

Maoist Communist Party, Manipur Program

The first political conference of the Kangleipak Communist Party (Maoist) has concluded with a historical success. The Conference unanimously adopted the party program.

That, the 1st political conference resolved to change the name of the Party as Maoist Communist Party of Manipur. Maoist Communist Party, Manipur bases itself on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism with the creative application of this universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Manipur revolution under the collective leadership of the Party.

Maoist Communist Party-Manipur will be the vanguard of the proletariat in Manipur, which is part of the world proletariat, sworn the basic principles:

- The masses are the makers of history, and "It is right to rebel;"
- Contradiction, the sole and fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;
- Class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and proletarian internationalism;
- The necessity of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party which applies with firmness its independence, independent decision, and self reliance;
- Smash Colonialism, imperialism, revisionism and reaction implacably and relentlessly;
- Conquer and defend power through the People's War;
- Militarization of the Party and the concentric construction of the three instruments of the revolution;
- Two-line struggle as the motive force of the Party's development;
- Constant ideological transformation and always putting politics in command;
- Serve the people and the world proletarian revolution;

The Maoist Communist Party, Manipur is the consolidated political vanguard of the Manipur proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. Immediate aim or program of the Party is to carry on and complete the new democratic revolution in Manipur as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the colonial, semi-feudal system and the three targets of the revolution—Colonialism, imperialism and Comprador-Bureaucratic-Bourgeoisie (CBB). The ultimate aim of the party is the establishment of communist society. This New Democratic Revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war i.e. the Protracted People's War with area wise seizure of power remaining as its central task. The Protracted People's War will be carried out by encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the Protracted People's War will remain as the center of gravity of the party's work from the very beginning. During the whole process of this revolution the

party, army and the united front will play the role of three magic weapons. The party will play the primary role; where as the army and the united front will be two important weapons in the hands of the party. Because the armed struggle will remain the highest and main form of struggle and army as the highest form of organization of this revolution, hence armed struggle will play a decisive role. Whereas the united front will be built in the course of advancing armed struggle and for armed struggle. Mass organizations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable but their purpose is to serve the war. The immediate and most urgent task of the party is to establish full-fledged people's Army (PA) and base areas by developing and transforming the guerilla zones and guerrilla bases.

Just after completing the NDR the party will advance towards establishing socialism without any delay or interception. Because the NDR will already lay the basis for socialism and hence there will be no pause. Thereafter, the party will continue to advance towards realizing communism by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist society covers a considerable long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there will be classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle between socialist road and capitalist road will also continue to exist. Only depending on and carrying forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can correctly resolve all these contradictions. In this context the GPCR initiated and led by Mao Tse-tung was a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and there by fighting against the danger of capitalist restoration.

Party will also continue to hold high the proletarian internationalism and will continue to firmly contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine M-L-M forces at the international level. While uniting the M-L-M forces, it will also establish unity with oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue its fight together with them in advancing towards completing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction, thereby paving the way towards realizing communism on a world scale.

To this end we proclaim the following objectives:

1. Destruction of the colonial Manipur State which rule by the Indian colonialist.
2. Demolitions of the present State apparatus, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the Manipur Comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie that make sustain and develop the Indian colonialism in Manipur.
3. Sweep away colonial oppression, general confiscation of its monopolies, banks and all forms of its property.
4. Destroy bureaucratic capitalism, both private and state; confiscate all of its economic properties, possessions and rights, along with those of imperialism, for the benefit of the new state.

5. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and all of its subsistent modes, confiscating it to give the lands to the peasantry, primarily the poor peasantry, applying the principle of "Land to those who work it."
6. Fight to establish the People's Republic of Manipur as a united front of classes based on the alliance of the working class and peasantry led its Communist Party; this is the formation of the New Democracy which will carry forward a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture.
7. Develop the people's war which, through a revolutionary army of a new type under the absolute leadership of the Party, destroys part by part the old power, principally its armed and repressive forces, and serves to construct the new power for the proletariat and people.
8. Foster the development of the Manipur proletariat as part of the world proletarian class, the formation and strengthening of communist parties and their unification in a revived international communist movement guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all of this so that the proletariat can fulfill its great and historic mission as the final class.
9. Defend the liberties, rights, benefits and conquests that the working class and masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing these and guaranteeing that they are really in force through a "Declaration of the Rights of the People." Respect particularly the right to religious conscience, but in its exact dimensions, to believe as well as not to believe.
10. Real equality for women; a better future for the youth; protection for mothers and children; respect and support for the aged.
11. A new culture as a fighting weapon to concretize the new nationality that serves the popular masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Give special importance to education.
12. Support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world; fighting against the superpowers, the United States and imperialism in general, international reaction and revisionism of every form; understanding the Manipuri revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.
13. Struggle tenaciously and heroically for the full and complete victory of the democratic revolution throughout the country, and, this stage completed, immediately and without any transition period, go over to the socialist revolution in order to, together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, continue humanity's march to its final goal, communism.

But considering that the democratic revolution in the country is going through a period characterized by:

1. deepening of the general contradiction between the colonial India and Manipuri People ;
2. growing reactionary character of the State, headed by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois as a political props of the Indian colonialist
3. sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses grasping more and more the necessity to combat and resist;

4. the people's war that is growing; and,
5. The people need a People's Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy.

The contemporary Manipuri Society is a **Colonial and semi-feudal control and exploitation in the name of Democracy.**

The fact derives from an objective study of the development of the socio-economic and political system ever since the British colonial period to the present Indian colonial system. When the British colonialist occupied Manipur in 1891, Manipur society was transformed into the semi feudal and colonial society in Manipur. In 1947 The British colonialist were compelled to give up their direct rule over our country, the power was transferred to their political props including king and others compradors big bourgeoisies, big landlords. After 1947, Manipur society was again transformed in to semi colonial and semi feudal society. In 1949, Indian colonialist conquered Manipur and Manipur society again transformed into colonial and semi feudal society. Ever since then the Indian colonialist adopted direct colonial rule with the control and exploitation in the name of Democracy.

The colonialist depends on the Manipuri compradors who have been nurtured by them since their very inception from the British colonial period.

Manipur, the small but the beautiful home to more than thirty fraternal ethnics groups, is a historical state having a rewarded history of more than 2000 years. In her long history Manipur never became a part of India. Manipur was a recognized Asiatic state when the British imperialist invaded and occupied it in 1891. The British crown in its own wisdom, however, did not annex Manipur to their British Indian emperor. After 56 years British de-colonialist Manipur and regain her sovereign independence on 14th August 1947.

India hatched a conspiracy to make the king sign a treaty to merge Manipur with India. India invited king at Shillong and kept him under house arrest for two days. After resisting two days, the king gave signed the Manipur merger agreement on 21st September 1949. Under terms of this agreement, the government of India announced the formal annexation of Manipur on 15th October 1949. The Manipur state Assembly and the council of Minister which elected by the people of Manipur under the provisions of Manipur Constitution Act 1947 by practicing the Universal Adult Franchise were forcibly abolished on the same day by an executive order of the Indian government.

The people of Manipur have never accepted the Indian annexation, several public resolutions and a national convention have declared the Manipur Merger Agreement null and void having no legal and constitutional legitimacy as it was done under duress and not ratified by the state Assembly. At the same time, some petty bourgeoisie class and feudal class emerged out of the education system introduced by the imperialist to suit the needs their administration to the Indian National Congress, who wants to sustain their position as a social prop of Indian colonialist.

The Congress Party, a group of feudal and Comprador was brought forth by the British and developed them by the Indian colonialist to divert and derail the anti-feudal and anti-Imperialist national liberation movement which was led by Comrade Hijam Irabot and to deprived the people of revolutionary leadership. After the formal declaration of Manipur Merger Agreement, The Indian colonialist transferred the power to their faithful agents, the leadership of the Congress Party, representing the comprador bureaucratic Bourgeois and went behind the curtain. The Indian democracy is nothing but fake in essence. The direct colonial and semi feudal system of the British colonialist was replaced by the Indian colonialism and semi feudal under the control and exploitation in the name of Democracy.

Indian colonial policy is more deceptive and more sinister form of colonialism. The domination and control form of the imperialist finance capital in every sphere of our life-economic, Political, military and culture continued to increase further and further. The imperialist control the key sectors of the Manipur economy and administration. In the actual sense the socio-economic and political condition is totally on the actual position of Indian imperialist policy which serves also the reactionary foreign policy. So about 60 years of their direct colonial rule and exploitation, the Manipur economy was converted in to a completely dependent economy on imperialism.

Manipur comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class is one of the chief instruments for the colonial exploitation and control over Manipur. It is completely tied with and dependent on colonialism for its existence and development. Their interests are closely interlinked with the interest of the colonialist in all fields. It is tied with imperialism and allied with feudalism. This comprador bureaucratic capitalist class, big bourgeoisies or state monopoly bourgeoisies are extremely reactionary, anti-people and anti-national and subjects the vast Manipuri masses to ruthless exploitation and oppression and it is hurdle for the development of Independent Manipuri economy. This class is also one of the targets of the Manipuri new democratic revolution.

The Manipuri ruling classes have not only inherited the sanguinary state machinery from their Indian colonialist masters; but also have preserved and strengthened it further during the last 60 years. This state machinery is nothing but an instrument of suppression and repression, and represents the dictatorship of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes subservient to the colonialism. The repressive rule is sought to be covered up behind the façade of fraudulent parliamentary system. This state system represents the **Colonial and semi-feudal control and exploitation in the name of Democracy**. During the recent years, the repressive teeth of this state system has not only been further sharpened but also centralized more and more by the comprador-feudal alliance backed by colonialist. The chief weapons of this blood thirsty rule are well-organized and well-equipped modern army, paramilitary forces along with police forces of different states, anti-people judiciary and neck-deep corrupted and powerful bureaucracy. This state machinery is extremely reactionary and anti-people. Without smashing this state machinery, any struggle for the basic rights and problems of the people and for their uplifting cannot move forward beyond a limited level. In order to consolidate Indian Colonial rule and to carry on their ruthless exploitation, the Indian colonialist pressure the

feudal forces and at the same time re-oriented them into such politicians who acted as their social props. Thus the Indian rulers transformed Independent and semi-feudal Manipur into a colonial and semi-feudal Manipur.

Indian expansionism has emerged as a great threat to the security and integrity of all the South-Asian countries and especially their people with a vastly superior army along with strong centralized state machinery. Indian Ruling classes interfere in internal affairs in Nepal including showing readiness to send its armies there, just as the Indian army was sent into the then East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) in 1971, into Sri Lanka to suppress the LTTE in 1987. The ruling classes of India have become an important medium for imperialist exploitation and control of the South-Asian countries and more particularly for their people. Hence, it is one of the most important tasks of the Manipur proletariat and the Maoist forces in India to more closely unite with the people of South Asia to expose, fight and defeat the expansionist designs of the Indian expansionists along with the imperialists.

There are three major contradictions in Manipur:

- (i) Contradiction between Indian Colonialism, Imperialism and Manipur people;
- (ii) Contradiction between Comprador Bourgeois Bureaucrat and the broad masses of the people;
- (iii) Contradiction among the ruling classes.

From among these three major contradictions the first two contradictions are basic contradictions. These two contradictions have to be resolved during the stage of the new democratic revolution. These two contradictions also play the major or dominant role in chalking out the overall strategy for the present stage of the Manipur revolution.

Out of these two basic contradictions, the second contradiction that is, contradiction between CBB and broad masses is the principal contradiction at present. During the process of resolving this contradiction through the armed agrarian revolution, which is the axis of the new democratic revolution, that is, protracted people's war, other contradictions will be resolved. Besides these two basic contradictions, the other major contradictions also play an important role in determining the strategic and tactical policies for the new democratic revolution of Manipur today.

Besides these major contradictions there are some other contradictions also, which have to be resolved as a subordinate part of the resolution of the basic or major contradictions.

On developing the military line

"... Firstly never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences ... secondly ... act with the greatest determination and on the offensive."
... K. Marx

"Revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution" ... K. Marx

"As the thoroughness of the historic action increases, the magnitude of the mass whose cause it represents will also increase." ... K Marx, F Engels

"In the period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a fighting party." ... V. I. Lenin

"... give full scope to the revolutionary creative activity of the masses, who participate but little in this activity in time of peace, but who come to the forefront in the revolutionary epochs." ... V. I. Lenin

"The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory." ... V I Lenin

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally ... for all ... countries." ... Mao Tsetung

"Every communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of the gun ... "According to the Marxist theory of the state the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist." ... Mao Tsetung

"There is a saying in the book of Sun Wu Tzu, the great military scientist of ancient China, "know the enemy and know yourself and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat", which refers both to the stage of learning and to the stage of application, both to knowing the laws of the development of objective reality and to deciding on our own actions in accordance with these laws in order to overcome the enemy facing us. We should not take this saying lightly." ... Mao Tsetung

"In this era, any revolutionary war will definitely end in defeat if it lacks, or runs counter to, the leadership of the proletariat and the communist party. Of all the social strata and political groupings ... the proletariat and the communist party are the ones most free from narrow-mindedness and selfishness, are politically the most farsighted, the best organized and readiest to learn with an open mind from the experiences of the vanguard class, the proletariat, and its political party throughout the world and to make use of this experience in their own cause." ... Mao Tsetung

"Our principle is that the party commands the gun, and the gun must not be allowed to command the party." ... Mao Tsetung

"Our revolutionary war has proved that we need a correct Marxist military line as well as a correct Marxist political line." ... Mao Tsetung

"You fight your way and I'll fight mine. We fight when we can win and withdraw when we cannot. "In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on the masses of people with high revolutionary consciousness; you give full play to your superiority and we to ours; you have your methods of fighting and we have ours." ... Mao Tsetung

"... the establishment and expansion of the red army, the guerrilla forces and the red areas is the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, the inevitable outcome of the growth of the semi-colonial peasant struggle, and undoubtedly the most important factor in accelerating the revolutionary high tide throughout the country." ... Mao Tsetung

"... accelerate the nationwide revolutionary high tide through the consolidation and expansion of Red political power." ... Mao Tsetung

"A special characteristic of the revolution in China, a country with a predominantly agricultural economy, is the use of military action to develop insurrection." ... Mao Tsetung

"The offensive is the only means of destroying the enemy and is also the principal means of self-preservation..." ... Mao Tsetung

We have to take up the task of developing the military line by identifying some basic positions. 1) We must be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). 2) We must base ourselves on comrade Mao's teaching 3) we must learn from the advanced experiences of the international communist movement. 4) We must synthesis the rich experiences of the armed struggles of the world.

Our ideology is MLM. It is the guarantee of our victory and must guide us in all our activity. MLM puts forward universal principles, which must be applied in our concrete conditions. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's (RIM) document 'Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' points out, "Mao Tsetung comprehensively developed the military science of the proletariat through the theory and practice of people's war. Mao Tsetung's theory of people's war is universally applicable in all countries specially in South East Asia where the same geo-economic condition available. , although this must be applied to the concrete conditions in each country and in particular take into account the revolutionary paths in the two general types of countries ... imperialist countries and oppressed countries ... that exist in the world today." In the colonial, semi-feudal Manipur the armed agrarian revolution is the main content of the new democratic

revolution and the peasantry is the main motive force. We must follow the path of Protracted People's War ... liberating the countryside, encircling the cities and finally seizing countrywide power. Based on Mao Tse-tung's teachings we can summarize some main points of orientation, which must guide us.

A revolutionary situation with ebbs and flows always exists in our colonial, semi-feudal conditions. This means that the task of waging people's war to overthrow the colonial power and seize political power is, objectively, already on the agenda. Hence from the very beginning war must be made the center of gravity of all party activity. We must apply the 'three magic weapons' - party building, armed struggle and united front - to complete preparation for launching the war and continue to apply them to sustain and develop the war.

In our revolution, "armed struggle is the main form of struggle and army the main form of organization." This means that our main political activity will be the war itself. The Party's political line will be mainly implemented through the war. Hence we must settle the question of military line at the outset itself. Party building and mass activities must be carried out according to the priorities and plans fixed by the military line. The party must be thoroughly transformed at all levels - ideologically, politically and organizationally - in order to make it a 'war party', i.e. a party capable of leading, launching and developing the Protracted People's War.

The essence of Protracted People's War is building base areas, i.e. area-wise of seizure of power. The war must be developed by "accelerating the countrywide revolutionary high tide through the consolidation and expansion of red political power."

Guerrilla war has strategic importance in our revolutionary war. Mao taught, "It is the indispensable and therefore the best form of struggle for the people's armed forces to employ over a long period in a backward country ... in order to inflict defeats on the armed enemy and build up their own bases." We must build the **Red Army** and advance to **mobile war** and later, **positional war** through guerrilla warfare. We must grasp the steps of war.

The key issue in building mass base is that of steadily drawing to the basic masses, especially the poor peasants and energetic youth, first into the preparations for people's war and then into waging the war. This is crucial for sustaining and developing the war. The people's war is a war of the masses. We must always keep in mind that the initiative of the masses can be fully unleashed only through the Protracted People's War, which will give them political power.

The Protracted People's War will advance through stages - **strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive** and these stages will have sub-stages. But from the very beginning till countrywide seizure of power it must be developed through planned concentrated efforts concretized in leaps. "Strive the utmost to preserve one's own strength and destroy that of the enemy", this is the basic principle of war. It reflects the dynamics of war. The party waging war must correctly grasp this dynamics, retain

initiative and ceaselessly push ahead. Mao wrote, "A revolution or a revolutionary war in its emergence and growth from a small force to a big force, from the absence of political power to the seizure of political power, from the absence of a red army to the creation of red army, and from the absence of revolutionary base areas to their establishment, must be on the offensive and cannot be conservative; and tendencies towards conservatism must be opposed. To defend in order to attack, to retreat in order to advance..." This must guide us in persevering and advancing in the revolutionary war.

Our revolutionary war is part of the world proletarian revolution and serves it. It must imbibe the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The way in which the war is waged must itself be a training ground in the revolutionary ideals of communism and prepare the grounds for continuing the revolution to socialism and finally to the worldwide victory of communism.

We are a contingent of the international communist movement. The experiences gained by our comrades in other countries are not just a source of inspiration. They are valuable lessons gained by our class at the cost of blood. Though conditions in different countries vary these lessons gained through the application of MLM have universal importance. We must learn from them and apply them according to our concrete conditions. In the present situation the people's wars led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [UCPN (M)] both of whom are part of RIM, stand out as the most advanced revolutionary wars in the world. They represent a deeper, better and more advanced grasp of Maoist People's War theory, tested and further enriched through practice.

The following are some of the important lessons we learn from the people's War led by the PCP. A) Waging a unified people's war in which countryside is principle and the cities complementary. B) Waging the war with political and military plans based on strategic political, military lines. These plans must be concretized in campaigns with specific content always focused on the seizure of political power. C) Waging the war as a total war in which political, social, military, economic and moral factors would come together. Each side will go all out and throw in everything it can. D) Waging the war in several regions simultaneously though unevenly. One region will be principal though this may change. E) Waging the war within a war plan that is strategically centralized and tactically decentralized. F) Maintaining the strategic direction of the war in all circumstances by establishing its axes sub-axes, direction and lines of movement. G) Carrying out transformations, changes and readjustments in the party necessary to make it capable of launching and leading the people's war. H) Incorporating the masses into the people's war in leaps by developing the war in order to go from disorganized masses to militarily organized masses.

The people's war developing under the leadership of UCPN (M) confirms the correctness of these positions and further deepens them. The lessons of transformation of the UCPN (M) from a party, which used to be heavily influenced by reformism, into a war party leading a powerful Protracted People's War is of special importance to us. This transformation was achieved by taking up MLM, uniting with RIM even more closely,

learning from the advanced grasp of people's war of the PCP and applying all of this to sharply rupture from revisionism and develop the political and military lines. While we must learn from all war experiences and theories, especially from revolutionary wars, the lessons gained by the people's wars in Peru and Nepal are particularly important for us since they are guided by MLM.

The setbacks and surrenders armed national struggles are continuing in Nagaland (NSCN/NNC), Assam (ULFA, NDBF and others), Manipur (KCP fractions/ Kuki Groups and splitting situation in other arm groups of Manipur) and Tripura and Kashmir. All these armed struggles - past and present - and their lessons are of special value to us. Out of all of them the revolutionary armed struggles waged by Maoist are more important because of their ideological and political closeness to us.

Party Building

We know that the arm movement has been initiated before the Maoist Party has born in the soil of Manipur. The people of Manipur has frustrated because of the mistake committed by the non ideological base arm groups of Manipur. It is very difficult to build up a revolutionary party in Manipur in such situation.

The following method has been decided as a basic guideline of building a revolutionary party based on Maoism in Manipur.

The Central Committee has decided to mobilize Revolutionary Activist Group especially at the valley which countryside villages are linkage with Hill Villages and at the Hill which villages are linkages with valley countryside. The facts derived from the geo-political and strategic condition of Manipur. There will be five or more members in a group at the respective villages. We can provide ideological and political education to make them a Maoist cadre. After three or four months, we can pick up the best among the group and we will appoint him/her as a secretary of that village level unit committee. There will be two subcommittees in a village level committee like Revolutionary Youths Committee (RYC) and People's Militia Committee (PMC). The Central Committee will also appoint the in charges of the respective subcommittees accordingly. The In charge of the RYC will take the responsibility to arming youths in the particular village to build up People's Guerrilla Army (PGA). And the in charge of PMC is the responsibility to arming student and child as a subordinate force of the PGA. The party secretary is the responsibility to mobilize the people for a revolutionary mass movement which can support to make a favorable situation for arming the people. The Secretary of the party and two in charges will be the working group of the unit and the rest can remain as members. The expansion of the Revolutionary Activist Group at the neighboring villages or any other villages is also main task for each working group and all members of the unit.

The Best among the PGA and PMC will promoted as a People's Army and the PGA and PMC can remain as a subordinate force to the People's Army. The Party Committee will

remain as a vanguard party to lead the people's Army which builds up by the advance element of the society.

After the six months from the formation of party committee based on pick and choose, there will be party conference and elect the new secretary of a unit committee by exercising democratic forms. After completing this process we can make area committee and then District committee.

Our position is very clear that the party formation and military formation can go together or as soon as after party formation. It is demanded to do so. A set of the reactionary group which equipped with the sophisticated weapon and backed by the Indian colonialist is preparing to target us to derail the Maoist movement in Manipur. The facts derive from the contemporary Manipuri Society and present liberation movement in Manipur.

United Front

A) "United front is a united front for carrying on armed struggles." The workers, peasants and petty bourgeois are the main forces of this front. Worker-peasant unity, especially unity between the working class and the poor peasants, is the solid foundation of the united front. The united front will emerge and get consolidated only through the Protracted People's War. Concretely, it will start taking form through the new political power created in the base areas. The seed of building united front has sown with party building among the poor peasants. Further on, revolutionary mass organizations built among the peasant masses under the leadership of the party initiate are worker peasant unity.

B) During the course of preparation and after initiation the party and mass organizations led by it will carry out joint activities with various revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces. Our participation in joint activities must be guided by united front policy. But such activities must not be confused with the united front. We must always strive to retain independence and initiative. We must be firm in principles and flexible in tactics in order to "unite the many to defeat the few" and make all joint activities serve our war aims at all time.

Protracted People's War and its stages

The enemy is strong and we are weak. The enemy occupies the whole country. It can encircle and attack us anywhere. In military terms this means that the enemy is on exterior lines. The revolutionary forces will be at scattered places. We will have to fight and defeat the enemy's encirclement in order to seize power area-wise and expand these areas. That is, we will be in interior lines. This entire means that we cannot expect to defeat the enemy in a short time. This is why the revolutionary war will be a protracted war.

Though we are weak in the beginning we can convert our weakness into strength and the enemy's strength into weakness. Our war will help to further sharpen and intensify existing contradictions. Steady intensification of the basic contradictions due to colonial, semi-feudal conditions, inevitable sharpening of inter-ruling class contradictions, contradictions of Indian expansionism with neighboring countries, national contradictions within India and contradictions caused by caste, ethnic and religious oppression will all help to tie down and weaken the enemy. All of these contradictions are in fact 'reserves' of our war. On the other hand communist party leadership and armed agrarian revolution will ensure that our war will steadily gain support within the country and abroad. So we have more strengths and reserves than the enemy. But we need time to bring out and develop these strengths all of which can be done only through the war. Hence strategically speaking, it is also in our interest to protract the war.

At the beginning, when we launch the war, strategically we will be on the defensive. But launching a war is an offensive action. We launch the Protracted People's War to destroy the enemy's state and openly declare this war aim. Hence, even while we are on the defensive strategically, tactically we must carry out offensive quick decision battles. Strategically, we will be operating from interior lines for a long time. But tactically, in each action or battle, we must encircle the enemy. But tactically, we must take him seriously.

The stage of strategic defensive will last till we succeed in building the army and base areas and force the enemy to stop his strategic offensive against us. Following this the stage of strategic equilibrium will begin. In this stage both the enemy and we will be accumulating strength through battles. But neither side will be able to launch a strategic offensive. The enemy will try to accumulate strength to re-launch his offensive in order to seize back the territory and power he has lost and destroy us. We will build and accumulate strength to launch an offensive aiming at the countrywide seizure of power. On completing this, the last stage of our war, the strategic offensive to totally wipe out the enemy, will begin. International and countrywide political conditions will no doubt have an important role in this but the principal and decisive factor will be our ability to develop the people's war.

At present, we must pay attention to the stage of strategic defensive. The future of the Protracted People's War depends on our success in launching the war and developing it through the stage of strategic defensive. This stage will be the longest and most difficult stage of the war.

Strategic defensive and its sub-stages

Taking lessons from the people's war in Peru and Nepal we can divide the strategic defensive stage into 4 sub-stages: 1) preparation; 2) launching; 3) spreading and developing guerilla war; 4) building base areas. Experiences in all people's wars show that the third stage will be the fiercest one. The success in developing the war as a people's war and pushing ahead to area-wise seizure of power deepens on it. Launching of the war must be done in such a manner that a powerful momentum - political, military

and moral push - is built up which will enable us to start the third sub-stage in the most favorable position. Mao Tsetung has pointed out: "The first battle must be won. The plan for the whole campaign must be taken into account. And the strategic stage that comes next must be taken into account." This is true not only for a war campaign but for the war as a whole. In our country we can expect the enemy to react savagely immediately after we launch the war. So planning out our advance to the best possible extent well ahead of the launching is especially crucial of us. As Mao teaches us, "There is a saying in the book of Sun Wu Tzu, the great military scientist of ancient China, " Know the enemy and know yourself and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat", which refers both to the stage of learning and to the stage of application, both to knowing the laws of the development of objective reality and to deciding on our own action in accordance with these laws in order to overcome the enemy facing us. We should not take this saying lightly."

Preparation: Strategically we despise the enemy but tactically we must take him seriously. The enemy has a strong armed force well experienced in counter-insurgency. He has the backing of imperialism. The reactionary parties still have a big influence over the masses though they are increasingly exposed. In short, though the enemy is a 'paper tiger', he is also a 'real tiger'. So we must take up the task of preparation seriously and systematically. To succeed in this we must fight against and resolutely defeat all forms of spontaneity, right or left, ideologically and politically.

Preparation can be concretized only on the basis of a strategic war plan. Which are the regions more favorable for launching the war? In which directions can we spread the war? When the enemy carries out encirclement and suppression where will we retreat? Which are the regions more favorable for building base areas? Which are the regions (cities, highways etc.) where we must carry out armed propaganda/sabotage action in order to popularize the war and weaken and tie down the enemy? How should we develop the war in order to link up the war zones and broaden the scope of the war, i.e. the ambit of the war? These are some of the questions we must keep in mind in order to prepare war plan. To succeed in this we must develop strategic thinking. We must strive to picture the possible development of the war in our mind, always focusing on its essence – areas-wise seizer of power. No doubt these plan will not be perfect. We will have to change some of its aspects in due course. But to deny the necessity of such planning means bowing to spontaneity and undermining preparation. Mao points out;"..... one must not deny the need for war plans or policies that are relatively stable over given periods; to negate this is to negate everything, including the war itself as well as the negator himself." We must prepare a war plan for the whole country as well as for different potential war zones.

A key question in preparing a war plan is that of determining the axes of the war. Axes of war means the directions of advancing and spreading the war. Military movement takes place along these axes and spreads out from them. Thus the ambit of the war is determined by its axes. Since India is a large country, with a large army strength, the war will have more than one main axis. The war plan for the whole must be prepared accordingly. For each axes we must identify the potential sub-axes, which can branch out

from it and broaden the ambit. Within each axes we must identify the main zone, secondary zones and propaganda zones. This must be done with the perspective of building a system of base areas, surrounded by guerrilla zones where we contend for power, further surrounded by operational zones where we attack and retreat and points of action (mainly towns and cities) where we carry out action but can't establish political power for a long time to come.

The axes must be determined taking political, military, economic and geographical factors into account. Here, political factor mainly means class contradiction and potential for revolutionary class struggle. That is, potential for creating a revolutionary mass base serving the war. Military factor means existing deployment of enemy forces, capacity for enemy movement and reinforcement, potential for our military movement etc. Economic factor means the possibility to sustain the base areas and army in the face of economic blockade by the enemy. Geographical factor means favorable terrain. We must also take into account natural, historical ties of the masses to surrounding regions since it will greatly facilitate spreading of the war. While determining the war axes we must keep in mind the motion of war - the need to maneuver, circle around, advance and retreat etc. and the vital necessity to maintain the strategic direction of the war so that it can not be politically or militarily isolated by the enemy.

Thus, the key military task in successfully completing preparation is that of investigation and study in order to determine the axes and prepare the war plans. We must not wait till all investigation is completed. Starting with preliminary investigation outlines of war plans should be prepared. Once this is done the whole party should be fully and resolutely mobilized around it. Cadres should be allotted and their tasks fixed according to this plan. Mass activities should be decided according to the plans. This is the only way to keep military line principal and the line of mass activities subordinate to it. The outline war plans should be developed or modified in time bound manner through practice and investigation. On the basis of the developed war plans, specific time bound targets must be fixed for completing preparation.

Apart from this, the formation of armed squads should be taken up in all regions as part of preparations in order to lay the ground for the organizational leap into war and build war oriented mass organizations. These armed squads must be of two types - armed propaganda squads (APS - directly led by the party) and self-defense teams (STD) built within the mass organizations. The armed activities carried out by the APS are qualitatively different from the armed struggle (People's War) for seizure of political power. Politically these armed activities arouse and help mobilize the masses in favor of People's war. Militarily they help us in getting trained. Organizationally they test our u. g. structures and forge them through facing the enemy. The crucial thing is to keep in mind that all of this is still part of preparations. The political content of any armed activity is not determined by its degree of violence or the nature of its target but by its political aim. Hence before launching of people's war, before starting the war to seize power, the content of such armed activities is political propaganda. That is, the APS and all their activities must serve preparation and must be subordinated to the tasks of preparation. Their guideline will be 'acting in a just manner, to our favor and with restraint.' We must

be resolute in replying tit for tat to enemy attacks. But we must also be resolute in struggling against spontaneity in order to stick to our task of preparation. We must boldly take up armed activities to overcome counter-revolutionary violence and advance preparation. We must also realize that there is a limit to such activities determined by the necessities of preparations itself. A certain level of party building and class struggle must be developed before forming APS.

APS are preliminary forms aimed at army building. This aspect must be taken up seriously keeping in mind the mistakes committed regarding army building in the past. Mao has pointed out that, "from the particular characteristics of war there arise a particular set of organizations, a particular series of methods and a particular kind of process. The organizations are the armed forces and everything that goes with them. The methods are the strategy and tactic for directing war. The process is the particular form of social activity in which the opposing armed forces attack each other and defend themselves against one another..." Hence we have to grasp the particularities of army building and develop a line on this. This task can be carried out only by the highest committee. If it is left to the initiative and decisions of the lower units this will lead to spontaneity and subjectivist errors. We must apply this lesson while building APS. The process of revolutionary army building proceeds from small units to bigger and bigger armed formations. Each unit of the army - squad, platoon, company etc. - must function as a cohesive body in a centralized manner. Hence the question of advancing from small units to bigger formations is directly related to the area and mass base which is necessary for the movement and sustenance of the unit. It is also directly related to its fire power and capacity to act in a cohesive centralized manner. Therefore a squad or a number of squads can not automatically become an army just by a decision. The squads must be built up in the course of war and forged into an army. Because of the particularity of the army, its command structure is also different from the party committee leadership system. Unlike the party higher commands of the revolutionary army can be set up only in the process of forming larger army formations. Though the armed units in a Protracted People's War should be given all opportunity to act with initiative and independence, unified command is a must. Otherwise the strategic direction of the war and its political aim will get derailed. Finally, the party must command the gun. Therefore the revolutionary army must have a dual command system - political and military. By keeping all of these aspects in mind we can gain valuable experience of the problems involved in army building through the formation and activities of the APS.

For the party, a thorough transformation at all levels in order to make it a 'war party' is an immediate and key task of preparation. The long period of revisionist domination of co-existing with revisionism has left deep imprints. Tendencies and attitudes of right opportunism, liberalism, spontaneity, gradualism and pessimism continue to exist within the party. So the first and foremost task before us to become a 'war party' is to deepen the struggle against revisionism by imbibing the GPCR lesson -- "Fight self, struggle against revisionism". We must not think that the fight against revisionist influences among us has been basically completed by forming a new party. The forming of our party is an important leap in that direction. But it only cleared the ground for identifying and

destroying revisionism. The task of "reclaiming the revolutionary legacy of comrade Irabot " still remains to be completed.

The experiences of people's wars show that the development of revolutionary peasant work is an indispensable basis for completing preparation, initiating the war and building revolutionary armed forces. This mass work must be guided by MLM and led by the communist party. "The people's war is a war of the masses and it can be developed only by relying on them and drawing them into it". But the war will not be and cannot be the continuation of such mass work, however much it may be militant. It is a leap into the highest form of political activity. As pointed out by RIM, "... it is important that the party grasps this point - however correct and necessary such mass activity might be in a certain stage, war is a rupture from the preceding struggles." Once preparations are completed in a time bound manner the party must consciously break with its existing practice and dare to initiate the war. Then on the basis of this war and serving it, mass work must be taken up and advanced.

To sum up, preparation means preparing for launching the war through planned, systematic, ideological, political, organizational and military work. Mao wrote, "Without planning victories in guerrilla warfare are impossible. Any idea that guerilla warfare can be conducted in haphazard fashion indicates either a flippant attitude or ignorance of guerilla warfare. The operations in a guerrilla zone as a whole, or those of a guerrilla unit or formation, must be preceded by as through planning as possible; by preparation in advance for every action. Grasping the situation, setting the tasks, disposing the forces, giving military and political training, securing supplies, putting the equipment in good order making proper use of the people's help, etc. - all these are part of the work of the guerrilla commanders, which they must carefully consider and conscientiously perform and check upon. There can be no initiative, no flexibility and no offensive unless they do so. True, guerrilla conditions do not allow as high a degree of planning as do those of regular warfare, and it would be a mistake to attempt very thorough planning guerrilla warfare. But it is necessary to plan as thoroughly as objective conditions permit, for it should be understood that fighting the enemy is no joke." What is true for guerrilla zone is true for the war also. To act as the commander of the war and fulfil as role as vanguard we must do a thorough job in preparation and complete it as quickly as possible.

Launching: Politically and militarily, launching of the war in our concrete conditions means launching a new wave of Protracted People's War within the emerging new wave of world proletarian revolution. It will be a continuation of the war. It must also initiate a new wave, a new momentum in this war.

Launching of any war is an offensive action. In our particular circumstance, in view of the need to give a new momentum, we must give full stress to this aspect. Politically we must boldly declare the launching of a new wave of Protracted People's War aimed at destroying the enemy state and building a new one. Militarily, the actions carried out as part of initiation must shake up the country, arouse the masses and hit at the main targets of new democratic revolution (Colonialism, imperialism, Comprador bureaucratic bourgeois)

Launching must involve all four forms of armed struggle - guerrilla warfare (assaults and ambush), sabotage, armed propaganda and selective annihilation.

The whole party as well as the militants in mass organizations should be involved in the armed actions of launching. Widespread propaganda on the political aims of the war should be carried out.

Launching should follow a timetable and culminate in a planned manner. It should be followed by political, organizational and military consolidation of the gains achieved through initiation and preparation for starting the next sub-stage of spreading and developing guerrilla war. After culmination of launching and during preparation for the next sub-stage, we must carry out defensive military action against enemy repression. Simultaneously, the party must resolutely defeat the enemy attempts to isolate us from the masses. We must utilize all means to convert mass work 'supporting the people's war' into mass work 'serving the people's war'. The flexible tactic developed by the UCPN (Maoist) of alternating military and political offensives are of special significance in this regard. We must vigorously fight to mobilize public opinion in favor of the people's war and to counter enemy propaganda. Human rights violations of the enemy must be opposed on the grounds of rights of civilians in a war and rights of prisoners of war.

Due to the objective particularities of the region we should work in and the unevenness in our subjective forces it will not be possible to initiate the war with the same intensity everywhere. If we make such simultaneity a condition for initiation then it will lead to stagnation and marking time. But once we initiate the war in one region then the whole party, everywhere has to be put on a war footing. We cannot be a war party in one region and continue as a peacetime party in other regions. In view of these contradictions we must adopt the position of 'initiating simultaneously but unevenly'. This means that though the party as a whole will launch people's war, it will carry out all the four forms of armed struggle. But all four of them may not be carried out in each and every region. This also means that once the war is launched in one region, preparations in the other regions must be completed as part of the war. In short, we must apply the Maoist principal of "hastening and awaiting" in launching also. We must launch the war - applying all four forms of armed struggle - when preparations are over in any region and thus hasten the completion of preparations in all regions. At the same time we must not impose forms of struggle according to our subjective wishes. We must await the completion of preparations in each region before taking up all four forms of armed struggle there.

Another question to be settled is whether we can initiate the war from a small pocket in one region or whether we must prepare to initiate it over a wider area in that region. Different countries have done it in different ways. To answer this question properly we must recognize that it is not a question of principle but of conditions and possibilities, both ours and of the enemy. In the concrete condition of Manipur we need to initiate from the rural areas of Manipur Valley and the hill villages which are close with Valley Villages.

On the basis of experience it should take the position that within a region itself initiation should be done simultaneously at several points across the region, including city and towns. The war must also be conducted simultaneously at several points, with one area as principal. This will give us the advantage of creating maximum impact. It will also help us in sustaining the war in the face of enemy repression.

Spreading and developing guerrilla war: The war must be spread through plans containing military campaigns, one after the other. This is an important lesson of people's wars in Peru and Nepal. It can be done only if war plans have already been prepared and further developed through initiation. Such plans have played a crucial role in the ability of the people's wars to retain the initiative and sustain the war without losing their strategic direction.

In the PCP's practice - plans are political - military plans. They have specific political and military objectives. Plans unite strategy and tactics. They take into account the four forms of struggle and strategic centralization i. e. the overall plans approved at the central level. A timetable is established according to the phases of the military campaign - preparation, beginning, development and culmination. Planning of the entire campaign takes place in the phase of preparation. In this phase the political and ideological basis of the campaign is popularized in order to prepare people's minds. The phase of the beginning is the shortest but it is done with a resounding impact. The beginning of each campaign involves the four forms of struggle at a higher level than the preceding campaign. During development this is continued and spread. Finally, the culmination takes place with another resounding impact setting the stage for consolidating the gains and preparing for the next campaign. Thus, the plan for the whole strategic stage is carried out through plans for its sub-stages. Plans for each sub-stage are carried out through plans for different military campaigns. The war is developed through campaigns. Campaigns are carried out through battles and movement.

Though developing guerrilla zones are necessary to advance to base areas they are not strategic. They are only transitory. Mao has pointed out that they, "... are areas which are held by the guerrillas when they are there and by the puppet regime (the enemy) when they are gone ... such guerrilla zones will be transformed into base areas when they have gone through the necessary process of guerrilla warfare..." Mao also wrote, "The transformation of a guerrilla zone into a base area is an arduous, creative process, and its accomplishment depends on the extent to which the enemy is destroyed and the masses are aroused." If the basically transitory nature of guerrilla zones is not recognized, if they are regarded some sort of strategic sub-stage, then the strategic orientation of area-wise seizure of power will be derailed. Mao has written about different types of guerrilla zones and methods of developing areas into guerrilla zones. Among them one type is areas which will remain as guerrilla zones for a long period no matter how much we develop the war. These areas he points out are close to railway lines, cities etc. That is, the enemy can send reinforcement relatively rapidly. That is why, it will take a longer time to

transform them into base areas but this is not the general nature of guerrilla zones and definitely not the Maoist definition of guerrilla zones.

Building base areas: Building base areas, that is area-wise seizure of power, is the essence of Protracted People's War. Mao pointed out, "They are the strategic bases on which the guerrillas rely on performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war." We must fight against all manifestations of rightism and spontaneity to maintain a firm grasp on this essential question. Conservatism doubts the possibility of building base areas in Manipur before spreading the war countrywide. Idealist concept of base areas think that they can be built only after a regular army is formed. Both of them are manifestations of rightism. The roving rebel 'ideology' refuses to develop the war in a planned manner and to concentrate in strategic areas with the clear aim of building base areas. It is a manifestation of spontaneity. Mao wrote, "The conflict between the idea of establishing base areas and that of fighting like roving rebels, arises in all guerrilla warfare ... Therefore, the struggle against the roving rebel ideology is an inevitable process. Only when this ideology is thoroughly overcome and the policy of establishing base areas is initiated and applied will there be conditions favorable for the maintenance of guerrilla warfare over a long period. Our experience shows that roving-rebel ideology will not be eliminated in the absence of unified command, war plans and concrete war moves aimed at seizing power area-wise.

It is correct politically to hold the position that base areas can be built in plain areas also. But in the initial stages, we are weak. 'Preserving and expanding' our armed forces is of paramount importance. In this situation we must try to utilize all favorable factors, including terrain, to sustain and develop the war. Hence identifying favorable terrain is necessary as a part of war planning. At the same time we must keep in mind that the decisive thing is not terrain but our line and the masses. Every terrain will have advantages as well as disadvantages. We must understand that it is also danger of getting isolated from the masses by restricting ourselves to mountains and jungles. **So we must use terrain but must not become slaves to it.** We must also develop guerrilla struggles in the plain areas where the vast majority of the masses live. We must strive to build temporary or seasonal base areas whenever and wherever possible.

A base area is an area where we have established our power by totally destroying the enemy's political power. The conditions for establishing base areas are -- 1) we must build up revolutionary armed forces, 2) these armed forces must inflict defeats on the enemy; 3) they should arouse the people to action by arming them, building mass organizations and establishing the new power; 4) they should weed out all class enemies and agents in order to 'blind' the enemy state by relying on the masses. Mao has pointed out, "The building up of an armed force is the key to establishing a base area." Building up of armed force need not always take the form of a regular army. Both the PCP and UCPN (M) have built base areas by advancing to formation of guerrilla armies. The point to grasp is that we must build up an armed force capable of inflicting defeats on the enemy and defending the new power.

The process of building base areas is initiated with the launching of the war. Before the initiation and throughout the development of the war, the masses must be mobilized through mass organizations to defy and rebel against the existing state with the support of the guerrilla squads. The seeds of new power must be sown among them. But the base area will only get concretized in specific plans and military campaigns, which must be carried out in order to leap from the third sub-stage to the fourth sub-stage.

Our success in building base areas and expanding them will be decisive in completing the political and military tasks of the strategic defensive stage. This process will be an arduous one full of 'restoration of power' by the enemy and 'counter restoration of power' by us. Through this very process base areas will get consolidated and give the impetus for "accelerating the countrywide revolutionary high tide through the consolidation and expansion of Red Political Power."

Guidelines for the member of Revolutionary Activist Group

It is very important to provide some important measures to the members of activist group as precaution to avoid damage to the process of party building. So we are giving the below draft. RAG is not a member of the party but treat them as a candidature of the Party.

Commitment to the Revolutionary Movement is the firm belief that its struggle both military and political is politically and morally justified, that war is morally justified, and that as such they are the legal and lawful government of the party, which has the moral right to protect the property and lives of the Manipuri people over the territory, air space, mineral resources, means of production, distribution and exchange and all of its people regardless of creed or loyalty

The most important thing is security! That means you:

DON'T TALK IN PUBLIC PLACES: YOU DON'T TELL YOUR FAMILY, FRIENDS, GIRLFRIENDS OR WORKMATES THAT YOU ARE A MEMBER OF THE ACTIVIST GROUP. DON'T EXPRESS VIEWS ABOUT MILITARY MATTERS, IN OTHER WORDS YOU SAY NOTHING TO ANY PERSON

Don't be seen in public marches, demonstrations or protests. Don't be seen in the company of known Revolutionary party, don't frequent known Revolutionary houses. Your prime duty is to remain unknown to the enemy forces and the public at large. Another important thing volunteers must realize and understand is the danger in drinking alcohol and the very real danger of over-drinking. Quite a large body of information has been gathered in the past by enemy forces and their touts from volunteers who drank. Volunteers are warned that drink-induced loose talk is the **MOST POTENTIAL DANGER** facing any organization, and in a military organization it is **SUICIDE**. [The recruit learns from Day One that:] The Revolutionary Party, as the legal representatives of the Manipuri people, are morally justified in carrying out a campaign of resistance

against foreign occupation forces and domestic collaborators. All volunteers are and must feel morally justified in carrying out the dictates of the legal government; they as the Army are the legal and lawful People's Army of the New Democratic Revolution, which has been forced underground by overwhelming forces. The Army as an organization claims and expects your total allegiance without reservation. It enters into every aspect of your life. It invades the privacy of your home life, it fragments your family and friends, in other words claims your total allegiance. All potential volunteers must realize that the threats of death and of jail sentences are a very real danger and a shadow which hangs over every volunteer. Many in the past have joined a revolutionary party out of political firmness, or sheer adventure, but when captured and jailed they had after-thoughts about their allegiance to the Army. They realized at too late a stage that they had no real interest in being volunteers. This causes disaster and dissension inside prisons and divided families and neighbors outside. Another important aspect all potential volunteers should think about is their ability to obey orders from a superior officer. All volunteers must obey orders issued to them by a superior officer whether they like the particular officer or not. Before any potential volunteer decides to join the Revolutionary Army he should understand fully and clearly the issues involved. He should not join the Army because of emotionalism, sensationalism, or adventurism. He should examine fully his own motives, knowing the dangers involved and knowing that he will find no romance within the Movement. Again he should examine his political motives bearing in mind that the Army are intent on creating a New Democratic State. Volunteers are expected to wage a military war of liberation against a numerically superior force. This involves the use of arms and explosives.

Firstly the use of arms: When volunteers are trained in the use of arms they must fully understand that guns are dangerous, and their main purpose is to take human life, in other words to kill people, and volunteers are trained to kill people. It is not an easy thing to take up a gun and go out to kill some person without strong convictions or justification. The Army, its motivating force, is based upon strong convictions which bond the Army into one force and before any potential volunteer decides to join the Army he must have these strong convictions. Convictions must be strong enough to give him confidence to kill someone without hesitation and without regret. Again all people wishing to join the Army must fully realize that when life is being taken, that very well could mean their own. If you go out to shoot soldiers or police you must fully realize that they too can shoot you if you did not kill him. Life in an underground army is extremely harsh and hard, cruel and disillusioning at times. So before any person decides to join the People's Army he should think seriously about the whole thing. The nationhood of all Manipur has been an accepted fact for more than 2000 years and has been recognized internationally as a fact. Since 1891 the colonialist has been colonized our people. The objective of the oppression 'is economic exploitation with the unjustly suppress the peoples of Manipur by Indian's directly controlled old-style colony' in the name of democracy under the 'continuing social, cultural, and economic domination of India. The logical outcome of all this was the full immersion in a dependent economic, social, political and cultural condition to the India.

Note: The moral position of the People's Army, its right to engage in warfare, is based on:

- a) The right to resist foreign aggression
- b) The right to revolt against Colonialism and oppression
- c) The formation the New Democratic State under the dictatorship of Proletariat.

Economic imperialism is evident on every main road and City Street of Manipur: in Banking, Insurance, the small scale Industries and the entire economic life of general public, cultural imperialism epitomized in the changing moral and discipline of indigenous Manipuri society, has been reinforced since the cultural domination sell-out by colonialist India through many forms. The injustice of being as an individual politically impotent, the injustice of unemployment, poverty, poor housing, inadequate social security, the injustice of the exploitation of our labor, our intelligence and our natural resources.

A new recruit's immediate obstacle is the removal of his (her) ignorance about how to handle weapons, military tactics, security, interrogations etc. That might be how to put a unit on a military footing; how to create an effective intelligence network; how to mount a campaign on a given issue, e.g. for all members of the movement regardless of which branch we belong to, to enhance our commitment to and participation in the struggle through gaining as comprehensive an understanding as possible of our present society and the proposed Marxism Leninism Maoism (MLM) alternative through self and group education. The volunteers involved know how to handle interrogations in the event of their capture etc., and of course that the operation itself enhances rather than alienates our supporters. Even the given situations of adequate bomb warnings are exploited which is again our mistake in not having sufficiently considered our defensive before going on the offensive: the so-called Bloody Mistakes in past being the prime example. Either we did not stop to consider that the enemy would 'Dirty Joe' us on the warnings or we overestimated the Indian's ability to handle so many operations. But regardless of which is the case we made the mistake and the enemy exploited it. Other more everyday examples: the enemy exploits the mistake of a volunteer who stays in his own home by arresting him; he exploits the careless dumping of war materials by lifting them or, as is the most recent tactic, by assassinating volunteers who return to pick the materials up; They exploits Manipuri Revolution.-sticky confrontations by staying out of the way to allow the subsequent detrimental publicity and effect on support to run its course; they exploits Manipuri Revolution.- Colonialist confrontations by moving in behind the Manipur Revolution. We exploit the enemy's mistakes by propagating the facts. So it was with their murderous mistakes of the Heirangoithong Massacre, Malom Massacre and other massacre, which were exploited to our advantage as was the murder of Manipuri people. Tactics are dictated by the existing conditions. Here again the logic is quite simple. Without support Volunteers, Dumps, Weapons, Finance, etc., we cannot mount an operation, much less a campaign. The existing conditions dictated that the colonial Army were not to be shot, but after the condition have prevail. The existing conditions will have to change. Likewise at present, for example, although the so-called present people elected representatives has proved itself to be collaborationist and thus an enemy of the people, at various stages since 1952 we could have employed the tactic of making them subjects of ridicule by tarring and feathering them when for instance they were

members of an Executive which tortured and interned Manipuri, which penalized the Manipuri peoples movement. The rule of thumb for all our actions can therefore be clearly seen to be that we must explain by whatever means we have at our disposal why we bomb, why we punish criminals, why we execute informers etc. We do not exclude taking an action which does not completely fill the criteria of this analysis on how to conduct the struggle. Many instances have arisen and will arise again when we have had to step outside these general terms of reference to our immediate detriment propagandawise and support-wise. However even in such an eventuality, if we rationalize our action, get our defensive before our offensive, try to ensure that we have an alternative, relatively unaffected area of support from which to operate if the support in the area which the detrimental but unavoidable action takes place, we are adhering as best as possible under the circumstances to a proper conduct of the war.

THE ENEMY: CATEGORISE - CURE: The enemy, generally speaking, are all those opposed to our short-term or long-term objectives. But having said that, we must realize that all our enemies are not the same and therefore there is no common cure for their enmity. The conclusion then is that we must categorise and then suggest cures for each category. Some examples: We have enemies through ignorance, through our own fault or default and of course the main enemy is the establishment.

The enemy through ignorance we attempt to cure through education though such an attempt is obviously futile if we do not firstly educate ourselves. Our means are marches, demonstrations, wall slogans, press statements, Revolutionary press and publications and of course person-to-person communication. But as has already been stated, we must first educate ourselves, we must organize the protests and demonstrations efficiently, we must be prepared to paint the wall slogans and to sell and contribute to Revolutionary press, Publications and Press statements. The enemy through our own fault or default is the one we create ourselves through our personal conduct and through our collective conduct of the struggle: the family and neighbors of a criminal or informer who has been punished without their being informed why. In brief our personal conduct as well as our conduct of our activities must be aimed at if not enhancing supports, at least not creating enemies unnecessarily. The establishment is all those who have a vested interest in maintaining the present status quo in politicians, media, judiciary, certain business elements and the India war machine comprising the Indian Army, Screws, Civilian Searchers. The cure for these armed branches of the establishment is well known and documented. It is our task therefore to clearly identify them to the people as such and again depending on the existing conditions and our ability to get our defensive before our offensive, affect a cure. Execution, as earlier stated is not the only way of making this category of establishment enemy ineffective: we can variously expose them as liars, hypocrites, and collaborators, make them subjects of ridicule etc.

ANTI-INTERROGATION

ARREST

Most volunteers are arrested on or as a result of a military operation. This causes an initial shock resulting in tension and anxiety. All volunteers has feel that they have failed, resulting in a deep sense of disappointment. The police are aware of this feeling of disappointment and act upon this weakness by insults such as "you did not do very well: you are only an amateur: you are only second-class or worse". While being arrested the police use heavy-handed `shock` tactics in order to frighten the prisoner and break down his resistance. On the journey to the detention centre the prisoner is kicked, punched and the insults start. On arrival he is dragged from the police wagon through a gauntlet of kicks, punches and insults and flung into a cell. What A Volunteer Should Do When Arrested!

1. The most important thing to bear in mind when arrested is that you are a volunteer of a revolutionary Army, that you have been captured by an enemy force, that your cause is a just one, that you are right and that the enemy is wrong and that as a soldier you have taken the chance expected of a soldier and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in being captured.
2. You must bear in mind that the treatment meted out to you is designed to break you and so bleed you of all the information you may have with regard to the organization to which you belong.
3. They will attempt to intimidate you by sheer numbers and by brutality. Volunteers who may feel disappointed are entering the first dangerous threshold because the police will act upon this disappointment to the detriment of the volunteer and to the furthestmost of their own ends. Volunteers must condition themselves that they can be arrested and if and when arrested they should expect the worse and be prepared for it.
4. They will also attempt to take bribes but we must understand that it is wrong to give bribe to be a revolutionary.

II. INTERROGATION

After the arrest has been placed in a cell, he may be left for some time alone. During this lull, police officers, `The Interrogators`, will crowd around the outside of the cell door from time to time, shouting threats and insults, telling the prisoner what they will do to him when they go into the cell. After some time the interrogators will enter the cell and ask the prisoner to make a confession. During this period he may be subjected to assaults and abusive language, depending on the circumstances surrounding the charge. At this stage he will be fingerprinted and other questions will be put to him, related to the specific charge or other charges. Usually his name and address will be taken, place of employment, occupation, educational standard and so forth. After this he will be again isolated in his cell while his `interrogators` check his identity, usually with local police, his home and place of employment. In this period of time the police will attempt to establish his political beliefs, if any, his associates, his police record, if any, and in this way build up a file on him. Most probably `his associates` and general pattern of movement will give a pretty good idea to the police, if the person is involved in or is

sympathetic to a political organization. Armed with this body of information the police will re-enter the cell and accuse the prisoner of all sorts of activity. If the evidence does not indicate a degree of guilt on the specific charge, he will be accused of all kinds of vague activity. The purpose of these vague accusations is to implant a feeling of guilt in the prisoner. If, however, the police have some evidence or strong beliefs, linking him with a specific charge, pressure will be applied immediately. This pressure will take the form of physical and psychological torture; most probably he will be punched and kicked around the cell while they scream at him to make a confession, indicating to him that they know all. One or more of the interrogating officers will act in a particular and brutal manner, if they fail to get a confession or on admission of guilt they will leave the cell, telling the prisoner they will be back and threatening him with the most barbaric forms of torture, implying that they extracted confessions from better men than he. Another set of interrogators will enter the cell, possibly carrying a file with the prisoner's name written on it. They will act quite friendly and sympathetic towards him, telling him that they do not condone the activity of the previous interrogators, that they were mad, crazy and possibly they will kill him when they come in later, they will go to extremes to impress the prisoner of their own sympathy towards him, and ask him to make a confession to them indicating that they do not want the previous interrogators `to get at him again`. They will probably guarantee him that if he makes the confession they will not allow the former interrogators to re-enter the cell, this will be coupled with a warning that otherwise they cannot guarantee him safety. When the prisoner refuses to confess they will pretend to become very annoyed and disappointed at his lack of co-operation. They may strike him across the face or in the stomach while telling him that he ought to be thankful to them, that they saved him from the previous interrogators and indicating that his behavior and attitude is a thankless way to repay their kindness. The interrogators will then open up a file and pretend to read extracts from it, related to the prisoner's past life and activities, even the most intimate and private aspects of his life will be read to him, and possibly a general account of his movements and associates. Most of this information may have been supplied by his friends, employer, school, family, or girlfriend, it may also be `Pub Talk`, local gossip, information supplied by touts or information extracted from other prisoners. This detailed information is designed to frighten the prisoner and to shatter his confidence in his associates and organization. If, however, they get no confession, they will leave the cell, but before doing so they will give the prisoner their names and tell him to ask for them at any time he wishes to, again indicating that the next set of interrogators are crazy, drunk, and will do him severe damage, then they leave the cell. After a period of time another set of interrogators will enter the cell, again these interrogators will be particularly brutal and nasty towards him. They will attack him immediately in a most hostile and vicious manner, suggesting to him that if he did not confess to the former interrogators he will confess to them, they will let him know that they have a reputation for getting confessions from people like him, implying that everyone they met confessed before they were finished with them. The torture used will now take on a three-fold purpose:

1. Physical Torture.
2. Subtle Psychological Torture.
3. Humiliation.

1. Physical Torture

The physical torture will be in the form of beatings, kicking, punching and twisting of limbs, it may even be burning from cigarette ends.

2. Psychological Torture

This will be in the form of threats to his family, his friends and himself, e.g. threats of assassination and threats to castrate him.

3. Humiliation

This takes the form of stripping the prisoner of his clothes and remarks passed about his sexual organs. This period of interrogation may last for as long as two hours or more and at the end of that period they may produce a factual or faked confession from an associate. Failing to get their confession they leave the cell, telling him they will be back and when they do come back they will break every bone in his body. This process can continue for many days without a break, the minimum of sleep is allowed and if they deem it necessary, no sleep will be allowed. Lack of sleep causes the prisoner to become confused. Because of the existing laws which authorize the police to detain a person for seven days or more days, it means in effect that the process of interrogation can continue to disorientate their victim, due in the main to lack of sleep. Interrogation can have many different phases, depending on the evidence or information which the police have gathered. It is obvious that a volunteer captured carrying out an operation is already seen to be guilty, especially if captured with a weapon, bomb etc., in this case the police have all the evidence needed to obtain a conviction and interrogation becomes unnecessary. Most likely the volunteer will be beaten up in the police stations for what he has done, not for what he knows, if interrogated under these circumstances it will be to get information on the organization to which he belongs and on his comrades. Another shady aspect directly related to interrogation is blackmail and bribe. When the police cannot obtain a confession they may attempt to blackmail the volunteer, this may be in the form of threats to spread scandalous stories about the volunteer, stories or threats may be designed to hit at the character of the volunteer such as a threat to tell his comrades or his organization that he told everything or that he had been working for them for years. The other phase of this shady interrogation is bribe. A volunteer may be promised money and a safe passage of his movement if he cooperates.

THE INTERROGATION - ANALYSIS

The best defense in anti-interrogation techniques is to understand the techniques as practiced by police forces. The purpose of interrogation is to get a confession. If the interrogators knew what they were searching for there would be no need for interrogation, therefore interrogation is necessary only when the police are unaware of information, which would lead to a conviction. The best anti-interrogation is to SAY NOTHING. All police forces work from a story, suspicion or clue, therefore when a volunteer is arrested they strive to build on that clue, on that suspicion and the only way that can be done is to obtain information from their victim. They usually start by questioning their victim, writing down a recording of what he says, comparing this information with information already in their possession, looking for differences which contradict the information previously gained, going back to their victim, pointing out

these differences, resulting in the victim changing his alibi in order to suit this difference. The police will again check this new story with other information and again look for a difference or mistake narrowing the prisoner's alibi down until finally it breaks. All of these changes in his statements will be recorded and used as evidence against him, evidence which will without doubt be accepted by the court and so lead to his conviction. This cannot be over stressed: when arrested SAY NOTHING. Ask to see your solicitor and doctor immediately and keep on doing so. DO NOT INDULGE IN CONVERSATION WITH THE POLICE. After the prisoner had been placed in his cell, we have seen earlier about how the police had crowded outside the cell door shouting insults and banging on the door. The purpose of this exercise is to frighten the prisoner and so arouse anxiety in their victim.

When anxiety has been aroused all natural, rational defense barriers break down or weaken. When this happens the prisoner becomes irrational and becomes more prone to interrogation, in other words an anxious man is easier to intimidate by interrogation than a cool, calculating person. During the time the prisoner is left alone in the cell he should, in as far as is as possible, ignore the police, the threats and the insults and he should marshal all facts surrounding his arrest. He should bear in mind that he can be detained for no more than seven days if he remains silent or possibly years in prison if he speaks. Most volunteers speak from a sense of fear thinking mistakenly that if they speak, torture or ill treatment will not be used. It is a recorded fact that interrogators are guided by a simple rule of thumb: `If a prisoner won't speak he may be innocent and interrogation may be a waste of time, if he speaks a little there is always more and so interrogation is necessary`, therefore the prisoner who speaks a little in order to avoid abuse is in effect inviting more abuse from his interrogators who will always assume there is something more. Therefore the best defence is to remain COOL, COLLECTED, CALM, and SAY NOTHING. We have seen earlier in the lecture how the first batch of interrogators will enter the cell usually insulting, shouting and beating the prisoner. Volunteers should understand that this first batch of interrogators usually fingerprint, ask name, address etc. At this stage a little is known about the prisoner and therefore the task of the interrogator is to identify him positively. Again the prisoner must bear in mind that everything he says will be recorded and compared with existing information in the possession of the police. The purpose of abusing the prisoner at this stage is called the `softening up period`, usually one or more will act in a particularly nasty manner. This interrogation may last not more than one hour and is only a preliminary investigation. The purpose of using heavy-handed techniques and sheer hostility is an opening for the following batch of interrogators, whom we have seen act in a particularly sympathetic manner. This set of interrogators, we have seen, acted in a friendly and sympathetic manner towards the prisoner, offering him cigarettes and friendship. Volunteers should be well aware and on guard against this feigned friendship. These interrogators pretend to be sympathetic towards the aims and objects of the movement, going to lengths to impress the volunteer, pretending that they too believe in the revolution. They will, no doubt, tell the volunteer that their relatives was in the same organization and that they were forced by economic circumstances to join the police force and they are now merely passing the time until they are pensioned off. They will try to convince the volunteer it is in his interest to make a confession to them in order to escape from the previous interrogators who, they claim, are anti-

Republican and are not interested in getting a confession but are only interested in beating the prisoner up. The volunteer should understand that these seemingly kind police officers may be acting the tough cop with his comrades who had been or are arrested. Finally we have seen how these interrogators, pretending to become upset, had stretched forward and beat the volunteer about the face and body, declaring that their advice and friendship was being returned or repaid with a stubborn attitude and a refusal to make **EVEN A PART OF A CONFESSION**. This technique is as old as police forces, they attempt to win over the friendship and trust of the prisoner, hoping that if their prisoner falls into that trap he will become upset, not so much at the punching about the face which he received from them but at his own refusal to co-operate: this perhaps is the most dangerous type of interrogation and one which leaves the prisoner in a psychological vulnerable position. Another technique is called **TOP SECRET FILE TECHNIQUE**; this involves the interrogators bringing into the cell a file with the prisoner's name printed on it. The police will open this file in the presence of the prisoner as we have seen earlier in the lecture. They proceed to read from these file parts of the prisoner's past life, even to the most intimate details and a general account of his movement and friends, especially those associated or known to have contacts or sympathies with a political organization. They also have information gathered from various sources such as employer, neighbors, **PUB TALK OR LOCAL GOSSIP**. Very often the **PUB TALK** and gossip is factual, this arises from the volunteer or volunteers in general speaking in pubs under the influence of alcohol, telling close friends and girlfriends and boasting in a bravado manner about their exploits and the exploits of others. This type of bravado is **POSITIVELY DANGEROUS**, not only to the volunteer and his associates but to the Movement in general. Another dangerous aspect of interrogation is `an associate's confession`, this involves an interrogator approaching the volunteer with a signed or unsigned, factual or unfactual confession of an associate. Volunteers must understand, (in the first place) this confession may be a hoax and in the second, even if it is a factual confession of his associate, this confession is not an indication of guilt and will not be accepted in court unless his associate who made the confession is prepared to turn State or its witness and is prepared to swear its truth in the witness box. Very often a volunteer may break under severe physical and psychological torture and make a confession, but rarely is prepared to turn State witness and swear against his comrades. If this technique is employed by the police **DON'T FALL FOR IT**, it is a trick to weaken the volunteer and so get him to make and sign a statement. Another dangerous technique employed is bringing the prisoner who made a statement into the same room as the volunteer who refuses to co-operate, usually they are left on their own and the prisoner who made a statement may try to entice his comrade to do likewise. If this happens to you always bear in mind that you are not alone because the room is always bugged and any talk is recorded. Another important point to bear in mind is when the prisoner who confessed and perhaps implicated you approaches, don't launch a verbal attack on him because this verbal attack on him would be an implication of your guilt. Always speak friendly to him and suggest he must be mistaken, that he is ill and advise him to seek medical attention. Another important point to be remembered and one which is extremely important, **DON'T GET INVOLVED IN A POLITICAL CONVERSATION**, this technique is a universal tactic and one which recurs repeatedly. When volunteers refuse to make a confession and when all other tactics of interrogation have failed, the police usually, if not always, attempt to get the volunteer to

speaking on political matters. This is a technique which many volunteers fail to recognize, its purpose is to fling the volunteer off balance, to sound out his political thinking, to break his silence and so make it easier for him to speak freely. This tactic has been used against volunteers and very often to their own detriment. When a volunteer has been arrested and the usual terror tactics used against him, this display of friendship has a weakening effect upon him and can be explained in psychological terms. As we have seen earlier in this lecture, these seemingly friendly interrogators will give their names to the prisoner before they leave the cell, telling him that the next set of interrogators are crazy, anti-Revolutionary people who are out to do him harm, they will tell him to call upon them at any time he so wishes and they will do their best to save him from brutal treatment. All volunteers must understand and understand in the clearest possible way that no interrogator is his friend, that they are the enemy, the instruments of coercion, the tools of suppression and a more dangerous enemy than the interrogators who will beat him up. These people act a part in a well-rehearsed play, and are using subtle psychological techniques in order to undermine the morale of the volunteer. All volunteers are well versed in brutal treatment as practiced by police and the Army. They understand what physical torture means, but now you will have to understand the meaning and application of psychological torture, perhaps the term is an uncommon one, but its effects are far reaching. We have seen earlier in the lecture how the 'heavy squad' now enters the scene and proceeds to attack the volunteer in a most vicious and brutal manner. This shock treatment is well rehearsed and is meant to push the volunteer into a physical and mental corner, in other words they hope that their shock treatment will knock the volunteer off balance, and off guard in the hope that he will confess. They will shout statements to the effect that they have a reputation for extracting confessions, that they have never yet failed and that he will not fool them. Now we must analyze this approach, the first thing of importance we note of importance is the shouting in conjunction with the physical torture. The shouting as we shall see is a more important interrogation technique than the physical torture. Again, why shout? Why boast? Why tell the volunteer that they are experts at extracting information? This shouting and boasting is merely an assurance to the police that they can get a confession, it is the first obvious sign of their own weakness, a compensation for their own shortcomings and all volunteers should and ought to look upon this display as a modern war dance. Just as primitive people held war dances, and built totem poles in order to compensate themselves for their own known weaknesses, so two frustrated interrogators will shout and boast in front of the prisoner to compensate themselves for their own weakness. The best anti-interrogation technique when a volunteer finds himself in this situation, is to look upon the police officers as he would look upon primitive people, wearing the head of a dead animal, hoping that by doing this they gain the strength or cunning of the animal whose head they wear. All volunteers should look upon shouting, boasting policemen as they would look upon primitive people doing a war dance.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TORTURE

We have seen that this type of torture is widespread and usually in the form of threats to the volunteer in question, to his friends and family, threats to assassinate him, to blacken

his character, to castrate him; loss of sleep, poor quality of food and continuous noise. This in conjunction with the physical torture and fear of physical torture builds up anxiety and borders on hysteria. All of this is designed to smash down the volunteer's natural defense mechanism, usually a person held for a period of time, perhaps seven days, living in an environment of fear and indecision, constantly being threatened, cut off from all natural contacts, deprived of his usual social surroundings, lack of sleep etc. This can and does form disorientation and disillusionment: during this period the volunteer will get no sleep or very little sleep, living this type of vague existence for a number of days and can leave its mark and deserves an independent lecture.[The sexual overtones of some interrogation techniques are graphically described in a section devoted to humiliation.]

HUMILIATION

We have seen that this type of interrogation technique invariably is stripping the prisoner of all his clothes and remarks passed about his sexual organs. Volunteers should be aware of the proven fact that clothes are an important aspect of the individual's character or make up. By removing his clothes the interrogators hope to remove the volunteer's character and make up, psychologically this is symbolic and by doing this the police like to humiliate the volunteer and so lift away the barriers, just as they find barriers preventing them from getting a confession. A person's clothes become symbolic of this barrier and by removing them they hope to remove the natural defence mechanism of the volunteer. The very character of the enemy is seems like inhuman. The second part of the humiliation is to pass derogatory remarks about the volunteer's sexual organs. This is quite common in all police stations and interrogation cells. Volunteers should attempt to understand the mentality which underlies this act and so be better prepared to meet this angle if and when it happens to them. Just as they removed the volunteer's clothes, which symbolised a defence mechanism or natural barrier, so too by passing derogatory remarks about the volunteer's sexual organs they attempt to humiliate the volunteer and by so doing to weaken his will to resist. The mere act of doing this has deeper undertones than one would guess. Volunteers should understand that from a psychological point of view this act is called a penis complex. This complex is inherent in the homosexual and although the interrogators themselves may be married men with a family it indicates suppressed homosexual tendencies. When the volunteer realises and understands this proven fact he should not have great difficulty in triumphing over his interrogators. He should look upon them as homosexuals with the immunity of the establishment, as people who become sadistic from the homosexual tendencies, which underlie them. The police sometimes attempt to use blackmail and bribe in the last vain attempt to obtain a confession. All volunteers should ignore this type of carrot dangling. Blackmail rarely works effectively and can backfire against the police in libelous action and so bad publicity. Bribe never works, despite the fact that a volunteer may be offered money and protection in exchange for information. He should bear in mind that when he is of no further use to the police they drop him and the protection means nothing. While being tortured in a brutal, physical manner it is important that a volunteer should consolidate his position, he should realize that it's days if he keeps silent, perhaps years if he speaks. It's no easy thing to dismiss physical torture as a small or meaningless thing. It is by no means small and by no means meaningless to the receiver. From time immemorial, from

histories recorded as far back as the Babylonian Empire up through the days of Imperial Rome, from the Spanish Inquisition to Nazi Concentration Camps, Free State and Manipur police stations, come stories of how people coped and defeated the attempts of police to beat information from prisoners. One notable technique was the prisoners' ability to form images in their minds or on the surrounding walls. People who were brutalized found that by directing their powers of concentration away from their interrogators and diverting it to images formed in their own mind they could in effect overcome the physical pain. You have to make aware all this things and get ready to face such inhuman treatments.

Stages in the Development of the Proletarian Ideology

“Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action” said Com. Lenin, and it is “bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life.”

It is precisely because Marxism is a living science, and not a lifeless dogma, has living connection with, and serves practice, that it undergoes continuous development and gets enriched in the course of development of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The Theory, Ideology or science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the synthesis of the experiences of class struggle in all spheres and in all countries over the last 150 years. It is a comprehensive whole of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism or class struggle of the proletariat.

MLM has been forged and expounded by the most brilliant leaders of the international proletariat—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse tung—in the crucible of class struggle and the ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology and its various manifestations in the form of revisionism and various other alien class tendencies in the past 150 years. It is an invincible weapon in the hands of the international proletariat and other oppressed and exploited masses to understand and transform this world by carrying out the revolution. It is a living and scientific ideology which has constantly developed and enriched during the course of revolutionary practice in the International Communist Movement.

Marxism, the scientific theory developed by Marx and Engels, laid the foundation of the new science and became firmly established by the last decade of the 19th century after defeating all the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and opportunist trends in the International Communist Movement in a bitter struggle lasting for almost half-a-century. Marxism is the first stage in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

The second great leap in the science of Marxism took place in the initial decades of the 20th century under conditions of monopoly capitalism, which took the form of imperialism. It was in the course of creatively applying the basic tenets of Marxism to the concrete practice of the Russian Revolution and the World Proletarian Revolution and in the course of the ideological-political struggle against revisionists like Bernstein, Kautsky and dogmatic Marxists like Plekhanov, that Com. Lenin defended, enriched and developed Marxism to a new and higher stage of proletarian science. Thus Marxism-Leninism represented the second stage in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

The third great leap in the development of the proletarian science was brought forth by Com. Mao by applying the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice

of the Chinese Revolution and the World Proletarian Revolution and in the course of the resolute struggle against modern revisionism led by Khrushchov & Co. He firmly defended, enriched and developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage by making significant contributions to the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism. Thus Marxism-Leninism-Maoism marks the third stage in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

A correct scientific understanding of the development of the ideology of the proletariat over the last 150 years is very essential in order to grasp the significance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a qualitatively higher stage of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Marxism

Pointing out the objective conditions that gave birth to the science of Marxism Com. Mao states :

“For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited men’s outlook. It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into science, the science of Marxism.” **(Mao - On Practice, Selected Works, Vol I, page 206)**

And Com. Stalin succinctly sums up the essence of Marxism thus:

“Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building a communist society.”

Karl Marx, along with his close comrade-in-arms, Frederick Engels, developed the philosophy of dialectical materialism as a method and outlook; applied the dialectical method to discover the laws of motion of social development or the materialist conception of history; developed the science of political economy which discovered the laws of motion of capitalism with its inherent class contradictions and the doctrine of surplus value-the cornerstone of Marx’s economic theory-which uncovered the source of exploitation; developed the theory of scientific socialism based on the doctrine of the class struggle; and outlined the principles governing the tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Marx gave to philosophy the revolutionary task of changing the world. This is expressed in the famous statement made by Marx in his **Theses on Feuerbach**: “The philosophers have only interpreted the world, our task is to change it”.

Marx and Engels defined matter as material reality existing objectively and that it gets reflected in human consciousness. Marxist philosophical materialism thus resolved the fundamental question in philosophy- that concerning the relation of thinking and being ...spirit to nature.

They also proved most scientifically the second aspect in the fundamental question in philosophy, viz, can human consciousness properly reflect objective reality? Marxist theory of knowledge totally rejected agnosticism and skepticism, asserted that nothing in the world remains forever as a “thing-in-itself” or unknowable. Marxist theory of

knowledge asserted that social practice is the source of knowledge. Completely rejecting rationalist and empiricist trends, it also stated that social practice is the measure of truth.

Marx synthesized the knowledge gained by humankind over the centuries and, basing himself mainly on all that was rational in German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French revolutionary and socialist doctrines, Marx discovered the Materialist Conception of History. He defined the human essence as the ensemble of social relations.

In the field of political economy, Marx's greatest contribution is the analysis of Capital.

As explained by Lenin and cited by Com. Mao in his 'On Contradiction', "In his **Capital**, Marx first analyses the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday **relation** of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz. the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals **all** the contradictions (or the germs of **all** the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (**both growth and movement**) of these contradictions and of this society in the [summation] of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end."

Thus where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a relation between people. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie between individual producers through the market.

In his monumental work, **Das Capital**, he expounded the labour theory of value and showed how surplus value extracted from the worker is the specific form of exploitation under capitalism, which takes the form of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class. He showed that exploitation takes place in the capitalist mode of production behind the façade of free and equal exchange. Marx refuted the erroneous views of the Classical economists that exploitation arises from unequal exchange of labour for the wage. Based on this analysis and the law of contradiction Marx discovered the basic contradiction in capitalist society. As Com. Mao explained:

"When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." (**On Contradiction**)

Marx explained capitalist crises also as another manifestation of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

Com. Lenin expounded the Marxist understanding regarding the capitalist crisis, while refuting the Sismondian view, that crisis manifests "precisely in the conditions of production. To put it more briefly, the former (Sismondian) explains crises, by underconsumption (Unterkonsumption), the latter (Marxist) by the anarchy of production." (**The characterization of Economic Romanticism**)

Explaining how the capitalists try to resolve the crisis, The Communist Manifesto puts it lucidly:

“The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say,, by paving the way for extensive and more destructive crisis, and thereby diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.”

Basing on the above understanding Marx and Engels recognised that the proletariat has emerged as the most revolutionary social class and a motive force for social development; that the proletariat, in the course of liberating itself from wage slavery, will also liberate the entire society from all class exploitation and oppression and advance towards a classless society. They realized that, in order to liberate itself by overthrowing capitalism the proletariat should develop its own class ideology, that it should transform from the position of class-in-itself to a class-for-itself, and that it should form its own advanced organization-the Party of the proletariat.

They proved that the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production in class society manifests itself as a class contradiction and it is this class struggle, which serves as the driving force of society. Hence they described the history of class society as a history of a class struggle. The Communist Manifesto, an immortal work of Marx and Engels which appeared over 150 years ago, remains the international proletariat’s guide even to this day.

The birth of Marxism belongs to the period of one of the greatest transformations in human history and the establishment of the global domination of a few Western capitalist regimes. It was in the period of stormy revolutions of the bourgeois-democratic epoch and nascent proletarian-revolutionary movements from 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871, and a relatively peaceful period of preparation of the proletarian revolutions after the fall of the Commune to the turn of the century that Marxism became established through the correct analysis provided by Marx and Engels into the great events of the period like the Paris Commune. Marx and Engels played a major role in establishing and guiding the Communist Parties and the First International and gave the workers of various nations an internationalist outlook and camaraderie through their clarion call : **“Workers of the world Unite!”**

Marxism developed into an ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat by defeating the various petty-bourgeois trends like the Anarchist trend of Proudhon, Bakunin and the like who rejected the need for the political struggle of the working class, rejected the need for a Party of the proletariat and rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Blanquist trend that relied exclusively on conspiratorial methods; and the opportunist trend of Lassalle, who proposed a system of government-subsidised co-operatives, which would gradually replace capitalism, and opposed even trade union struggles and strikes by his infamous theory of the “iron law of wages”.

Marx criticized the opportunist Gotha Programme that was adopted by the new Party formed in Germany by the merger of the revolutionary Left led by Liebknecht and Bebel with the opportunist Lassalle who believed in the democratization of the state through universal suffrage or so-called state socialism and collaborated with Bismarck.

Marx developed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of rule of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing the rule of capital by force. Marx and

Engels explained the birth, development and the withering away of the State in the course of development of human society from the slave-owning society to communism. They explained that “the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”.(The Communist Manifesto).

The most important principle derived from the experience of the Commune, according to Marx, is that ‘the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and use it for its own purposes.’ In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is a key concept in Marxist political theory. Marx proved that “the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; that this dictatorship itself constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.” (Letter to Wedemeyer, March, 1852) Marx and Engels thus exposed and defeated all petty bourgeois, utopian theories of socialism that rejected class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly established the principles of scientific socialism.

It is through the development of the theory and tactics of the proletariat in the pre-monopoly stage of capitalism and the resolute struggle waged by Marx, against the various opportunist trends hostile to the interests of the proletariat, that Marxism got established as the first stage in the development of the proletarian ideology. And the Marxist methodology has been adopted in understanding and developing almost all subjects ranging from natural sciences to the strategy and tactics of revolution.

The great contributions of Marx and Engels are inseparable. It was in close collaboration with Engels that Marx developed his theory. Engels assisted Marx and enriched the latter’s writings, simplifying and elaborating them where necessary. Engels also made great contributions to philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism after the death of Marx. He defended Marx and led the ideological struggle against the opportunism in the Second International in the initial years of its existence. Thus the contributions of Engels are an inseparable part of the theory of Marxism.

The revolutionary standpoint, political theory, the dialectical method and the all-embracing world view developed by Marx i.e., doctrine of Marx, came to be called Marxism, and represents the first great milestone in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

Lenin and Leninism

Lenin, following Marx and Engels, was a great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, the working people and the oppressed nations of the whole world. Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the flames of the proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin inherited, resolutely defended, scientifically applied and creatively developed the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

He creatively applied the basic tenets of Marxism to the concrete practice of the Russian revolution and to the World Proletarian Revolution in the early phase of the imperialist era. Comrade Stalin summed up Leninism as: “Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.”

Stalin 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."

Com. Lenin made great contributions to enrich all the three component parts of Marxism and elevated 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. The theoretical writings of Com. Lenin deal with almost every subject applying the dialectical method of Marx.

Lenin undertook the very serious task of generalizing, on the basis of materialist philosophy, the most important achievements of science from the time of Engels down to his own time, as well as of subjecting to comprehensive criticism the anti-materialistic trends among Marxists. In particular, his criticism on empirio-criticism which came to the fore as a revisionist trend in philosophy is of fundamental importance. From then on until today it has served as Marxist critique of the modern bourgeois philosophical trends. He considered the attack on Marxism in name of "New" philosophical trends based on modern scientific discoveries as a manifestation of the class struggle in the philosophical front. He proved that all the "New" philosophical theories were no different from the old subjective idealism of Berkeley and Hume. Lenin thus defeated most ably this attack on Marxism in the philosophical front. In this process he creatively developed Marxist philosophy.

Lenin developed Marxist theory of reflection in a creative way. He explained on the basis of modern scientific discoveries that matter has the property of being reflected and consciousness is the highest form of reflection of matter in the brain.

The theory of reflection of matter developed by Lenin, the definition he gave to matter further strengthened the foundations of Marxist philosophical materialism, making them impregnable to any attacks from any form of idealism. The revolutionary dialectics was further carried ahead by Lenin who particularly made a deep study of contradictions. He called contradiction "the essence of dialectics" and stated that "the division of the One and the knowledge of its contradictory parts is the essence of dialectics." He further asserted, "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites".

Lenin made some of his greatest contributions to political economy. While Marx and Engels revealed the various aspects of capitalism when it was at the stage of free-competition and pointed out its tendencies and future direction, it was not possible for them to analyse imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism which was yet to be unfolded. Lenin further developed the Marxist political economy and analysed the economic and political essences of imperialism.

In his brilliant analysis of imperialism, which is a great contribution to the theory of Marxism, comrade Lenin scientifically explained the transformation of capitalism from the pre-monopoly stage to monopoly stage and how this highest stage of capitalism bred war and revolution. He pointed out that imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist politics. The imperialists because of their insatiable greed in scrambling for world markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment, and because of their struggle to re-divide the world start world wars. Hence, so long as imperialism exists in the world,

the source and possibility of war will remain. He laid bare the myth of democracy and showed how “politically imperialism is always a striving towards violence and reaction.”

Lenin asserted that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic or decaying, moribund capitalism, that it is the highest and final stage in the development of capitalism and therefore is the eve of the proletarian revolution.

Another major contribution of Lenin was regarding the smashing of the State structure of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He explained how the State is an instrument of oppression of one class by another and how the exploitative State can be smashed only by means of revolutionary violence. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois state machine and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Drawing lessons from the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, he discovered that the Soviet form of government was the best form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of the class alliance between the proletariat, and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian classes, particularly the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class; and explained how the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest type of democracy, the form of proletarian democracy, which expresses the interests of the majority of the masses. Lenin pointed 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. The importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Lenin’s thinking could be gauged from his famous observation: **“Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”**

Lenin also warned of the danger of the restoration of capitalism if the working class does not completely transform the small commodity production. Lenin said: “small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.” That is why Lenin considered that the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential to check the rise of the new bourgeoisie. Moreover, basing on the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that, because capitalism developed extremely unevenly in different countries, socialism would achieve victory first in one or several countries but could not achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, in spite of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, other capitalist countries still exist, and this gives rise to imperialist subversive activities against the socialist states. Hence the struggle will be protracted. This was very lucidly brought out by the CPC in its famous June 14 Letter of 1963:

“After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

a. The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the “paradise” they have been deprived of.

b. New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c. Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d. The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration. “

. This thesis of Lenin that the struggle between socialism and capitalism will embrace a whole historical epoch is a tremendous contribution to the theory of building socialism and communism.

Lenin made a path-breaking leap in the concept and practice of Party building, which is a great addition to the arsenal of Marxism. Lenin considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish its own genuinely revolutionary political party, which completely breaks with opportunism, that is, a Communist Party, if the proletarian revolution is to be carried through, and the dictatorship of the proletariat established and consolidated. He brilliantly summed up the need for the party in the famous phrase “The Proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organization”. He postulated that the Party is the highest form of class organization that directs all other forms of organization of the masses, that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only through the proletarian Party, and that the Party should consist of a stable nucleus of professional revolutionaries with an extensive network of Party membership. This political party must identify itself with the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution as well as in building Socialism and Communism.

The Leninist understanding on the national question is qualitatively of a higher level. He fought both the chauvinism of the oppressor nation and the narrow nationalism of the oppressed nation and laid out a correct policy for the Party of the proletariat on the national question i.e. complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination, including the right of secession, and the amalgamation of all nations. He showed how the national and colonial question is a component part of the general question of the world proletarian revolution and how it can be resolved only by the complete elimination of imperialism worldwide. According to the National and Colonial Thesis of Com. Lenin, the proletarian revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries should ally themselves with the national liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries; this alliance can smash the alliance of the imperialists with the feudal and comprador reactionary forces in the colonies all dependent countries, and will therefore inevitably put a final end to the imperialist system throughout the world.

Lenin creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels on an alliance of the working class and the peasantry into an integral doctrine. Refuting the line of the Mensheviks like Plekhanov who argued that the proletariat should only play the role of extreme left opposition and leave the leadership role of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia to the bourgeoisie and that the peasantry should be left under the latter's tutelage, Lenin formulated the strategic plans for both the stages of revolution in Russia as: “The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to the completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability. The proletariat must accomplish the

Socialist revolution, allying to itself the masses of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's resistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie.”

Analysing the international and the internal conditions in Russia in the era of imperialism Lenin thus developed a completely new theory of two stages of revolution-bourgeois democratic and proletarian socialist-both of which are indivisible and should be led by the proletariat.

Leninism developed through relentless fight against the various shades of opportunists such as the Bernsteinian revisionists, Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks, Legal Marxists, Liquidators, Kautskyites, Trotskyites, etc. Lenin drew up the tactics by taking Marxism as not a dogma but a guide to action. The amazing clarity of the tactical slogans and the astounding boldness of the revolutionary plans of Lenin won over all the Left forces in the Second International and the revolutionary masses to the side of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin considered revisionists as agents of imperialism hiding among the ranks of the working class movement and said: “...the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.”

With the collapse of the Second International during the First World War due to the betrayal by most of the Social-Democratic Parties that pursued a national chauvinist policy of “Defence of the Fatherland”, Com. Lenin formed the Third International immediately following the War and made it a powerful instrument of the international proletariat in its fight against imperialism.

While Marxism is the doctrine of the era of relative peaceful development of capitalism and Leninism is the doctrine of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Describing the conditions under which Leninism arose, Com. Stalin said: “Leninism grew up and took shape under the conditions of imperialism, when the contradictions of capitalism had reached an extreme point, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for revolution had come up and passed over to a new period, that of direct assault on capitalism”. And that “Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.”

Lenin's teachings on imperialism, on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on war and peace, and on the building of socialism and communism still retain their full vitality. The science of Marxism thus took a qualitative leap into the second and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism in the course of the proletarian revolution and the struggle against the opportunists of the Second international in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

Stalin's Defence of Marxism-Leninism

Stalin's contribution is part and parcel of Leninism. Based on the theoretical foundations of Com. Lenin he further enriched and played a leading role in construction of socialism in the USSR, the world's first ever socialist country.

Com. Stalin, the comrade-in-arms of Lenin, creatively applied, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in some fields. He led the International Communist

Movement, in the three decades after the death of Com. Lenin. He played a glorious role in defeating the Hitler fascism during the 2nd World War.

Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, and other bourgeois agents.

Stalin made an indelible contribution to the international communist movement through a number of theoretical writings such as those on the Nationality question, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, History of the CPSU(B), on linguistics, etc and is known for the most lucid, popular and simplified presentation of the works of Lenin such as “The Foundations of Leninism” making them easier to grasp by the Marxist-Leninists all over the world.

Mao and Maoism

Combining the Chinese Revolution and the international proletarian revolution with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, Com. Mao has protected, inherited and developed Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage in the field of philosophy, political economy, military science and scientific socialism. Com. Mao has further developed the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. Protracted people’s war was developed through revolutionary struggle and was for long 28 years in colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal China-in a situation totally different from the capitalist Europe. His theory of the New Democracy is also a unique contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

After the successful completion of the great Chinese Revolution in 1949 he made some of his most brilliant contributions through the process of leading a worldwide struggle against Khrushchov revisionism as well as modern revisionism which is popularly known as The Great Debate in the history of the International Communist Movement and thereafter by making continuous contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, he initiated and led the earth-shaking GPCR which marked a historical turning point in the history of International Communist Movement. During this period he developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism thereby consolidating and strengthening the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the very purpose of advancing it towards communism on a world scale. On the whole, Com. Mao developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to its third, higher and qualitatively new stage.

Marxist philosophy: Mao Tse-tung made invaluable contributions in greatly developing the proletarian philosophy of dialectical materialism including the theory of knowledge. Through his penetrating study of society and human thought and particularly fighting against the dogmatists and made a conceptual leap in understanding and developing the law of contradiction. He pointed out that law of contradiction, the unity and struggle of opposites, is the fundamental law of motion governing nature and society including the human thought. He expounded that the unity and identity in all things and processes is temporary and relative, while the struggle between opposites is constant and absolute which marks “breaks in continuity” and new leaps. He further explained this conceptual leap in identifying the relationship between the particularity of contradiction and the universality of contradiction. He said that in given condition, opposite in a

contradiction possesses identity, and consequently can coexist in a single entity and can transform themselves into each other. This is the particularity and relativity of contradiction. But the struggle of opposites is ceaseless, it goes on both when the opposites are coexisting and when they are transforming themselves into each other, and this struggle becomes especially visible when the opposites are transforming themselves into one another - this is universality and absoluteness of contradiction. In this context he further said that in analysing the particularity of contradictions we must give attention to the distinction between the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradiction and to the distinction between the principal aspect and the non-principal aspect of a contradiction, while in studying and analysing the universality of contradiction and the struggle of opposites in contradiction, we must give attention to the distinction between the different forms of struggle. That is why he stressed that “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 - ‘On Contradiction’ Selected Readings, Page 117)

How we must study every great system of the forms of motion of matter, Com. Mao said, “It is necessary not only to study the particular contradiction and the essence determined thereby of every great system of the forms of motion of matter, but also study the particular contradiction and the essence of each process in the long course of development of each form of motion of matter . In every form of motion, each process of development which is real (and not imaginary) is qualitatively different. Our study must emphasise and start from this point.” **(On Contradiction).**

How to solve the qualitatively different contradictions Com. Mao taught us, “qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods.” **(Ibid.).** How to study a long process he advised us to remember the following guideline: “the process is marked by stages. If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly.”

Regarding the interrelationship between class struggle and the development of ideology, Com. Mao said, “The three basic constituents of Marxism are scientific socialism, philosophy and political economy. The foundation is social science, class struggle. There is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Marx and others saw this. Utopian Socialists are always trying to persuade the bourgeoisie to be charitable. This won’t work. It is necessary to rely on the class struggle of the proletariat.....it is only starting from this view-point that Marxism appeared. The foundation is class struggle.” **(Talks on the Question of Philosophy, Mao, 1964)**

Mao also developed the dialectical understanding regarding the relationship between productive forces and relations of production, theory and practice, economic base and superstructure, matter and consciousness, and so on. He raised the understanding to a qualitatively higher level by pointing out that although productive forces, practice, matter, economic base, etc. are the principal aspects in the above contradictions, in certain conditions, aspects such as relations of production, theory, superstructure and consciousness can become the principal and play a decisive role.

Thus Mao stressed the profound truth that 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.

Mao Tse-tung masterfully applied this understanding in analysing the relationship between theory and practice, he stressed that practice is both the sole source and ultimate criterion of truth and emphasising the leap from theory to revolutionary practice. He elaborating this understanding in developing the theory of knowledge :

“Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. 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.”

(Mao, On Practice, Selected Reading, page 81-82)

During the GPCR Mao Tse-tung gave utmost importance to the study and popularising the philosophy of the proletariat and thereby coined the term that “Philosophy is no mystery” and hence to take philosophy to the masses in their million he developed the new concept of “one divides into two” in opposing the revisionist thesis of “Two combine into one”. This became the most popular version of the law of the unity and struggle of opposites which marked a new development in philosophy.

Political Economy :

In the realm of the political economy of Socialism, Com. Mao Tse-tung made tremendous advances, particularly analyzing the concrete laws of motion governing the Socialist Construction by undertaking deep and critical analysis of the then ‘Soviet Economics’ and by taking lessons from the positive and negative experiences of socialist construction in Soviet Russia. During this penetrating analysis he defended and highlighted the positive achievements of the socialist construction while at the same time criticised some of its negative aspects. On the basis of this analysis including the analysis of the Chinese experience itself, com. Mao developed a new conception thereby making a major breakthrough in this field. In his masterful writing “**Ten Major Relationships**” Com. Mao underlined and developed new concepts for building Socialism, such as “take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor”. He emphasized the contradictory and dynamic role of production and its interaction with the political and ideological superstructure of the society. Mao recognized that although the ownership of the whole people will coexist with the ownership of the collective for a fairly long period of time, the latter can also prove to be a hurdle for the further and full development of the productive forces. That is why he stressed that there should be constant interaction between the system of socialist ownership with the other aspects of the relations of production, that is the relations between the people in production including the system of distribution. In this context he emphasized the fact that since the law of value and the “bourgeois right” still continue to operate (although restricted) in the Socialist society, it is therefore the correctness of the ideological and political line that decides whether the proletariat actually owns the means of production. It is in this background that Com. Mao

warned time and again that if the revisionists succeeded in capturing the political power it would be easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. He thereby enriched and developed the Marxist political economy by profoundly criticizing and waging a life and death struggle against the revisionist theory of the productive forces represented by Liu Shao-chi & Co in China and Khrushchov in Russia. 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.

With this higher stage of conception and understanding of the laws of socialist construction Com. Mao formulated some important guidelines in the form of slogans such as “Grasp Revolution, Promote Production”, “Never Forget Class Struggle” and “Take Class Struggle as the Key Link” in carrying out production in the correct direction. Refuting the revisionist theory of “**Only Expert**”, com. Mao enunciated an important guideline by emphasizing the interrelationship between expertise and revolutionary politics or “**Red and Expert**”.

Another great contribution of Com. Mao is the new conception of bureaucrat capital, which is comprador in nature and is tied to imperialism and feudalism. He explained how, during their twenty-year rule, the four big families, Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, have piled up enormous fortunes and monopolized the economic lifelines of the whole country; how this monopoly capital, combined with state power, has become state-monopoly capitalism. He stated: “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.” He said that besides doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China, the task of the new-democratic revolution at home is to abolish exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and by the bureaucrat-capitalist class (the big bourgeoisie), change the comprador, feudal relations of production and unfetter the productive forces.

Com. Mao’s analysis of the degeneration of the Socialist economy of the Soviet Union into a capitalist economy, the process of development of state monopoly capital in the Soviet Union and the transformation of the latter into a social-imperialist country and then into a superpower has also enriched our understanding of the bureaucratized capitalist states i.e. in States where capitalism is restored.

Development of a Maoist Revolutionary Line

The principal elements of Com. Mao’s revolutionary line are the political line of carrying out the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class which will pass over to the Socialist stage; the military line with the protracted people’s war as its essence; the organizational line that consists of the basic principles underlying the construction of the three magic weapons; and the revolutionary mass line.

Com. Mao’s revolutionary line emerged by creatively and masterfully applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution. During the long and complex course of the Chinese Revolution he developed a qualitatively new theory regarding the nature and the path of the revolution for the colonial, semi-colonial

and semi-feudal countries; developed the strategic and tactical principles of people's war and enriched the military science; and developed the mass line and class line and thereby developed the new theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

New Democratic Revolution

According to the new theory developed by Com. Mao that the revolution in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal, countries will generally pass through two different or distinct but inseparably interlinked stages. The first stage will be the New Democratic Stage, which will uninterruptedly pass over to the socialist stage directed towards communism. This is because these countries have not gone through the bourgeois democratic revolution and hence are oppressed by both imperialism and feudalism. By basing on the Leninist thesis with regard to the Russian revolution Mao developed the theory of two stages to a qualitatively new level. Thus he explained that the democratic revolution in China is not the old type of bourgeois revolution but a new democratic revolution and that it had the two-fold task of overthrowing feudalism on the one hand, which determined the democratic character, and of overthrowing imperialism, which determined the national character of the revolution. The NDR will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Agrarian revolution will be the axis of this revolution. The proletariat and its party will play the leading role in this revolution. He analyzed that the bourgeoisie is divided into two sections-the comprador big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. While the former is the target of the revolution the latter is a vacillating ally in the democratic stage of the revolution. It is this penetrating analysis that made it possible for the CPC to forge a powerful united front of all the classes that stood opposed to imperialism and feudalism based on worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class.

Path of Protracted People's War

In order to victoriously carry out the new democratic revolution Com. Mao developed a qualitatively new theory of protracted people's war. Before the Chinese Revolution the path of armed insurrection, generally known as the soviet model of revolution, was considered as the general path for the seizure of power by the working class. But great Mao Tsetung solved the question of successful completion of the revolution in the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. He solved this question by waging a bitter struggle against various right, dogmatist and "left" deviations and learning from mistakes in the course of advancing the Chinese revolution. With the victorious completion of this revolution the truth that has come out is marked with internationalist significance. This truth is revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries can be victorious generally by following the path and the principles underlying the strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolution. According to this path the countryside will remain the main centre of the revolution and armed agrarian revolution will be the key in the creation of the unending flow of armed revolutionary forces from the mass of the peasantry, which will lead towards establishing the invincible people's army. The protracted people's war will advance towards victory by liberating the vast areas of the countryside first and then encircling and finally capturing the cities.

During this revolution Com. Mao put forth immense importance to the building of a staunch and heroic people's army and establishment of the liberated base areas firstly in

the strategic areas of the countryside. The emergence of the base areas will contribute to enhance and expedite the revolutionary high tide throughout the country and this lays the basis for building up new base areas. Moreover, the task of carrying out the revolutionary transformations in the base areas, by mobilising and relying on the masses themselves, will help in further strengthening these base areas politically, economically as well as culturally, which will definitely help in achieving new victories in the protracted people's war.

Military Line

Com. Mao developed a most comprehensive military line of the proletariat of a new type in the history of the international communist movement. He developed this line by comprehending the laws of war developed in the previous history and particularly by basing on the Marxist-Leninist understanding regarding the revolutionary warfare.

Comrade Mao systematically and comprehensively formulated the basic principles of building up the Red Army and of the Red Army's strategy and tactics during the course of China's Revolutionary war, or in short, the laws that govern the people's war. The basic strategic and tactical principles of the Red Army were derived from the principal characteristics of China's revolutionary war. These basic principles, together with other military theories, constitute the military line of the CPC represented by Com. Mao.

The principles and theories comprising the military line have enriched the military science and have become a guide for directing the war, particularly in colonial, semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries as the experiences of the people's wars and national liberation struggles in several countries since the Second World War amply demonstrate.

One of the greatest contributions of Com. Mao to military science lies precisely in his interpreting guerilla warfare on a strategic level. Formerly, guerilla warfare was only considered as a tactical problem. He said that throughout the period of war, guerilla warfare and mobile warfare of a guerilla character are the chief forms of fighting. ***The strategic role of guerilla warfare is two-fold, to support regular warfare and to transform itself into regular warfare.*** While guerilla warfare is basic, he stressed that "the outcome of the war depends mainly on regular warfare, especially in its mobile form", and that "these two forms of warfare will afford full play to the art of directing the war and to the active role of man". Which form of warfare-guerilla, mobile, positional-will assume the main form at a particular phase of the protracted people's war depends on the concrete conditions. But in all conditions the basic principle will remain "You fight your way and we'll fight ours: We fight when we can win and we retreat when we cannot." In the same way he categorically stated that "all the guiding principles of military apparatus grow out of one basic principle, 'to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy'". All technical principles and all principles concerning tactics, campaigns and strategy represent application of this basic principle.

One of the most important contributions of Mao is the involvement of the broad masses in the people's war. He showed that it is the people, not weapons that are decisive in carrying out the people's war. The development of the people's militia as the local fighting force with the slogan of "Every citizen a soldier" spread the guerilla warfare in depth and breadth throughout China. Guerilla warfare acquired a mass character behind the enemy lines thereby facilitating the advance of the regular people's army and the

guerilla units. Com. Mao taught that Party should always command the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

Com. Mao also profoundly chalked out the three distinct but interlinked stages that the revolutionary war would generally traverse through. These are the stage of strategic defensive, the stage of strategic stalemate or strategic equilibrium and finally the stage of strategic offensive. The duration of these stages will vary according to varying conditions of a country. Com. Mao forcefully stated that “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.” In this context of developing and applying the military line, the military writings of Mao Tse-tung are a guide to action. These must be studied and grasped for continuously deepening and advancing the revolutionary protracted people’s war to higher and higher stages.

Mass Line

Com. Mao further developed the concept regarding the revolutionary mass line based on his famous dictum that “the people and the people alone are the motive force in making world history.” He explained the basic method of leadership by showing how correct ideas are formed in the leadership by taking the ideas of the masses and concentrating them, and again going to the masses, persevering in the ideas and carrying them through. He stated that “take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas), and concentrate them (through study, turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas) then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action and test the correctness of these ideas in such action.” Such is the essence of Mao’s mass line. The 1945 CPC ‘Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party’, lucidly summed up Com. Mao’s conception of mass line inside and outside the Party:

“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 organizational 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 organizational line serving the political line and maintaining ties with the masses both inside and outside the Party.”

Three Magic Weapons

The “Three Magic Weapons”-the party, army and the united front-is another new thesis developed by Com. Mao. The deeper understanding and masterful use of these weapons by the party of the proletariat can and will guarantee the advancement of revolution towards victory. It is extremely necessary to understand and grasp not only the significance of each weapon taken by itself but it is more important to understand and master their interrelationship in theory and, more importantly, in concrete practice. In this regard Com. Mao remarkably concluded: “Our eighteen years experience show that the UF and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The UF is a UF for carrying on armed struggle, and party is the heroic warrior wielding the two

weapons, the UF and the Armed Struggle to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. That is how they are related to each other." (Mao, "Introducing the Communist" Vol. II, Page 295)

This is the essence of Com. Mao's theory in understanding and correctly handling the two weapons, UF and Armed Struggle, by the Party of the Proletariat.

Apart from the three magic weapons Com. Mao also developed an important guideline in understanding and developing the relationship of other forms of organization and struggles. He said that "...war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms such as mass organizations and mass struggles are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war." This is the most correct criterion in judging the performance of all other forms of organization and forms of struggles.

Communist Party

Com. Mao further developed the vanguard role of the Leninist concept regarding the Communist Party who emphatically stated that "if there is to be revolution there must be a revolutionary party." The party must be armed with the scientific ideology of MLM, it must be built on revolutionary style and should be well disciplined, using the method of criticism and self-criticism and closely linked with while relying vast masses of the People. Apart from fighting against bourgeoisie ideology and various shades of revisionism Com. Mao developed the profound understanding of how to develop and preserve and enhance the *proletarian character* of the party through waging active and relentless struggle against the influence of the bourgeoisie tendencies inside the party ranks at all levels.

Com. Mao taught that the communist party plays the primary and vanguard role in all matters before, during and often the revolution in leading the proletariat and the masses in the historic struggle leading toward communism. He developed the profound understanding of how to develop and preserve the proletarian character of the party through waging an active and serious struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies in the party ranks at all levels. In addition to the ideological remoulding of the party members the weapon of criticism and self-criticism should be used for strengthening the party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In opposing subjectivism and sectarianism and other alien class tendencies communist must firstly "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and secondly "cure the sickness to save the patient", this is the only correct and effective method. He also set a new example to constantly rectify the party in order to proletarianize the Party and safeguard the political line through initiating rectification campaigns from time to time. He also warned against subjectivism, arbitrariness and vulgarization of criticism and emphasized that during this process statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side.

Com. Mao highlighted the importance of integration of the leadership with the masses. Thereby he emphasized that they should be bold in unleashing their initiative and creativity. For this they should set an example in "simple living and hard work". Both commandism and the attitude of dispensing favors have to be fought. Communists must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage of correcting the mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must not cover up their errors and claim the credit

for themselves and shift all the blame on others. In developing the mass line Mao Tsetung continued to stress that communist should set an example in learning from the masses and relying on them.

On Democratic Centralism

Mao's dialectical presentation of the understanding of democratic centralism was a significant contribution to the Marxist theory of organisational principles. He stressed on creating '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' both inside and outside the Party and said that "Otherwise it will be impossible to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. We cannot overcome difficulties without democracy. Of course, it's even more impossible to do so without centralism. But if there's no democracy, centralism can profit to only few"

"Without democracy there can't be correct centralism because centralism can't be established when people have divergent views and don't have unity of understanding. 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."

Mao also explained the dialectical relationship between democratic centralism and dictatorship of the proletariat:

"Without democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated. Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively."

He warned that if the DOP is not consolidated based on democratic centralism it is impossible to establish a socialist economy and then China will turn into a bourgeois state and the DOP will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and into a reactionary fascist dictatorship.

People's Army

The importance of the people's army in the seizure of political power is captured in the well-known statement of Mao, "Without a people's army the people have nothing." He further stated that "the people's army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks." For this is it highly necessary to comprehend that the people's army can accomplish its historic tasks only by earnestly and firmly following the great teachings of Com. Mao. He showed that besides fighting to destroy the enemy while preserving its own strength it should shoulder such political tasks of doing propaganda among the masses, mobilizing the masses along with organizing and arming them and helping them in establishing their revolutionary political power thereby setting up and developing the

party also. Com. Mao said without these objectives fighting loses and the red army loses the significance of its existence.

The Revolutionary United Front

The building of the united front of the four anti-imperialist, anti-feudal classes-the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie- on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, is another major breakthrough in the Marxist-Leninist understanding on the united front. Com. Mao laid down the basic tactical principles of the united front to be pursued by the proletariat. These were: to isolate, and destroy the main targets of the revolution-the imperialists, the feudal forces and the comprador bureaucratic capitalists by mobilising and organising the broad masses and uniting with all classes, parties, organizations and individuals that were willing to oppose feudalism and imperialism; to maintain the hegemony of the working class over the united front; to maintain the independence and initiative in the hands of the working class and to rely on its own efforts in all conditions; and that the united front should serve the armed struggle. Such a UF should be built up through armed struggle and for carrying forward the armed struggle. The party of the proletariat should play a vanguard role in this united front. The national bourgeoisie will take part in the revolution against imperialism and feudalism at certain times and to a certain extent. Hence the correct and incorrect handling of relationship with the national bourgeoisie will be another hallmark for the party of the proletariat.

On Art and Culture

Com. Mao's contribution to the field of culture and art are a new development. He forcefully refuted the idea of art for art's sake. He said all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is no such thing as art for art's sake. He emphatically declared "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people." He put forth a completely new line. He said that our literary and art workers must "move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat." He also called upon them that they should go "into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society." He further asserted, "an army without culture is a dull - wetted army, and a dull-wetted army cannot defeat the enemy." How to develop a socialist culture, Com. Mao in a unique way said, "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is the policy for promoting the progress of the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land."

This is the only way to bring forth a revolutionary and socialist culture in the finest sense.

On Imperialism and the National Question

Basing on Lenin's theses on the national and colonial question Mao developed the concept of national liberation struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies particularly in the conditions prevailing after WW II, analyzed the neo-colonial forms and methods of rule adopted by imperialism in the post WW II period, and explained how the struggles of the oppressed nations and people in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America - the storm centers of world revolution - are dealing blows against imperialism shaking the very foundations of imperialist rule. He stressed on the importance of forging a united

front of the national liberation struggles in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand and the proletarian revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries on the other in order to defeat imperialism and hasten the victory of the world revolution. He pointed out that no nation, however big and powerful, can subject a weak and small nation and said that even a superpower like the US is a paper tiger and the nuclear bomb is also a paper tiger. Explaining how we should look at imperialism and all reactionaries from the strategic and tactical points of view, Com. Mao said:

“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.”

The Great Debate and Ideological struggle against modern revisionism

After the demise of great Stalin, the agent of imperialists and the die-hard revisionist Khrushchev through the 20th Congress of the CPSU held in 1956, brought forth his pernicious theory like ‘peaceful transformation to socialism’, ‘peaceful competition’, and ‘peaceful co-existence’. All these theories are diametrically opposite to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and through these harmful theories Khrushchev left no stone unturned to make a split and loss to the international communist movement. In the same way, Khrushchev revisionism tried to divert the world proletarian movement by denying the existence of imperialism and by showing the danger of ‘atom bomb’ and ‘war’ in the situation developed after the 2nd World War. Com. Mao fought relentlessly and resolutely against Khrushchev revisionism and defended and advanced the ICM with a correct Marxist-Leninist orientation by drawing a clear line of demarcation with those die-hard revisionists. As a part and parcel of the struggle against revisionism Com. Mao resolutely fought against Tito, the agent of imperialism and against the recognised revisionists like Togliotte and Thorez and through these struggles against revisionism he defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and formulated a new and general line for the international communist movement.

Mao Tsetung led the international struggle against modern revisionism through initiating the Great Debate. During this great struggle he not only defended Marxism-Leninism but also developed it in some aspects. This struggle was focused on all the major questions particularly on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He set forth a new general line for the international communist movement, which paved the way for the genuine Marxist - Leninist forces for struggling against and revolting from revisionism thereby advanced towards forging and building new ML parties based on ML principles all over the globe.

During this period Mao Tsetung has to wage repeated two line struggles against the revisionist headquarters within the CPC also. Actually, this process of analysis and struggle against modern revisionism including the repeated two-line struggle in the CPC begins in the new form with the 20th Congress of the then CPSU. Thereafter this process go deepening and getting sharp and sharp in the subsequent period. It culminated during the GPCR.

Mao Tsetung initiated and led the historic GPCR. The GPCR represented the culmination of the great struggle against Modern Revisionism including repeated two-line struggles in the CPC. During the initial period of this struggle Com. Mao, while keeping the edge of his struggle against Revisionism, also analysed some of the questions related with the history of the International Communist Movement. In this context, he analysed the role of Com. Stalin. While doing so, he principally defended and highlighted the great achievements of Com. Stalin while at the same time summed up some of his errors in the “Second Comment” of the CPC “On the Question of Stalin”.

GPCR and the theory of continuing revolution

Mao Tsetung initiated and led the historic GPCR which proved to be a earth-shaking event in the history of the international communist movement. It represented a new and qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed mainly against the capitalist roaders who emerged from within the socialist society itself. Their chieftains were especially concentrated in the leadership of the Party. During the GPCR Mao Tsetung’s historic and powerful new slogan “**It is right to rebel**” and “**Bombard the Headquarters**” resounded throughout China and proved to be a clarion call against the capitalist roaders. This helped in rousing millions of people and from below. Actually this mass mobilisation of the proletarian masses set forth a new record.

Fighting against the headquarters of the capitalist roaders led by Liu Shao-chi, Com. Mao Tse-tung had already reasserted that the principal contradiction in socialist China continues to remain between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and thereby laid down the tasks for carrying on the class struggle against the bourgeois class through to the end. The high point of this class struggle reached during the GPCR. In this great struggle masses in their million led by Mao himself deeply uprooted the soil which engendered capitalism, that is , the bourgeois right and the three major differences still existing in the socialist society. This great revolution not only helped in deepening the class consciousness in China but also greatly helped in sharpening the struggle against revisionism in various communist parties at the international level. Two outstanding achievements of the GPCR marked its historic importance.

One is that it developed a completely new method in the arsenal of MLM to prevent the restoration of capitalism. That method is continuing the revolution thereby to prevent the restoration of capitalism. With this purpose it concentrated on remoulding the world outlook. The class struggle and the two-line struggle are extremely complex. When one tendency covers another many comrades often fail to note it. This great teaching of Com. Mao was vindicated immediately after the Cultural Revolution against the capitalist roaders in the case of Lin Piao. While being in the forefront during the GPCR Lin Piao actually proved himself later to be a conspirator in the guise of Mao Thought who had tried to bring forth a revisionist line. But, according to dialectical materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. But for this, “natural eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters.” For this one must diligently study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung and take active part in actual struggle and work hard to remould one’s world outlook. That is the way one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Maoism and differentiate

between correct and wrong lines and views. The concentrated expression of this understanding is that for constantly going on remoulding the world outlook, “Fight Self, Repudiate Revisionism” and the “Revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide”, are extremely necessary.

Second is it represented a higher leap in defending and strengthening dictatorship of the proletariat. It also represented the most extensive and deep going exercise of the proletarian democracy in the world history, that too, under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The capitalist restoration following the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup d’etat led by Teng-Hua revisionists in no way negates the historic lessons of the GPCR rather it confirms Mao’s teachings that classes and class contradiction remain operative in the entire socialist society and the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. No doubt, if the working people of the world want to defeat the bourgeoisie fully then the task to continue the revolution continuously will be the inevitable condition.

Com. Mao, through the process of integrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, developed this science to its higher and new qualitative stage. His theory of GPCR, which is meant for preventing the restoration of capitalism and consolidating and strengthening of Socialism, is the outcome of higher and qualitatively new synthesis and has no parallel in the history of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So, it can be said that the GPCR is not only tremendous and higher contribution of Mao to the theory of Scientific Socialism, rather it is a theory of historic importance to prevent restoration of capitalism and advance the socialist society towards communism on a world scale.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an Integrated Whole

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole today. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most advanced and scientific ideology of the world proletariat. Not only that, MLM is the all-powerful weapon, by which we can combat and defeat bourgeois ideology and all brands of revisionism, including that which may don the garb of Maoism.

Marxism arose as a science of the laws of motion of nature, society and human thought, a science of revolution at a moment in history when the proletariat made its appearance as a revolutionary class capable of shaping the destiny of the society including its own destiny. Marxism is the ideology of the proletariat that was further synthesized and developed to new and higher stages. From Marxism it developed into Marxism-Leninism. Thereafter, it further developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is not a science pertaining to a particular field of knowledge but a science representing a whole comprehensive philosophical system, political economy, scientific socialism, and the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in comprehending and transforming the world through revolution.

The CPC led by Com. Mao made historic and comprehensive analysis of the development of Mao Thought (now Maoism), through its 9th Congress, held in 1969. It summed up Mao Tse-tung Thought as a completely new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. Thus Mao Tse-tung Thought, whose historic significance began to be

recognized by the Marxist-Leninist forces worldwide ever since The Great Debate, became established as a qualitatively higher stage in the development of the proletarian ideology by the time of the 9th Congress of the CPC. Maoism is not just the sum total of Mao's great contributions. It is the most comprehensive and all-round development of the science of Marxism-Leninism that had taken shape in the period of the tremendous changes and great upheavals that had occurred in the world since the time of Com. Lenin, namely, the emergence of the Socialist camp following WW II; the upsurge of the national liberation struggles throughout the world leading to a new phase of neo-colonial control and exploitation; and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with the usurpation of power by the modern revisionist Khrushchov clique. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole. Maoism is Marxism-Leninism of the present-day. To negate Maoism is to negate Marxism-Leninism itself.

In our understanding, there has never been a Chinese wall between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought and MLM. Yet the term Maoism is a more precise and scientific explanation for Mao's contribution. In addition since modern revisionism is belittling Mao Thought and negating or denying the historical and international significance of Mao Thought, it will be more correct and appropriate to use the terminology Maoism in lieu of Mao Thought in order to draw a clear line of demarcation with them

Lenin put forth the dividing line that "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." But today this dividing line has become more sharpened. Today only he is a Marxist-Leninist who extends the recognition of class struggle not only to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat but also to the recognition of the existence of classes and antagonistic class contradictions, to the recognition of the existence of the bourgeoisie in the party and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of socialism up until communism.

Today the world situation is passing through a period of unprecedented turmoil. People in their millions are increasingly drawn into the struggle against imperialism, particularly the US imperialism and all reactionary forces serving imperialism. All the genuine Maoist forces throughout the world and in India are duty bound to spread our ideology of MLM among the struggling masses. Protracted people's war, presently in the form of guerrilla war, is powerfully going on and developing in India, under the leadership of our two Maoist parties. Armed with the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we are confident that we can further deepen and advance the protracted people's war on the soil of India by applying our ideology to the concrete conditions in India and the contemporary world. And that we can victoriously complete the New Democratic Revolution and successfully build Socialism, prevent the restoration of Capitalism, and advance to Communism under the guidance of MLM. It is only by assimilating the substance of the ideology of MLM and creatively applying it to the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle, only by applying it to the all-important task of forging of a strong proletarian Party, a mighty People's Liberation Army and the Revolutionary United Front, and achieving great leaps in our people's war, that we can spread MLM more vigorously to the four corners of India and also at the international level. It is also in this process of creative application of MLM and synthesis of our revolutionary experiences that we can further enrich the proletarian science.

The bourgeoisie, a powerful class to eliminate

The Indian colonialist would be nothing without the existence of their puppet Manipur Bourgeois. On the one hand Manipur CBB has nothing if the Manipur proletariat has unite for the cause of fighting India. And Manipur CBB's fortune is based on the surplus values they extort from us. All of the power they wield, that of the state apparatus, is based on the same foundation. In this regard, the Manipur bourgeoisie is nothing but a "Paper Tiger", as Mao Tse-tung said at the end of the Sixties—a paper tiger that the proletariat can and must cast in history's waste paper basket.

In Manipur, even though statistics do not allow us to define it with accuracy, the proletariat represents 85% of the population. This figure comprises workers; peasant; the unemployed; most Natives; employees in private sectors.

Far from being a class on the decline or having "disappeared", the proletariat constitutes the most numerous classes in Manipur. Not only is it **the leading force**, but it is also **the main force** of the revolution.

The current people's movement led by the progressive civil society organization, notably—, does not represent its fundamental interests. It is unable to articulate anything more than a dull class collaborationist orientation. As a matter of fact, these groups of people have become a tool in the hands of bourgeois to control and subdue the working class. It is not only a matter of changing the people's movement orientation that would change its nature. Its orientation does reflect its class character.

The goal of the communists is to bring the exploited proletariat to act as an autonomous and distinct class apart from the bourgeoisie, in order to free them. They must learn to make their very own class interests prevail and assume leadership of its own struggle so it can overthrow the bourgeoisie and be at the helm of a new socialist society in order to push it forward towards communism.

The present primary goal, as proletarians, is to overthrow the Manipur Comprador **Bureaucratic Bourgeois** and strengthen the Revolutionary Peoples Power. Then, a new step will begin—the war against India for the building of socialist society that will lead to communism. In the concrete condition of Manipur the two aspects will move hand in hand but emphasizing according to the prevailing objective condition of the particular situation.

The Manipur bourgeoisie is a minority. It is hard to estimate its exact size. Statistics Manipuri and the like define the population in terms of job categories or sector of activity. Data on ownership or social rank (status in society's chain of command) do not appear. However, we can safely say through a comparative study of various data that the

Manipur bourgeoisie comprises about 0.3% to 0.5% of the population. Thus, they are few and at the same time quite numerous. We are roughly talking few hundred people who have vested interest in maintaining this system and that will most probably fight to defend their way of life. In short, a paper tiger, yet a very combative animal of a fair size.

The unity of the ruling class is apparent when the proletariat decides to act as a class and fight. The Manipuri bourgeoisie has at its disposal quite an arsenal of arms and methods to maintain its rule.

First, there is the State, highly powerful and sophisticated in colonial country like India. Its army, police force, data and monitoring services, as well as its judiciary system are very efficient keepers of law and order. The State is also a powerful source of propaganda (education system, cultural industries, communication). It allows it to shape our minds and ensure the prevalence of bourgeois ideas.

The electoral and parliamentary system is also a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie. It serves to fool the proletarian masses in believing that things can be changed through these institutions, uprooting the desire for an uprising and political take over.

We are forced to admit that in many respects the Canadian bourgeoisie is a powerful class. This does not mean that it is invulnerable or unassailable—quite the opposite. But we will never be able to win victory without resorting to the required amount of force. Against the impressive capital that is at its disposal, its bureaucracy and State, we will have to come together as a class, conscious of its historical responsibilities and ready to push the struggle through.

When we talk about the Manipur bourgeoisie, of whom are we speaking?

There is a hard core of big imperialist bourgeois who control most of the financial capital. This capital is one of the most concentrated in the society. The some tens of people control the market of Manipur.

The few people likely less than 500 peoples are contesting election to make the Indian colonial system sustain and develop in Manipur. These few are most reactionary in nature. To this core, small and middle-sized bourgeois are to be added. They do possess means of production and hire wage earners. Also to be added to this nucleus: top executives; the high brass of the army and of the police forces; diplomats; political leaders and organizers integrated to the State apparatus. It means that they are few and we are more.

What is important for us proletariat is to consider—while bearing in mind that we are essentially dealing with a parasitic class destined to extinction—that we are truly dealing with a class, i.e. a "vast group of men and women" united through the relationship they exercise amongst themselves and with the proletariat. A class made up of real people that have at their disposal vast power, even though their power remains relative.

In no way are we denying that inner conflicts occur between them. This is the very essence of capitalism. It thrives on competition at every level, as well as between capitalists themselves. This strife may hit individual capitalists. It can also oppose whole sectors or groups of them who wage bitter struggle against one another for their survival (their profits).

When we speak of communism, we are talking of a society without exploitation. Cooperation will have replaced competition. This does not mean that individual differences will vanish and that individual needs will be all the same. The needs will vary according to the individuals, the regions they inhabit, the epoch they live in. However, these differences will not be sources of inequality. Because society will be able to satisfy everyone's needs.

In order to do this, productive forces will have to be developed sufficiently. Social classes will have to be eradicated through the elimination of private ownership of the modes of production and, among other things, division of work between mental and manual labor. By eliminating classes, this will also lead the disappearance of the State as being the tool for one class to dominate over another. The people will collectively manage society.

**Adopted by the Central Committee
Maoist Communist Party, Manipur**

[Apparently from the Fall of 2011. —BannedThought.net]