deviationism must be criticized, today, right deviationism is the greater danger. CPI (ML) Liberation now functions as an electoral party, securing parliamentary seats

to represent petty-bourgeois and middle-peasant interests rather than advancing proletarian revolution (PM, 2001).

CONCLUSION

Through prolonged struggle, Indian communist revolutionaries have established the correct path of revolution. Yet, the battle between the ruling and working classes manifests in different forms. Today, elements like Bacha Prasad Singh (alias Balraj) echo the arguments of DV, TN, and CP, accusing the movement in DK of prioritizing armed struggle over mass work. This is the classic language of armed revisionism. Worse than his predecessors, Balraj opportunistically smuggled bourgeois ideas into communist circles while betraying the revolution as a state witness in the NRB revival case in Lucknow. The task before communists is clear: expose and smash armed revisionism in all its forms. We must firmly uphold the revolutionary line and advance the struggle toward a New Democratic Society—leading to socialism and, ultimately, communism.

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CORRECTIONS FROM ISSUE 4

In "Nazariya's Perspective":

The phrase "era of imperialism" should have been written as "era of imperialism and revolutionary movement." This correction reflects the understanding that qualitative changes have taken place with the evolution of social conditions. The concept of New Democracy must now be situated in a new stage of struggle, particularly following the historical experiences of successful socialist states in China and the Soviet Union, even though these states were ultimately unable to sustain themselves. The current period is marked by neocolonial methods of imperialism, which operate through more complex and indirect forms of domination.

In the article "Surajkund Scheme: The Clarion Call of Fascist War on People", 'Primitive Accumulation and Fascism', page 13

The term "primitive accumulation" was used inaccurately. Primitive accumulation refers to a process that accompanies the rise of capitalism, involving the destruction of feudal relations, the proletarianisation of the peasantry, and the enclosure of land. In contrast, in the context of semi-colonial, semi-feudal India, imperialist exploitation occurs through an alliance with existing feudal relations of production. Therefore, it is incorrect to describe this process as primitive accumulation.

In the article "Operation Kagaar: Idea of Peace in Bastar":

A misleading dichotomy was presented between armed and democratic struggles. It is incorrect to assume that an armed struggle is necessarily undemocratic or that a democratic struggle must be unarmed. The democratic character of any struggle- armed or unarmed- must be determined through a concrete ideological and political evaluation based on its objectives and social content. Therefore, the correct phrasing should have been "armed or unarmed struggle" instead of "armed or democratic struggle".

JOINT STATEMENT BY REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS AGAINST SFPD

***Expose the "left" phrasemongering of the anti-communist group called Sfpd!
Sfpd is nothing but the "cool" and "progressive" face of Surajkund Policy!
Expose the urban avatar of TPC!***

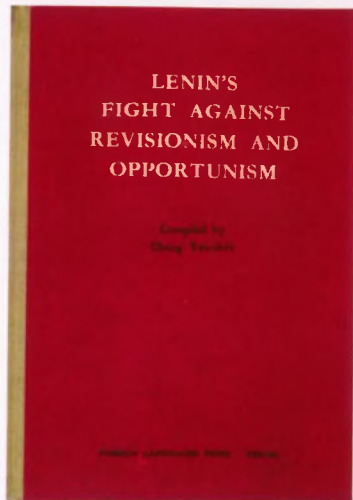
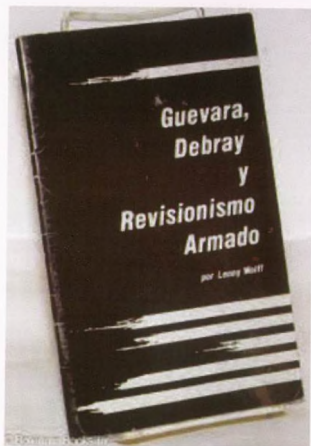
"Dark reaction is mustering sinister forces and is doing its utmost to unite them ... It has launched a deadly attack against the revolution; it wants to cause confusion in our ranks and to dig the grave of the people's revolution—our task is to close our ranks, to launch a country-wide simultaneous attack against the Tsarist autocracy and wipe out the memory of it forever... Either the victory of the revolution or death—such should be our revolutionary slogan today"— Stalin, Reaction is Growing, Collected Works Vol. I

Surajkund Policy is a multi-pronged mechanism by which the Indian state is planning to wipe off the communist revolutionary movement from India. The policy is active at many fronts of which ideological-political and military fronts are very important. We all know that politics is the lifeline of all work. It was comrade Mao who insisted that politics must command the gun. The ruling class and its representatives i.e. the Indian State, know this very well and therefore they are deploying all that they have in order to ideologically and politically weaken the movement. The main target is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They want to destroy this ideology. Hence, platforms like Nazariya have been their historical targets. Was not both *Iskra* and *Pravda* targeted? What was done to *Kalam*? Was not *People's March* banned? Has not the website of *Towards A New Dawn* faced repeated cyber attacks? Did the state not try to get these organisations split? Nazariya finds itself proudly placed under the legacy of such great organisations/publications. Nazariya stands like a rock against all sorts of attacks by the ruling class; it will create such a material force that it will be able to defeat the ruling class ideology completely. Seeing this unwavering determination, the Indian state is smuggling some bourgeois elements in and around the broader spectrum of the communist movement. These bourgeois trash files try to corrupt and confuse the masses in general and the cadres of communist organisations in particular. One such imperialist bourgeois trash that props up in the social media space as the clown of the big landlord and big bourgeoisie is the Students for People's Democracy (SFPD). They have not only promoted liquidationist trends in the revolutionary organisations but have actively collaborated with the state forces in order to break up the communist organisations. The test of an organisation, whether or not it is revolutionary, is only whether they are with the cause of Marx and Engels who said that the communist "*openly declares that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions*" (Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto). Do they accept the words of Comrade Lenin who said "*The point at issue is neither opposition nor political struggle in general but revolution. Revolution consists in the proletariat destroying the administrative apparatus and the whole state machinery, replacing it by a new one, made up of the armed workers. Kautsky displays a superstitious reverence for ministries, but why can they not be replaced, say, by committees of specialists working under sovereign all-powerful Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies?*" (Lenin, The State and Revolution)? Such questions confront the likes of SFPD who were speaking of legal action against Nazariya a few months back. However, if they are truly a genuine revolutionary organisation, why are they unable to offer a revolutionary alternative?

Read the full statement here:

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1xNBppQkdGNthP_t4EDjUhckMI2X5Spir3x-Jk09nRgc/edit?usp=drivesdk

RECOMMENDED READINGS



AGAINST AVAKIANISM
AJITH

One Step Forward,
Two Steps Back
Lenin

COMRADE LENIN

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN (1870-1924) WAS A LEADING MARXIST THEORIST AND REVOLUTIONARY WHO VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED REVISIONISM—THE REFORMIST TENDENCY, EPITOMIZED BY EDUARD BERNSTEIN, THAT SOUGHT TO REPLACE REVOLUTION WITH GRADUAL PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS. IN HIS 1908 WORK MARXISM AND REVISIONISM, LENIN CONDEMNED SUCH TRENDS AS BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY DISGUISED AS MARXISM, ARGUING THEY UNDERMINED CLASS STRUGGLE, REJECTED THE NECESSITY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND SERVED TO PACIFY THE WORKING CLASS. THROUGH TEXTS LIKE THE STATE AND REVOLUTION AND WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, LENIN REASSERTED THE NEED FOR A VANGUARD PARTY AND THE SMASHING OF THE CAPITALIST STATE, LAYING THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF ANTI-REVISIONISM AND INFLUENCING REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE WORLD.



PURGE OPPORTUNISM-REVISIONISM-LIQUIDATIONISM!

ADV AJAY KUMAR



ADVOCATE AJAY KUMAR IS A HUMAN-RIGHTS LAWYER AND ANTI-DISPLACEMENT ACTIVIST WITH NEARLY THREE DECADES OF WORK DEFENDING PEASANTS, DALITS, ADIVASIS, SLUM DWELLERS, STUDENTS, AND POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE CO-FOUNDED THE VISTAPAN VIROOHI JAN VIKAS ANDOLAN (VVJVA) AND WAS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE FORUM AGAINST THE WAR ON PEOPLE. ON 31 AUGUST 2024, THE NIA ARRESTED HIM IN CHANDIGARH UNDER FIR RC-01/2023/NIA/LUCKNOW, ACCUSING HIM OF MADIST CONSPIRACY—A CHARGE WIDELY CONDEMNED AS A POLITICALLY MOTIVATED WITCH-HUNT. HIS ARREST HAS TRIGGERED STRONG DEMANDS FROM CIVIL LIBERTIES GROUPS SUCH AS CASR AND HRDA FOR HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND THE DISMISSAL OF THE FIR.

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