



Issue 6

NAZARIYA



**ON THE CRISIS IN
THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

NAZARIYA



Nazariya Magazine,

Issue 6

ON THE CRISIS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

**THIS IS AN APEAL TO CPI (MAOIST) TO STRENGTHEN ITS
STRUGGLE AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM-RIVISIONISM (THE
LINE WHICH WANTS THE PARTY TO SURRENDER ARMED
STRUGGLE).**

EDITORIAL BOARD

VALLIKA, ANAND, SARITA

Due to state repression, we were unable to coordinate with the other comrade in the Nazariya Editorial Team and were unable to access the proper logo of our magazine. It is also important to bring to your notice that we have no access to our website (nazariyamagazine.in)

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR:

Dear comrades

Lal salaam! We have written this issue under severe state repression. On a country-wide level, the revolutionary movement has been facing a temporary set-back, both due to internal and external obstacles. At the external level, the crisis of imperialism has led to the rising of fascism at the international level. When imperialism is in crisis, it resorts to exporting capital to other countries, especially semi-colonies and other oppressed countries. India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country which has become an important market for the export of imperial capital and extraction of natural resources and cheap labour power, especially for US imperialism. To make more space for imperial capital, India under the BJP government has promoted Hindutva and given rise to the Indian variety of fascism, Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism. With this philosophy, the ruling classes through their comprador bureaucratic capitalist state has launched various operations like Surajkund Scheme (“against Naxalism of both the pen and the gun”) and the recently launched Operation Kagaar in order to attack not only the revolutionary movement, but all those who dissent, who speak for a New Democratic Society which will uplift the exploited and oppressed people.

As a result, our magazine which stands firmly with the revolutionary movement and its sympathisers is a beacon in propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (the ideology of the proletariat) and therefore has been at the receiving end of a relentless assault by the state. From the turn of Ramnit Kaur towards the ruling-class camp and her subsequent state agent actions, to the attack on MLM as an ideology led by the urban avatar of TMC-Students for Peoples’ Democracy (SFPD), Bangalore to the intimidation and harassment of me by the Maharashtra ATS to even the mental and physical torture of our comrades in Delhi, Nazariya Magazine has been in a do-or-die situation due to the continuous assault of the ruling class. This assault is why I had to go UG, and due to which the Editorial Board of Nazariya has been unable to communicate and coordinate its activities in the past few months. Therefore, this edition is not prepared by the full Editorial Board, but only a part of it. We do not wish for this to become a practice – Nazariya will continue to serve the revolutionary movement in whatever capacity it can, to the best of our ability, as long as we have enough open, democratic space to do so.

The Maoist movement (and this is true historically since the birth of Marxism) has not died with its martyrs nor its great teachers and leaders because the struggle for communism is not an organisation or a person, it is the ideology; the political line. It is this line that Nazariya brings to the common people in its role as an open revolutionary organisation. The state very well knows this – it understands that it cannot fulfil its objective of ending Naxalism by 30th March 2026 by merely destroying the movement on a political-military level, but it has to fight and defeat it ideologically. This is why it has targeted Nazariya and will continue to do so; this is why it will target all students, intellectuals, journalists, professors, lawyers and all sections of

civil society- this is why it would target you – because just by reading our journal, you have within yourself the greatest ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, its essence and basic principles, and MLM is the greatest threat to the reactionaries. No one is safe, no is outside the purview of the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism.

Comrades, we are at a historical juncture, a “kagaar” if we were to borrow the state’s language, which will determine our future, the future of the revolutionary movement and the future of all the exploited and oppressed masses. This is a do-or-die situation, this is the battle which will determine the outcome of the bloody and violent class war through which the masses will seize state power and achieve victory. Our dear readers, our friends in the struggle for revolution, even you who do not agree with everything that MLM says but agree on a common minimum program which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist, we are all in the war against a common enemy. Our enemy is strong, coordinated and precise- the path towards victory is in struggle. We must rise against fascism, for if we do not speak right now, there will be no one left to speak. Therefore, we appeal to everyone to speak against state repression, to speak firmly for those under its assault without any fear, hesitation or selfishness. The fight against state repression is not any individual’s fight, but the united fight of all exploited and oppressed people against fascism.

Internally, the biggest threat to the revolutionary movement and its well-wishers is opportunism-revisionism-liquidationism. These trends are falling firmly in the ruling class camp, in doing the work of the reactionaries by encouraging disillusion, hopelessness, fear and skepticism amongst the revolutionary people. It is eroding the people’s correct political line, it is corrosive on our people’s political courage to wage relentless war against all our class enemies, against our own class trends. Opportunism inevitably leads to liquidationism and revisionism; it is a linked chain strangling the people, breaking their unity and weakening their fighting strength. Like Lenin, unafraid of all his critiques who accused him of being exclusionary, or expelling people too soon, or being too harsh or bitter, we must also wage a sharp struggle, like the one he waged for almost a decade between 1905-1914. Learning from Lenin, his role in fighting courageously for the correct ideological political line, we too must wage relentless war against opportunism-revisionism-liquidationism!

"We do not have time for mourning. We have no right to be pessimistic and terrified. There is no place for emotions, hesitations and retreats in the course of revolution. In this march, there is no place for those who do not understand and are not aware, who do not live and act, who do not or cannot march in the battle zone without this consciousness. We are fighting for revolution, we are creating revolutions within the struggle, and we are becoming revolutionised within the war. We are marching towards victory by comprehending the rules of war, within the war." (No Death for Us, TMK-PL, 1997)

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Long Live New Democratic Revolution!

*Revolutionary greetings
Comrade Vallika*

INDEX PAGE

1. Introduction pp 6-8
2. On the Crisis in Capitalism-Imperialism Today.....pp 9-17
By Ravish
3. Report On the Political Situation: International and Domesticpp 18-35
By Chandar
4. On Liquidationism or Peace Talks: Debates within and Outside the Revolutionary Camp -
An Open Letter to the CC of CPI (Maoist) pp 36-43
By a group of Marxist Intellectuals
5. भारत के क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन में वर्तमान संकटpp 44-53
By Shekhar
6. Lessons from Lenin's Role in the Party Crisis.....pp 54-66
By Sohan
7. The Party Crisis and our Taskspp 67-72
By Stalin
8. यौनिक अवसरवाद और विघटनवाद pp 73-79
By Sarita
9. Call to join revolution is also a call to struggle against liquidation.....pp 81-86
By Anand

INTRODUCTION

We, the international proletariat and its vanguard (i.e. communists), today find ourselves in a very complex situation. Despite the fact that the antagonism between capital and labour, which shapes the politics of proletariat, is sharpening along with the rise of fascist forces throughout the world, we are at a point in history when the proletariat's communist party is weakening. It is not able to lead the working class in their daily struggles. The daily exploitation of labour at the hand of capital does not manifest in the political struggle of the proletariat- what can we even say about the politics at present time where even economic struggles on the question of labor exploitation is absent except that it is in a bad state, and we the communists as well? But this was not true in past- since the advent of capitalism, proletariat power achieved victories in considerable numbers. Marxism, which is our guiding light, has been developed through its creative, daily and practical application in class struggle with the successive revolutions in Russia and China. Back then, half the world had arisen in the red tide of communism against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, and it looked to be such a positive situation that it appeared as if Communism was to be realised soon. The period between 1949 to 1953, when we had two socialist states making rapid headway to communism which was USSR and the other China, was the period when more than half of the world was turned into the red land of liberation.

From 1953 to the present time, we have seen lots of ups and downs. We saw modern revisionist forces rise to state power and, along with imperial capital, massacre thousands of communist forces in many countries. The single most important cause that leads us to this stage is that we did not do enough to politicise the masses due to which the people couldn't participate in the struggle against opportunist-revisionist-liquidationist elements which the party was leading. The importance of three magical weapons, that is - a true Bolshevik party, a people's army and united front of the oppressed and exploited classes, was also not truly internalised by the people.

Currently, we are witnessing the rise of fascist forces everywhere in the world. In their defence, postmodern thoughts as an ideological weapon of the capital has been deployed against labour and is currently dominating the world. Postmodern thought has attacked Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with all its individual centric bourgeois 'discourses'. It has acted as the ideological motivation for the liquidationist, opportunist and revisionist. With the reduction of influence of the Marxists on the middle class, the proletariat have lost a valuable ally. This has reduced the power of proletariat ideology even further. We finally reached a stage where we are reduced to a somewhat considerable presence (presence of three magical weapons - party, army and United front) in Philippines lead by Communist Party of Philippines (CPP) and in India lead by CPI(Maoist).

At the world level, we have very less committed leadership that can firmly stand, defend and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and therefore the presence of these two parties is a great asset to the world proletariat revolution in general. These two parties are the red hope of the

people. CPP and CPI (Maoist) are the parties which have sacrificed their most capable soldiers and leaders for the cause of world proletariat revolution. They are true legacy holder of the Paris Commune, October Revolution and Chinese Revolution. They, particularly the Indian one, is facing a severe crisis.

Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Feudal Landlords under the authority of Imperialism rules semi colonial and semi feudal societies like India, and in accordance with their dictates the state massacres thousands of proletariat heroes and leaders. The strength of the Party in India is tremendously declining. Hundreds of comrades have been martyred by the state forces. Comrade Basvaraju, the General Secretary of the Party in India, was massacred by the brahmanical hindutva fascist state. In Philippines too we have lost comrades Chairman Laun, general secretary Bangong Tao along with numerous other invaluable comrades. This is the crisis which the proletariat is facing. As the world proletariat lost its leadership so it loses its fighting capacity. Its economic condition is devastated, socially it has been thrown at the margin and politically it has no voice, its bargaining power is at the lowest level. In India in particular we have seen that wages have declined considerably and workers are made to labour for 10 to 12 hours, perhaps this working time has been legalised.

The workers have no voice in the politics. Because politics is the superstructure of the capital based production relations and at the current level of the class struggle, proletariat power represented by communist party is too weak to represent it politically. Thus, we, the international proletariat forces are in crisis. But we are in the process to revive and strike against the ruling classes because objectively the success of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is inevitable. Therefore, we have to be sharper in our commitment to our ideology and politics, then and only then can we revive our organizations that is communist parties which in turn will raise the economic and social life of proletariat.

Comrade Mao in his philosophical work often talked about nodal point. He described it as the point from which a sharp qualitative change germinates into a phenomenon, object and process. Carl Von Clausewitz explains the significance of the crisis point, *"No battle is decided in a single moment, although in every battle there arise moments of crisis, on which the result depends. The loss of a battle is, therefore, a gradual falling of the scale. But there is in every combat a point of time. This point is of supreme importance, as practically the whole conduct of a great battle depends on a correct solution of this question—viz., how long can a given command prolong its resistance? If this is incorrectly answered in practice—the whole manoeuvre depending on it may collapse"*.

The present crisis in the party in India is a point from where party can collapse even further. If it weakens in the struggle against right deviation, opportunism and liquidationism inside the communist revolutionary camp then it can't stop itself from collapsing. Sharper and firmer struggle is the only way we can save the Party. The Party is the party of world proletariat and therefore it is the urgent task of every proletariat throughout the world to understand the crisis of

the Party in India and do whatever that can be done to preserve the Party. After having exposed the revisionist of our times in our previous issue named 'Combat Revisionism', this issue of Nazariya will focus on the crisis in general as manifested in social, economic and political conditions of the country and the impact of this crisis on the communist revolutionary camp. In order to appreciation the impact of the crisis on the communist movement and Party, this issue will study and analyse the history of the struggle lead by communist revolutionary against liquidationism.

ON THE CRISIS IN CAPITALISM-IMPERIALISM

TODAY

By Ravish

INTRODUCTION

All the Marxists who understand political economy know that the collapse of imperialism is inevitable; that capitalism-imperialism is fraught with contradictions which will lead to its inevitable collapse and the dawn of the era of socialism to communism. In formulating imperialism, Lenin described it as the highest stage of capitalism, predicting that since it has reached a stage wherein capital can no longer expand efficiently, it has reached its death stage. Since Lenin conceptualized imperialism, capitalism-imperialism had seen a lot of changes. From the collapse of the socialist USSR to the Chinese Revolution and the Vietnam War to the emergence of the USA as the dominant imperial power and the turns to social imperialism and imperialism of China and Russia respectively, capitalism-imperialism has gone through multiple crisis to revivals and crisis again. Some bourgeois scholars are quick to point to these ebbs and flows as an indicator of the emergence of a new era of capitalism- imperialism in the form of globalization, particularly under US hegemony. Others said that either Lenin was wrong in his conceptualization of imperialism, or that the era of imperialism has ended. Some scholars who fall within the so-called category of globalization-era Marxists are calling into question Lenin's conceptualization of the inter imperialist rivalry and "the problematic approach to capitalist development". This is rooted in an over estimation of the role of US imperialism as well as an undialectical method of understanding imperialism and its functioning. Changes in capitalism-imperialism are a part of its development as it goes through various phases, adopting and reforming itself to be able to continue perpetrating itself as much as possible. These changes do not necessarily imply a change in the era, which is determined by qualitative changes in the mode of production, but are simply part of imperialism changing its form, not essence. The current era is the era of capitalism-imperialism and proletariat revolution. Due to capitalism-imperialism being in its death-throes, the current situation is one of crisis.

This statement is not any unique understanding; it is what Lenin conceptualized when he conceptualized imperialism. Historically, the capitalist mode of production has developed through the repeated occurrence of periodic crisis. Capital itself became a fetter for the accumulation of capital and expansion of capitalist production. The gap between one crisis and another decreased. The crisis acquired a protracted nature. After the severe crisis of 1870's, the growth of monopoly institutions increased. Monopoly has become the main tendency; monopoly profits of the monopoly enterprises has to some extent checked the tendency of the falling rate of profit. Lenin characterised that monopoly was the essence of capitalism at the imperialist stage. In the same process, the capitalist system became a global system. Competition among

monopolists for raw materials, market and colonies has intensified. Today, it is finance capital which is not only most monopolistic, but also most devastating.

Finance capital is the combination of industrial and bank capital, and it is the social relationship through which the exploitation of poor countries is taking place. Moreover, it is a type of speculative capital that results in little or no creation of jobs, no creation of assets, no creation of goods, but gives huge profits to the handful of international sharks that control it. It functions like a leech on the 'productive' economy, sucking out the surplus from the worker, devastating an entire populace, not merely of one country, but the entire globe. Take the role of finance capital in the 1970s in the form of loan capital i.e debt by which imperialist capital generated profits in the oppressed countries, in a climate of narrowing investment possibilities. The external debt of those categorised developing countries has quadrupled in the past 2 decades, reaching a record high of \$11.4 trillion in 2023. In the same year, external debt of these countries was equivalent to 99% of their export earnings. This means that the masses received no benefits, as their governments too did not have any money due to their the comprador bureaucratic state in these semi-colonies bending over backwards to service their imperial masters, politely termed as "corruption" domestically.

With the aggressive promotion of 'globalisation', speculative capital like a mad elephant was already trampling under foot national economies, smashing financial barriers, destroying currencies, subverting governments and forcing the entire world economies to bow to its strength. According to the Bank for International Settlements, in early 2025, international cross-border bank credits to 'emerging market and developing economies' expanded by \$100 billion, reaching \$34.7 trillion. Meanwhile, World Bank provided \$33.8 billion in commitment, mainly to Africa. Currently, developing countries owe 31% of global public debt according to UN Trade and Development.

Meanwhile, FDI is the long-term movement of capital across borders. It goes into acquiring assets abroad, either by establishing new companies in foreign lands, or buying up companies in other countries or going into joint ventures with them. Today, as markets are restricted, little of this money goes for new investments, but it is chiefly going in buying over other companies - through mergers and acquisitions within the private sector, and by so-called 'privatisation' in the public sector. FDI that goes to third world countries is part and parcel of imperialist hegemony over backward countries to exploit and loot them. FDI that goes to other developed countries is part of their cut-throat competition to grab each other's markets.

Take a historical example - in just the one month of July '97, when the baht was made to crash by 35%, hedge-fund operators such as George Soros and Julian Robertson, and banks, such as the Citibank, made a cool \$3 billion (Time-November 3, '97) - this is equivalent to Rs. 11,000 crores, or the entire yearly profits of India's top 565 private sector companies taken together at the time. This is the tribute extracted from the Thai people, whose lives have been destroyed by the crisis. But this was only the beginning of the crisis. Since then, not only has the Thai baht

crashed further, but entire currencies and stock-markets of all countries of South East Asia has fallen prey to the wolves of finance capital. Overnight, millions of people have been pauperised while overnight billions and billions of dollars have been made by a handful of speculators and investment banks.

Speculative capital (or portfolio investment) is that capital that seeks short term speculative gains - from a few hours to a few days, to a maximum of few weeks. The foreign portfolio investment (FPI or FII) inflow into the third world has turned into a veritable deluge in recent times. With such large volumes of funds, no central bank, particularly of oppressed countries, is able to ward off attacks by international speculators and defacto the currencies of oppressed countries are under control of the imperialists. Also, by the volume of their investment on stock exchanges in backward countries they virtually determine the prices on the stock markets. And by their increasing penetration of equity capital in both private and public sector industry they are tightening their control on production. Such is the pathetic state of these so-called 'independent' countries! Such is the reality of monopolisation of finance capital under capitalism-imperialism: the top 1% control 45-47% of the global wealth, at the cost of the blood, sweat and hardwork of the proletariat and the working classes.

The imperialist crisis can be seen through various examples on a world level. India has launched the most brutal Operation Kagaar partly in response to the needs of US imperialism, yet at the same time, US imperialism is still dissatisfied (its capital weakening). By asserting its bullying powers, rooted in the dominance of US in the world imperialist stage, US imperialism has managed to compromise the sovereignty of the states it is oppressing in order to realign their domestic policies with the interests of US imperial capital through the tactics of tariffs. A few months earlier, the Trump administration declared that it is imposing 25% tariffs on numerous countries starting in September. This sent the market into uncertainty and some countries scrambling to negotiate a deal with the US. In fact, Japanese imperialism bowed its head to the US and entered into an investment agreement with the US so that it may get concessions from the US, basically having paid the US a sum (by providing US imperialism more market space in which US capital can valorise itself and produce profits as well as some funds for the project) in order to not have 25% tariffs imposed on Japan. US imperialism also entered deals with other for the same.

However, some countries have not taken kindly to the bullying. Initially, India tried to resist the US by trying to levy its comprador position as US imperialism's proxy in the South Asian region. In order to serve its imperial interests (US is helping Ukraine as it will enable it to have greater influence over the economic policies of a resource rich region which it is eyeing to expand its market), US has imposed a 25% reciprocal tariff as well as a 25% tariff on India for "enabling the Russian war machine in Ukraine". This has only been possible because Indian is a comprador for the US, heavily dependent on it for capital and technology - in contrast, Chinese social-imperialism has proved to be more of a challenge to the US and therefore it has not imposed similar tariffs on China despite China also importing Russian crude oil. Though India

overestimated its positions and resisted the imposition of tariffs initially, it has now been subdued back into the lap of US imperialism, with US having used the dominance of its capital to enforce its economic and political will on India which is scheduled to negotiate trade deals with the US after petty squabbles between the oppressor and oppressed country on social media platforms.

Some experts are of the opinion that the US may go through a recession, with different organizations and think tanks predicting a 40-60% chance of the same. As a result of its crisis, Donald Trump has imposed tariffs on all its trading partners at a benchmark of 25%. This internal crisis has also caused a rift between the American ruling class, with Elon Musk withdrawing his support for the MAGA campaign under Trump to launch his own party due to differences over a debate in what will be the correct American economic policy. Israel has intensified its genocide in Gaza since the 23rd October 2023 self-defence act by the resistance forces in Gaza. Despite the support of US funding and military for Israel who is working as a proxy for the US, the ruling classes have been unable to quell the aspiration for the national liberation of the masses, which have arisen with a staunch anti imperialist stance. Several countries, including the imperialist France, have had to extend formal recognition to Palestine, against US interests. Even the US itself has had to temper its public position on Israeli attacks on Gaza in order to please the international ruling class community, who through the United Nations, have termed Israeli actions as “genocide”. Earlier, UNGA president Philémon Yang said, “this conflict cannot be resolved through permanent war nor through endless occupation or annexation”, a reflection of how there is a rift between imperialist powers as a result of the world imperialist crisis. On one hand, the American ruling class prefer a more direct and military approach to better utilize Gaza’s resources (while it has condemned some actions, it is not actively trying to stop the war). This is a shift from the earlier rhetoric in which it had extended unequivocal support to Israel and justified its repression. However, there has been a change in the conditions and world situation due to the creation of political groupings against US-Israel nexus, rooted in the fact that the resistance posed by the Arab countries and Hamas-led national liberation struggle has created strong currents resulting in a political victory for the Palestinian Liberation movement. After the attacks of Israel on Middle-eastern countries, some Muslim dominated countries have even been talking about the need for creation of an Islamic NATO. All in all, the rhetorical support to Palestine from the US is a manifestation of fact that US imperialism as a political force has been weakening due to which US changed its policy.

On the other hand, a section of the world ruling class is advocating for the two-state solution. The two-state solution is one in which both Palestine and Israel will be given recognition- of course, if state recognition is given to Palestine, the political authority will not be given to Hamas and the Axis of Resistance which is waging a national liberation struggle but to the compliant and comprador Palestinian Authority which already has a history of betraying the Palestinian people in order to appease the imperialists. This will therefore allow for the neocolonial method of imperial domination to continue. The Russia-Ukraine inter-imperialist war

is at a head, with the US imposing sanctions on India and encouraging the EU to impose sanctions on China in order to make easier for its proxy of Ukraine to win over Russian imperialism. Multiple countries like France, Japan, USA and Bangladesh are seeing protests. Due to protests, government heads have changed in Nepal, Japan and France in the period of 1 week, under the pressure of the economic crisis. This is a reflection of how the exploited and oppressed masses are rising in opposition to the dictatorship of capital class due to the state of their domestic economies, unemployment and the dictatorship of the ruling classes. The revolutionary movement in India under the leadership of CPI Maoist in India as well as that of Communist Party of Philippines in Philippines continues to wage protected people's war against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism despite increasing fascist conditions and severe repression as a result of the crisis of imperial capital. They are able to wage this struggle despite the intervention of US imperialist forces in direct and indirect ways in the two countries which in itself is a sign of the threat that communist parties pose to world imperialism.

THE ROLE OF US IMPERIALISM IN WORLD CAPITALISM-IMPERIALISM

After the set back faced by world communist movement post the cold war between the USSR and the US, it was the Chinese Revolution led by CPC which gave the correct ideological-political-organisational line to the world proletariat revolution. After the death of comrade Mao, the leadership of the CPC went to Deng, a capitalist roader who deviated the Party from the Marxist line to the revisionist social-imperialist path. The radical movements in Latin America, though initially inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, were also reformist in nature. These conditions allowed for the US imperialism to consolidate its position as the hegemon, through the help of Brettonwood institutions. Since then, US finance capital has dominated the world economy through their Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation economic policies (through the current situation is leading to the adoption of more protectionist policies under Trump like its tariff increases, increase in H1B visa fees, anti immigration policies etc) ie neoliberal reforms, with other imperialist powers continuing to perpetuate their own exploitation and oppression without giving any stiff competition to US interests.

In the meanwhile, Russia and China have been growing in their capacity as social-imperialist powers. While US imperialism today has almost reached its saturation point and might undergo a recession, Russia and China have grown to the point of posing a threat to US imperialism and is therefore fanning interimperialist rivalries. An example of this is the Russia-Ukraine war. Through analysing things from the undialectical perspective of core-periphery relations, Inderjeet Parmar (TheWire, 2025) highlights for us some necessary facts- *“Ukraine with its \$12.5 trillion in mineral wealth, including 20% of global titanium, significant lithium and rare earths- stands as a prize in this inter imperialist contest. Russia’s 2022 invasion and occupation of Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson, which hold coal, gas and rare earths, reflects*

Moscow's drive to dominate strategic resources critical for energy and tech industries... The US, under Trump's second administration, counters with its own imperialist agenda. The April 2025 Ukraine-USA Mineral Resources Agreement ties Kyiv's economic recovery to American corporate access, framed as a repayment for \$120 trillion in aid... The US seeks to wrest control from China's rare earth dominance, while Russia aims to monopolize Europe's supply". Meanwhile, NATO might be fractured over disagreement on how to handle this issue, while US imposed an additional 25% tariff on India for buying Russian crude oil- all of this is a reflection of increasing inter-imperialist rivalry (whether directly or through their proxies) which is a result of the crisis in world imperialism. In fact, the Ukraine-Russia war is one in which the US has a direct interest as it wants to control the Ukrainian resources through the comprador ruling class of Ukraine. The imposition of 50% tariffs on India for "supporting and profiteering" off Russia's war in Ukraine and the subsequent deepening of India's relations with China and Russia is itself a clear demonstration of how US imperialism, while dominant, is neither unchallenged nor invincible. The position of the US cannot be said to qualitatively change the mode of production either, which remains Imperialism, and not "globalization" or "empire".

Here, it is worth enumerating some criticism of the concept of Empire by Hardt and Negri. In essence they argue that due to the decentralising and deterritorialising nature of globalization, the era of imperialism has ended and been replaced by the era of Empire. The empire is a decentralised and deterritorialised version of stateless sovereignty. However, this statement is a childish fantasy devoid of any political economic analysis, an undialectical, ahistorical and unmarxist rambling of a child insistent on being called a Marxist. To envision capital without a state is an understanding which ignores the role of state, of objective facts. Capital has historically developed with the state - it is the state which facilitates capital and vice versa. With the development of capitalism-imperialism, the state and capital have in fact become increasingly more intertwined. Imperialist nations, through their neocolonial methods, prefer in fact to rely on the comprador bureaucratic capitalist states of in semi-colonies as well as assert its political dominance over oppressed nations, in order to create space for capital. Due to the nature of development of capital itself, the bourgeois democratic state has come to be. The nation-state is the entity through which capital expands and marks its territory. Capital is not a thing in itself, but a social relationship between the capitalist and the proletariat. Capital may appear as a form of means of production (machinery and human labour, or things which are transformed in the production process to produce commodities), but in its essence, it is the social relation between the worker and capitalist. The means of production and money become capital in a historical situation where social relation between the worker and the capitalist exists. This social relationship is reinforced and enabled through the state. Take how MNCs and the state function. Firstly, even at a very superficial observation it is incorrect, to assume that these corporations are not closely tied to the rulers of a particular country as governments and their political leaders are today aggressively pushing the MNCs of their own country at the cost of competitors from other countries. Second, governments are very closely tied to their MNCs, in assisting them with subsidies, tariffs and other trade concessions and even funding gigantic sums (of peoples' money)

to collapsing banks in their respective countries. And thirdly a study has shown that, though TNC operations may be transnational, its ownership and control are very much in the hands of the parent company.

Therefore, the state is the political expression of the dictatorship of the ruling classes, and in a capitalist-imperialist system, the dictatorship is rule of the bourgeois. Capital is the base of the social relationships (relationship of production) which is enforced by the superstructure, including the state, and the two are in an interrelated and interdependent dialectical relationship in order to develop itself. Therefore, as long as appropriation of means of production occurs, as long as classes exist, a state will exist to enforce its dictatorship. In other words, as long as capital exists, the state will exist. Therefore, if the infantile Hardt and Negri want to claim that the Empire is stateless, they must prove that capital has ceased to exist (a claim they themselves are not making).

Nepal and the Gen-Z Revolt

The youth is a group which is often led by their emotions, especially under the influence of subjective individualism which is propagated through the universities through their adoption of postmodern thought in their syllabi. This means that the youth constitutes that section of the petit bourgeois who is vacillating, shifting their revolutionary position in accordance to their emotions and experience, which leads to a subjective analysis of the prevailing conditions. Yet the petit bourgeoisie has a dual class nature - it doesn't align itself totally with the ruling class as it knows that there is little scope for the fulfillment aspirations under the dictatorship of the bourgeois. Therefore, while it has a (non-antagonistic) contradiction with the aims of the proletariat revolution, or is fearful of it, it also has a sharp contradiction with the ruling classes. Today, some of the strongest mass movements have been started by the youth - the Bangladesh Revolt started as a student protest against quotas, the movement in Sri Lanka as well as Indonesia were also led by the youth. What all these movements had in common was the fact that these were all consequences of the world imperialist crisis.

The general is reflected in the particular, and the particular forms the general. This is the basic law of contraction as given by comrade Mao. Therefore, if there is a crisis in at the world imperialist level, it is because there is a crisis in its particular parts which form the whole. A body is made up of cells, and if one cell is sick, the whole body is affected. In reverse, if the body is sick, then more and more cells will be affected and weakened by this sickness. At the world level, imperialism's crisis means that it is unable to find sufficient market for capital to valorise itself, for it to extract super surplus value. Therefore, it is bound to expand itself by primarily two methods in the era of imperialism. Firstly, individual imperialist nations will compete with each other, even go to war with each other, in order to conquer new territories to make space for domestic capital to expand itself through creating new markets. Secondly, it will find new markets to expand into. The Russia-Ukraine War is an example of how two countries fight each other for resources. Israel is moving towards annexation in Gaza to create more

market space for its capital. Major companies are currently preferring to invest in technology, particularly AI research and development, since it is the latest market with good potential for growth. Post the COVID-19 crisis, the world economy has been in a slump from which most countries are still recovering. Over all, it is the oppressed countries or semi-colonies which face the brunt of these crisis. Nepal was not different.

At a domestic level, the Gen-Z Revolt was a spontaneous movement against the prevailing conditions of high youth unemployment/under employment which is rated to be between 20-23%, heavy dependency on remittances which account for 30-34% of Nepal's GDP, slow job creation and widening inequality and visible corruption. The question for us to analyse is how this relates to the world imperialist crisis. The crisis in the world imperialism system means that imperial capital tends to enter oppressed and semi colonial countries more aggressively in order to create more market space, in order to reduce costs of production and increase exploitation through which it may earn more super profits through which it can revive itself. This has been the case in Nepal as well. This external situation is a determining factor (the principal aspect being Nepal's semi colonial, semi feudal nature) in why the Nepalese ruling classes allow for the country to be sold, how they live lavish lives by being parasites which are sucking the lifeblood of the masses in Nepal. In essence, it was an outburst against the revisionism of CPN (Maoist). CPN Maoist refused to take protracted people's war to its conclusion, instead trading the masses for a few seats in parliament in their right-opportunism. This collaboration with the bourgeois parties has led to the effective liquidationism of the communist party in Nepal, with the once communists party now being a bourgeoisie party representing the interests of the ruling classes in Nepal and the imperialist masters who run them.

CONCLUSION

What is a political crisis? A crisis situation in the world political economy is a state wherein the quantitative changes might result in a qualitative change i.e. a fundamental change in the mode of production. A crisis situation, in other words, is a state on the cusp of revolution, a state which may be favorable to the world proletariat revolution as a crisis implies a state in which the current state of things might collapse. Therefore, a crisis situation in capitalism-imperialism is not only a threat to the dictatorship of the ruling classes, but an opportunity for communists to deepen class struggle and make the conditions necessary for revolution. In any crisis situation, it is important for us to correctly evaluate and identify the causes and effects and not confuse one for the other. Take the CPI Maoist and the repression that its facing as an example. The launch of Operation Kagaar, or even the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Basavraj, is not the main cause of the crisis in the revolutionary movement, but an effect as a result of the internal and external crisis of capitalism-imperialism and the ideological degeneration it cultivates in cadres. Similarly, these wars at the international level are not the crisis situation itself, but the indicators of decaying capitalism-imperialism. To adopt the cause as the effect and the effect as the cause is philosophically rooted in post-modern thought (as elaborated by comrade Siraj in Post-

Modernism Today) and falls into the ruling class camp on an ideological level since it only deviates and confuses the revolutionary cadre from the revolutionary line. Therefore when facing a crisis situation, we communists must not lose revolutionary fervour- the martyrs of Gaza, of our own revolutionary history and of radical/revolutionary movements are losses, but they soak the soil red with the blood of our martyrs which will colour the flag of the communists, which will be hoisted proudly and fly high the red flag of revolution.

World imperialism today is in a state of crisis. Countries are fighting for resources, conflict is brewing. Fascism is on the rise at a world level to deal with its crisis. In this situation, to lose hope, to fear and to despair, these are all part of ruling class emotions which help to breed opportunism-revisionism-liquidationism. Instead of strengthening our communist resolve for the dictatorship of the proletariat through the smashing of the rule of the bourgeois and their agents, one seeks leniency, compensations and humanity from our class enemies, adopting reforms over revolution. The state of crisis most deeply and adversely effects the exploited and the oppressed masses- the Muslims and Dalits in India, the children in Gaza, the refugees displaced as a result of war, Marxists openly struggling for revolution and it is precisely because of this reason that we cannot surrender, never cower under repression nor war. We must take advantage of the crisis in capitalism-imperialism for precisely this reason- liberation is possible through revolution, not reformism/revisionism. *Long live the international communist movement and parties! Long live People's War!*

REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION: INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC

By Chandar

IMPERIALISM AND HOW IT IS FUNCTIONING WORLD WIDE

At a world-wide level, we are observing how imperialism is in a state of crisis. In February 2025, the World Bank has projected the global GDP rate to slow down to 2.3%. It said that barring recession, this is the weakest projected growth rate since 2008. Due to the crisis of imperialism, the three contradictions at the world level are intensifying i.e. the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed countries and the masses, the contradiction between labor and capital as well as the contradiction arising out of inter-imperialist rivalries are sharpening. The development of capitalism-imperialism always sees a period of ebbs and flows, with expansion of capital happening at a rapid pace and then slowing in decline due to shrinking scope for imperialist capital to perpetuate itself through the market. In such a situation when capitalism-imperialism has needed to pull itself out of a crisis, it has resorted to restructuring itself in order to keep up its objective of profit maximisation. Under globalisation, imperialists have resorted to taking up of large scale mergers and acquisitions and setting up of global conglomerates in their countries and abroad due to which small and local industries are affected. This restructuring of capitalism-imperialism is also reflected in the division of labour due to which there is a rise in the intervention of imperialist countries on oppressed and less developed countries.

The imperialist countries have on one hand cut into worker's employment by bringing wages to a standstill and utilizing part time and contract labour. On the other hand, they have bought forth various kinds of new inhuman forms and methods of exploitation to extract super surplus value from the people. We can understand this through various examples which point to this trend. The US has imposed tariffs on all countries, and *Trump has declared in the recently held UNGA conference that globalisation policies are harming the progress of the imperialist countries.* This is why Trump insisted that they should close their borders to migrants as it is migrant workers who are taking up the jobs and ruining the culture of the countries. This apparent shift in economic policy is rooted in the USA's own crisis - with there being a chance of recession as predicted by various think tanks. Between 2020-2023, US manufacturing employment rebounded only partially after the 2019 pandemic but still remained millions below its late-1990s peak as firms have shifted production back to Mexico and Asia. The problem of unemployment is not restricted to the USA alone. Germany's "Industry 4.0" investment has steadily displaced routine factory jobs. In France, Renault's plan cut 15,000 jobs worldwide, including 1000s in France while automation and outsourcing has led to decreasing job opportunities.

On the other hand, we can see how Israel's war on Gaza is a class struggle for control over its resources, backed by US imperialism, which has killed at least 65,382 people and wounded 1,66,985 since October 23. Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger withdraw from the International

Criminal Court with a joint statement which stated that the ICC is *"an instrument of neo colonialist repression in the hands of imperialism ... The ICC has proven itself incapable of handling and prosecuting proven war crimes, crimes against humanity, crimes against genocide, and crimes of aggression"*. We are seeing that through the IMF and World Bank, the imperialist countries are investing in various projects which will loot the oppressed countries of its natural resources and reduce its masses into cheap sources of labour.

Over the past five years, foreign investment from imperialist countries and social-imperialists like China and Russia has often produced sharp contradictions with oppressed countries and their masses, as well as between labour and capital. Projects such as Malawi's Mpatamanga Hydropower Storage Project and Sri Lanka's Hambantota Port lease illustrate how large-scale infrastructure investments can lead to land grabs and displacement of local communities. In Malawi, tens of thousands of people risk losing farmland and access to natural resources as the project, funded through a \$350 million grant from World Bank, necessitates the flooding of 1,000 hectares of land which will displace at least 2,000 peasants, primarily subsistence farmers and pastoralists. To successfully carry out this project, there has been increased militarization with some human rights organizations raising concerns of violations of basic legal principles due to the increased militarization.

In Sri Lanka, strategic assets were effectively transferred to foreign control due to debt repayment pressures. In Dec 2017, Sri Lanka leased a 70% stake in the Hambantota Port and 1,500 acres of surrounding land to China Merchants Port Holding for a 99-year period in exchange for \$1.12 billion. This decision was driven by the fact that Sri Lanka was unable to repay loans obtained from China Exim Bank for the port's construction which amounted to less than 5% of Sri Lanka's total foreign debt repayments at the time. The establishment of this port was through obtaining 1,500 acres of land, displacing the local farmers and fishermen who relied on these lands for their livelihood.

Imperial development also erodes domestic revenue streams. Concessions and long-term leases often lock comprador bureaucratic states into repayment and profit-sharing arrangements that divert funds away from the public. In Venezuela, Russian oil-for-loan agreements prioritize debt repayment over social investment, leaving minimal fiscal space for education, healthcare, or infrastructure. Similarly, Argentina's critical minerals projects, while lucrative, have funneled significant profits to multinational firms, limiting state capture of rents and reducing potential reinvestment in local economies. The comprador bureaucratic state is often deployed to enforce these projects, suppressing dissent or protests. Environmental degradation compounds the problem: hydropower dams flood large areas, disrupt ecosystems, and threaten biodiversity, while mining and port construction cause deforestation, water pollution, and long-term soil degradation.

IMPERIALISM AND HOW IT IS FUNCTIONING AT THE DOMESTIC LEVEL

The crisis of imperialism is also reflected in the domestic situation of the various countries. In the period of merely a week, 3 countries have witnessed a change in their governments due to worsening economic crisis in these countries.

On Nepal

The most recent example of this was in Nepal, wherein a spontaneous mass movement led by the youth led to the ousting of erstwhile PM KP Sharma Oli from office. Their anger against the Nepalese ruling class took a militant turn, with radical spirit displayed in how the people burnt down the bureaucratic institutions through which imperial capital indirectly controlled their economy, in how they took direct action in punishing the ruling class and their agents where the legal-democratic methods failed them by design and most importantly, in how they fought for their principles despite the threat of repression and death, managing to fight the bullets of the police only with their spirit and some weapons like stones/bricks or whatever else they could find around to defend themselves. Demonstrators demanded policy reforms, job creation, and improved governance, coordinated through social media. Mobilizations coincided with broader dissatisfaction over political instability, corruption, and elitism, leading to hundreds of protests and sit-ins that disrupted traffic, universities, and public services, drawing national and international attention. This was therefore a democratic movement against the revisionism of the Prajancha Path adopted by the revisionist CPN Maoist who refused to take protracted people's war to its conclusion, instead trading the masses for a few seats in parliament in their right-opportunism. This collaboration with the bourgeois parties has led to the effective liquidationism of the communist party in Nepal, with the once communists party now being a bourgeoisie party representing the interests of the ruling classes in Nepal and the imperialist masters who run them.

On France and Japan

In France, the government of PM François Bayrou was ousted by a no-confidence vote in September 2025, with the contradiction amongst the ruling class emerging out of debates on the correct method to handle France's budget deficit which was around 5.8% of the country's GDP in 2024, well above the EU's 3% ceiling. Moreover, France is also in a situation of large public debt, with some estimates calculating the debt to be equivalent to around 114% of the GDP. The solution offered by the PM was a unpopular - freezing welfare measures, cutting public holidays etc; the proposed budget cuts was around €44 billion in 2026 which would directly impact the common masses. Since the ruling class understands that in a crisis situation, revolutionary potential amongst the masses is high, these budget cuts triggered a no-confidence motion in parliament since the ruling class understands that if they were to undertake such repressive measures when the masses are already oppressed under the weight of imperialism and the ruling classes as reflected in the rate of unemployment, shrinking job opportunities and continuous

strikes and protests in France, they are likely to burst forth in anger against them and therefore threaten the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Similarly, the no-confidence motion against Japanese PM Shigeru Ishiba is also reflection of imperialism's crisis, due to which the domestic economies of the imperialist countries are also suffering. The no-confidence motion was rooted in the fact that household costs have seen a sharp rise in living costs, especially the cost of food items like rice jumping. US tariffs on Japanese exports, particularly cars and industrial goods, are threatening the export-dependent economy, as is common with most imperialist economies since they need to export finance capital in order to continue making super surplus profits. At the same time, Japan is rated as carrying the world's highest public debt, amounting to around 260% of its GDP as well as a persistent fiscal deficit due to which its ruling classes is unable to share the profits with the Japanese labour aristocracy and masses in the form of welfare measures or subsidies, thereby creating dissatisfaction amongst the people of Japanese against the dictatorship of the bourgeois. This has eventually led to the resignation of PM Shigeru Ishiba.

On Labour Strikes

The contractions between capital and labour can be seen in the various labour strikes, especially in imperialist countries. Between 2020 and 2025, workers worldwide engaged in waves of strikes that reflected growing dissatisfaction with the exploitation and oppression under capitalism-imperialism. In the United States, labor activism surged in 2023. The United Auto Workers strike against Ford, General Motors, and Stellantis involved nearly 50,000 workers over forty-six days, demanding higher wages, restored benefits, an end to tiered employment, and stronger protections against plant closures. The strike concluded with a 25% wage increase over four years and improved conditions for temporary employees. Earlier in 2023, the Writers Guild of America struck for 148 days, involving 11,500 screenwriters over compensation and working conditions. UPS workers secured a contract eliminating a two-tier wage system and improving safety, signaling a broader revival of labor activism.

Germany saw a surge in industrial disputes in 2023, with over 1.5 million working days lost—the highest in recent years. The Institute of Economic and Social Sciences documented 312 disputes, fueled by high inflation and declining real wages. Public sector and transport workers staged walkouts, disrupting services. In Canada, the Radisson Blu Vancouver Airport Hotel strike, beginning in May 2021 after 143 layoffs, continued until March 2025, with workers successfully negotiating reinstatement and improved conditions.

China experienced over 700 strikes in the first half of 2023, concentrated in manufacturing hubs such as Guangdong, Zhejiang, Hunan, Sichuan, and Inner Mongolia. Workers protested unpaid wages, unsafe conditions, and insufficient social security, revealing tensions in a system reliant on precarious labor. In India, Amazon workers joined a global strike in November 2024, coordinated with UNI Global Union and Progressive International, timed to Black Friday and

Cyber Monday. They protested low wages, long hours, and unsafe fulfillment center conditions, highlighting exploitation in global digital supply chains.

In 2025, labor unrest extended to Brazil and Italy. Construction workers in Belém, Brazil, struck in September, delaying COP30 climate summit preparations, demanding a 9.5% wage increase. On September 22, 2025, thousands of Italian workers staged a nationwide strike in solidarity with Palestinians in Gaza, disrupting transportation, education, and port operations in Rome, Milan, and Bologna. Union leaders criticized Italian and EU governments for maintaining trade and arms relations with Israel, demonstrating international solidarity.

Global economic and social tensions also intersected with trade conflicts and youth mobilizations. U.S.-China trade disputes, originating with tariffs imposed in 2018, expanded into technology restrictions, export controls, and investment regulations. By 2023, multiple rounds of trade and technology barriers affected semiconductors, electronics, agriculture, and consumer goods. U.S. restrictions on Chinese access to advanced semiconductor technologies and Chinese retaliatory tariffs on U.S. agricultural exports disrupted supply chains. Countries such as Vietnam, Mexico, and India saw manufacturing and export shifts as companies sought alternatives. The World Trade Organization estimated these conflicts contributed to a 1.2% decline in global merchandise trade volumes in 2023 compared to 2022, affecting production costs, pricing, and investment globally.

On Russia, China and the USA

In the meanwhile, Russia and China have been growing in their capacity as social-imperialist powers. In the past 25 years, China's GDP has soared over 710% while Russia's GDP has shown a growth rate of 131%. While US imperialism today has almost reached its saturation point and might undergo a recession, Russia and China have grown (and continue expanding) to the point of weakening US imperialism and is therefore fanning interimperialist rivalries. An example of this is the Russia-Ukraine war.

Another key example of the the growing influence of Chinese socialism-imperialism is China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which, by 2021, had invested over \$500 billion in infrastructure projects across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. China has secured major deals, including a \$4.8 billion port project in Gwadar, Pakistan, which strengthens its control over critical trade routes. This growing economic influence reduces reliance on U.S.-led financial institutions like the World Bank, the bread and butter of American imperial capital. Russia has used its energy resources to assert itself, notably through the completion of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline in 2021, which directly connects Russian natural gas supplies to Germany, bypassing Ukraine. Despite U.S. opposition, the pipeline increases Europe's dependency on Russian energy. In fact, Trump is currently trying to convince the EU states to impose sanctions against Russia, though the EU is yet to comply - an illustration of US imperialism's weakening political power. Additionally, Russia's military presence in Syria, Libya, and Africa demonstrates its push to regain influence

in regions traditionally dominated by the West. China's technological advancements also challenge U.S. imperialism. By 2023, China had built over 2 million 5G base stations, controlling over 60% of global 5G infrastructure. In contrast, U.S. companies lag behind, underscoring China's dominance in the emerging tech race. This technological edge places China at the forefront of future innovations in artificial intelligence, IoT, and autonomous vehicles. Simultaneously, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) summit highlighted the growing influence of China and Russia, with member states increasing cooperation on economic, infrastructure, and military projects. The SCO, now representing 40% of the global population, provides an alternative to U.S.-led alliances like NATO, directly challenging US imperialism. The 2021 U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan and China's rising economic and technological power signal a shift toward a multipolar world, where Russia and China, especially rapidly expanding Chinese social-imperialism, increasingly weaken U.S. dominance.

Therefore, the world imperialist situation today is one in which there are multiple competing imperialist powers, though it can be said that US imperialism is still the biggest enemy of the people. It is not only leading imperialist model of development through looting oppressed countries, it is the most widespread network of imperial capital, with multiple allegations as well as some proven cases, where it intervenes directly/indirectly in the affairs of other countries through CIA and other agents in order to manipulate the situation in its interests. To do this, US imperialism launches an attack on the oppressed masses i.e. the proletariat, peasantry, petit bourgeois and national bourgeoisie. The way that it is intervening in Philippines against the CPC, as well as the manner in which it indirectly involved in the war against CPI (Maoist) are examples of its anti-revolutionary and anti-people character.

Some Preliminary Observations on AI

The political economy of artificial intelligence (AI) is closely tied to capitalism-imperialism. AI has been overwhelmingly financed and directed by advanced capitalist countries. Between 2013 and 2024, the United States invested approximately US \$471 billion in AI, while China followed with around US \$119 billion, leaving the European Union, the UK, and other states far behind. At the centre of this development are American giants such as Microsoft, Alphabet, Apple, Amazon, Meta, and Nvidia, each valued in the trillions who control key areas of innovation, including semiconductor production, cloud computing, algorithmic platforms, and intellectual property. In China, Baidu, Tencent, and Alibaba play a similar role, although limited access to advanced chip technology leaves them at a relative disadvantage. The start-up ecosystem also reflects inequality: the U.S. has incubated over 5,500 AI start-ups in the past decade, compared to roughly 1,400 in China, while most oppressed countries remain largely absent from the map of AI innovation.

The idea that AI development is driven solely by market forces is misleading. Both the United States and China treat AI as a strategic instrument of national power. U.S. AI research is integrated into defense budgets, funding projects in surveillance, autonomous weapons, and

battlefield logistics. China's National AI Industry Investment Fund directs billions into ventures aligned with its "military-civil fusion" doctrine. Europe, attempting to keep pace, provides subsidies under Horizon Europe and regulates AI through frameworks like the AI Act. In all cases, public investment incubates innovation that is then privatized by monopolistic corporations, concentrating technological power in the hands of a few actors.

The costs of this technological race are largely borne by colonies and semi colonies. AI systems rely on cobalt, lithium, and rare earths extracted from nations such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bolivia, and Chile, where ecological degradation and labor exploitation are common. At the same time, millions of low-paid workers in India, Kenya, and the Philippines perform essential tasks such as data annotation and content moderation, critical for machine learning but compensated at subsistence levels.

The social consequences of AI extend to labor displacement. Automation in logistics, manufacturing, services, and intellectual work primarily serves to cut wage costs and increase corporate profits, rather than to assist human labor. Call centers are replaced by chatbots, clerical and legal work is outsourced to algorithms, and driverless technologies threaten millions of transport jobs. This labor displacement is compounded by AI's ecological footprint. Training large-scale models requires massive computational infrastructures, consuming millions of liters of water for cooling, vast amounts of electricity, and enormous quantities of minerals extracted under environmentally destructive conditions. At a time of global climate crisis, AI accelerates ecological degradation in the service of profit. AI also reshapes cultural production. Marketed as democratizing knowledge, it floods spaces with algorithmically generated art, writing, and music designed to sell rather than inspire. Genuine innovation is reduced, creativity is subordinated to market logic, and intellectual work is commodified.

DOMESTIC SITUATION IN INDIA

India's political economy today is marked by a crisis. Take the falling value of the rupee as an example of how amid the concerns about the sudden hike in H-1B visa fees and the tariffs imposed by the administration of US President Donald Trump, the rupee fell to a new record low of 88.7 against the US dollar on September 23 2025. This shows how the relationship between the world imperialist crisis (generality) is interdependent and interrelated with the concrete domestic situation (particularity). While headlines on India's GDP growth figures continue to project an image of economic growth and prosperity, the objective situation tells us another truth. To reach the objective truth of whether there is real growth in the country or not, we should not be looking towards bourgeoisie parameters of GDP growth, measured primarily to only indicate the wealth of the ruling classes. While the GDP soars, the masses are suffering under the weight of the economic crisis. Currently, other indicators reveal severe stress in household finances, wage levels, fiscal federalism, and productive investment. This is the nature of development models since capitalism - it is a development which only serves the ruling classes at the cost of the exploitation and blood of the masses. What are some of the trends in the economy of India?

DECLINING SAVINGS, RISING INDEBTNESS

The Reserve Bank of India's latest Financial Stability Report underscores the gravity of this situation, *citing a collapse in the domestic savings rate to 5.6% of GDP*—the lowest in nearly five decades—compared to 34.6% a decade ago. On the other hand, a report has shown that there has been an increase in the number of Indian millionaires. This decline reflects the contradiction between labour and capital through the *shift from household savings toward rising indebtedness: household liabilities reached a record 41% of GDP by mid-FY25, with non-housing debt alone accounting for 32.3%, suggesting that families are borrowing to meet subsistence needs rather than accumulate assets*. Net household financial savings fell to 5.1% of GDP in FY23, marginally recovering to 5.3% in FY24, but remaining at half their long-term average. All of this data is also supplemented by a recent report by 'PwC's Voice of the Consumer 2025: India perspective', which states that almost 40% of the respondents confessed that they were struggling to make ends meet. Another 32% of consumers said they were 'financially coping', while 7% mentioned that they were financially insecure and struggling to pay bills. In fact, Rs 3.5 lakh crore (*approximately 13%*) of total UPI payments in the first four months of the financial year 2025-26 were towards 'debt collection agencies' (The Wire Staff a, 2025).

Policy interventions such as the recent Goods and Services Tax (GST) "2.0" rationalisation have been framed as measures to boost consumption and simplify compliance. Yet their material impact is negligible when set against the structural burdens borne by households. The reforms *"generate headlines but sidestep the difficult work of genuine economic transformation"* (The Wire Staff b, 2025). A four-member household earning ₹90,000 a month would realise barely ₹2,800 in GST-related savings—just 3.1% of income—while higher EMIs resulting from the RBI's rate hikes since 2022 have already increased housing loan burdens by nearly 19%. With urban real wages having only barely returned to pre-pandemic levels, and male salaried workers in 2023–24 still earning 6.4% less than in 2017–18, households remain in a defensive financial posture, prioritising debt repayment over discretionary spending.

DECLINING WAGES, INCREASING EXPLOITATION

The erosion of wages compounds this malaise. PLFS data show that between 2017–18 and 2023–24, self-employed men saw a 9.1% decline in real monthly wages, while precarious self-employment expanded to 58.4% of the workforce, up from 52.2% in 2017–18. Rural wage growth has remained at just 1–2% in real terms, driving persistent demand for MGNREGA employment. In 2023-24, MNREGA generated 309 crore person-days of employment. This roughly corresponds to 50 days of work, on average, for 60 million households (rounded official figures). In absolute terms, these employment figures are humongous, yet MNREGA employment is a small fraction of total employment – perhaps 2% or so. Today, women's participation in MNREGA is close to 60% and still rising. This may look like a positive trend, but it must be seen in the light of the stagnation of real MNREGA wages. When MNREGA

wages are substantially below market wages, as is the case today in large parts of the country, participation tilts towards those who have relatively little access to the labour market, including women and elderly persons.

The burden of GST itself is unequally shared: in rural India, the bottom 50% and middle 30% shoulder 62% of the tax incidence, while in urban areas the top 20% account for 41%. The policy's distributive bias reinforces structural inequities, offering modest relief to an indebted urban middle class while bypassing the rural economy almost entirely.

THE INCREASING BURDEN ON PEOPLE

Meanwhile, the supply side reveals equally troubling dynamics. Businesses, with a history of absorbing tax cuts into margins rather than passing them to consumers, continue to undermine the consumption logic of GST reforms, a pattern so entrenched that it required repeated intervention from the National Anti-Profiteering Authority after 2017. Liquidity constraints have worsened, with delayed payments to MSMEs reaching ₹10.7 lakh crore (around 6% of GVA), forcing small firms into high-cost borrowing and crowding out productive investment. On the fiscal side, the GST rejig implies an annual revenue shortfall of about ₹60,000 crore (0.16% of FY26 GDP), eroding states' fiscal autonomy. The divisible tax pool has already shrunk from 88.6% in 2011–12 to 78.9% in 2021–22, largely due to surcharges and cesses retained by the Union government. Given that state-level capital expenditure accounts for nearly two-thirds of public investment, this squeeze directly undermines rural roads, irrigation, and health infrastructure—the very public goods that drive long-term growth.

This shows that in a situation wherein there is an economic crisis, the ruling classes always takes decisions which will push the masses into even more inhuman and miserable conditions, not only increasing their exploitation and oppression, but also making cuts into their quality of living. Moreover, whatever little benefits it is able to distribute will be directed towards urban development over rural development, a fact driven by the fact that the big bourgeoisie lives in cities want better infrastructure and relies more on the bureaucracy for maintenance of its rule, while the feudal ruling classes prefer non-interference as they have their own mechanisms like khap panchayats/panchayats as well as goons to enforce their rule.

CRISIS, WORLD IMPERIALISM AND INDIA

The crisis of the Indian economy today cannot be divorced from the crisis of the world imperialist system. The crisis in the world imperialist system necessitates the export of capital for the continued generation of profit for the imperialist class. Since its own markets are saturated and it is unable to expand itself, it needs new avenues to expand and perpetuate itself which it finds through creating new avenues of market for itself in semi colonies and colonies.

Imperialism in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India is sustained through the joint alliance of feudalism-imperialism i.e. both are in a dialectical and equal relationship with each other and one

sustains the other and vice versa, with feudalism being the primary factor in the relationship. This joint alliance is perpetuated with that help of the comprador bureaucratic capitalist state which is subservient to imperial capital and helps in indirectly establishing its rule over its semi-colony India, particularly US imperialism. These relationships are then reaffirmed and legitimised through the ideological-political tool of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism, which helps imperialism and feudalism not only find its ideological basis and justification amongst the people (more often through the use of violent force in the process of the ruling class repressing the revolutionary classes), but also ensures that imperial capital can flow unhindered into the semi-colony without any significant opposition. Therefore it is the ideological-political tool of the imperialists and Indian ruling class to perpetuate their dictatorship of the bourgeois. In India, this is done through the imperialist development model in which imperial capital asserts its indirect control on the political economy of the country through its comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and landlords who use the state machinery or feudal force to welcome imperial capital in multiple forms like investment, multi-national corporations, cryptocurrency, real estate, speculative stocks etc in order to create new markets for itself from which it can extract natural resources and cheap labour so that the imperialist will eventually make super-profits from surplus extraction in the production process. The influx of foreign finance capital has entered India particularly through the neoliberal policies of LPG in 1991. This pattern continues till date, though the form it takes might differ. For a time, these reforms and imperialist policies have even shown high growth rates - India has surpassed social imperialist China as the fastest growing economy. However, we Marxists understand capitalist development in terms of ebbs and flows, and therefore recognize this growth is a hollow mirage meant to deceive the masses into buying into the imperialist development model. In fact, India is a crisis-ridden and debt-laden economy (as we saw from the stats in the preceding paragraphs) which is completely subservient to imperial interests, particularly US imperialism.

We see India's crisis in the following facts. First, the collapse in household savings and the rise of indebtedness in India are not isolated phenomena but mirror a global trend under capitalism-imperialism. Since the 1980s, global growth has been sustained less by rising real wages and more by expanding credit to households. India's rising household liabilities, now 41% of GDP, replicate this pattern: debt is used to compensate for stagnant wages and insecure employment, thereby sustaining consumption temporarily but weakening long-term financial stability.

Second, India's wage stagnation and the casualisation of labour reflect the international restructuring of production. Capitalism-imperialism increasingly relies on informalisation, subcontracting, and precarious work to maintain competitiveness. India, with 58.4% of its workforce in self-employment and casual work, epitomises this trend. The fall in real wages for salaried and self-employed workers since 2017 is not only a domestic failure of labour policy but part of a global "race to the bottom," where labour standards are eroded to attract investment and sustain exports. Contract workers now account for 42% of employees in India's organised manufacturing sector, the highest level recorded since 1997-98, shows data from the Annual

Survey of Industries (ASI) for 2023-24, as reported by Business Standard. The share has risen nearly eight percentage points in the past decade, reflecting a steady trend towards greater contractualisation of the workforce.

Third, the fiscal crisis of Indian states mirrors the oppression on colonies and semi-colonies. Like the relationship between oppressors and oppressed countries, there exists a contradiction arising out of the false federal character of the Indian state i.e. there is a contradiction between the centre and the state, seen especially where the double-engine of BJP doesn't function. Resultantly, Indian states are compelled to cut public investment due to revenue centralisation and debt constraints. The weakening of fiscal federalism parallels how imperialist institutions have pressured oppressed countries to reduce social spending and prioritise debt servicing. The GST regime, by limiting states' taxation powers, represents a domestic articulation of this stronger shift toward fiscal centralisation and neoliberal discipline.

Finally, the erosion of productive investment capacity in India's MSMEs illustrates the contradictions of capitalism-imperialism's uneven development. MSMEs are locked out of affordable credit while imperial capital and domestic comprador bourgeoisie consolidate markets. This reflects the dual logic of neoliberal policies under globalisation: concentration of capital in large transnational (or nationally privileged) firms, and the marginalisation of smaller producers who lack economies of scale with imperialism's essence being its monopolistic nature to drive out competition. The liquidity lock-up of ₹10.7 lakh crore owed to MSMEs parallels the broader subordination of national/small producers within global supply chains.

Thus, India's current crisis is not an aberration but a manifestation of the systemic contradictions of world capitalism. The model of neoliberal policies, once heralded as India's path to prosperity, now exposes the fragility of a development/ growth model built on indebted households, precarious labour, fiscal austerity, and monopolistic concentration.

THE REAL ROLE OF IMPERIAL CAPITAL IN INDIA

Over the past five years, India has increasingly become a focal point for foreign finance capital, facilitated by liberalised FDI policies, incentives under the "Make in India" initiative, and the National Monetisation Pipeline. Foreign investment has flowed into sectors ranging from semiconductors and telecommunications to renewable energy, petrochemicals, and textiles. These inflows, framed as engines of economic growth and modernization, have reshaped India's political economy. Yet the benefits of these investments have been concentrated heavily among the Indian ruling class.

The semiconductor fabrication plant in Dholera, Gujarat, developed through a partnership between Tata Electronics and Taiwan's Powerchip Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation (PSMC), exemplifies this dynamic. The \$11 billion project, funded through a mix of *corporate equity, international bank loans, and state incentives*, aims to create over 20,000 skilled jobs and reduce India's reliance on imported semiconductors. However, the acquisition of thousands of

hectares of agricultural and grazing land has displaced smallholder farmers, many of whom have received delayed or inadequate compensation. In practice, land transfers and subcontracted construction work disproportionately benefit landlords and intermediaries, while local families experience loss of livelihood and heightened precarity.

Similarly, Reliance Jio's \$2 billion 5G expansion, financed via *offshore loans arranged through global banks such as BNP Paribas*, has centralized digital connectivity and retail services in ways that marginalize small local traders. Contracted labour for tower installations and network deployment is casual and temporary, reinforcing patterns of precarious employment and labour insecurity. In the renewable energy sector, projects by Adani Green Energy and ReNew Power, supported by foreign equity and international loans, have established large-scale solar and wind farms in Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan. These developments have required the aggregation of rural land, often displacing subsistence farmers and pastoralists while generating temporary construction work that provides little long-term economic security. Local landed classes frequently mediate access to project benefits, capturing rents from land and subcontracted labour.

Petrochemical and industrial projects follow a similar trajectory. IndianOil's Vadodara acrylics and oxo-alcohol complex, funded through internal resources and foreign investment, has disrupted local subsistence economies while consolidating profits in the hands of investors and corporate management. In Dhar, Madhya Pradesh, the PM MITRA Textile Park, with over ₹20,000 crore in investment from 91 companies, has transformed traditional weaving and artisanal livelihoods into low-wage industrial employment, incentivizing rural-urban migration while benefiting private and foreign investors. Projects such as Jaydeep Steelwork's iron and steel plant in Nagpur (₹1,375 crore) and NPSPL Advanced Material's ₹5,440 crore lithium battery complex in Chhatrapati Sambhaji Nagar similarly demonstrate that land acquisition, environmental disruption, and precarious labour arrangements primarily advantage corporate actors and the ruling class, rather than local communities.

These dynamics are mirrored in broader socio-economic trends. While local populations bear the costs of land loss, debt, and labour insecurity, wealth in India has become increasingly concentrated among urban ruling class. According to the Mercedes-Benz Hurun India Wealth Report 2025, the number of millionaire households in India has nearly doubled in four years, rising from 458,000 in 2021 to 871,700 in 2025. Mumbai alone houses 142,000 millionaire households, followed by New Delhi with 68,200 and Bengaluru with 31,600. This concentration underscores the extent to which the benefits of foreign-financed development accrue to the ruling class, while the majority of the population, particularly rural and semi-urban households, confronts displacement, debt, and precarious livelihoods.

This contradiction between labour and capital is best exemplified through the 9th July Bharat Bandh call. On July 9, 2025, India witnessed a historic general strike involving over 250 million workers from formal and informal sectors. Participants included employees from banking,

transport, mining, construction, sanitation, and agriculture, as well as scheme workers such as Anganwadi and ASHA employees. The strike reflected widespread discontent over low wages, precarious employment, labor law reforms, privatization, and rising living costs. Organized by a coalition of ten central trade unions and supported by farmers' organizations, the strike represented a mass mobilization against neoliberal policies and the growing influence of corporate and foreign capital in public services. The strike revealed both the latent revolutionary potential of the working class and the constraints imposed by economism. The massive scale of participation indicated an emerging collective consciousness, yet the focus of leadership on immediate economic demands—such as wage increases and opposition to privatization—limited the movement's capacity to challenge the underlying capitalism-imperialism. By framing the struggle as a demand for concessions from the state, trade union leadership inadvertently confined the strike within reformist parameters.

The leadership's reluctance to engage in militant action, to seize workplaces, or to construct dual power structures exemplifies deep-seated revisionism. The absence of a political program or strategy aimed at structural transformation allowed the comprador bureaucratic capitalist state to be largely unaffected in its maintenance of dictatorship of the ruling class. Lenin's critique of economism in 'What Is to Be Done?' underscores the limitations of such an approach: while economic mobilization can draw mass participation, it does not cultivate the political consciousness necessary for revolutionary change.

When we are talking about the economic crisis in a country, we are not referring merely to economism but to the dialectical relationship between the forces of production and relations of production which comprise the mode of production. Therefore, it is necessary for us to analyse a few more examples to fully understand how the political economy of India is functioning.

On the Environmental Crisis

The monsoon season of 2025 was marked by unprecedented rainfall events across northern India, exposing the vulnerability of the region to extreme weather phenomena. This was not a natural phenomenon, but a result of the imperialist model of development which wrecks havoc on our country, especially the fragile ecosystem of the Himalayas which are unable to bear the weight of extracting developmental projects and urbanisation.

Himachal Pradesh, in particular, recorded 431.3 mm of rainfall in August 2025, representing the ninth highest monthly rainfall since 1901. The intensity of this rainfall led to devastating consequences, with 306 reported deaths and economic losses estimated to exceed ₹2,348 crore (approximately USD 281.8 million). In Uttarakhand, a flash flood struck Uttarkashi on August 5, 2025, triggered by either a cloudburst or a glacial lake outburst flood. This event resulted in at least five fatalities and left over 50 individuals missing, underscoring the acute risks posed by both climatic extremes and fragile local ecosystems.

Punjab similarly faced catastrophic flooding due to extreme rainfall compounded by weak embankments. Approximately 350,000 people were affected, and over 1,000 villages were submerged, highlighting the severe impact of environmental mismanagement. In urban areas such as Delhi and Gurgaon, inadequate drainage infrastructure amplified the effects of heavy rains, resulting in widespread inundation and disruption.

On the Bihar Elections

In August 2025, Bihar became a focal point of a country wide political controversy when Congress leader Rahul Gandhi alleged widespread electoral fraud. Gandhi accused the Election Commission of manipulating voter rolls in favor of the ruling party, claiming possession of "100% proof" of irregularities, including unauthorized voter additions and deletions. The Election Commission, however, refuted these claims, noting that the documents presented by Gandhi had not been issued by polling officers and reaffirmed the invitation to all parties to observe the voter revision process.

Why is Bihar important? Bihar is an important site for the rivalries of the ruling classes to play out, with Bihar elections traditionally running on the basis of feudal bhaichara and caste loyalty which has led to the dominance of regional parties in the elections. Therefore, the BJP is fearful of losing elections in the region, which would hamper its "double engine" model which relies on centralisation of the dictatorship of the Indian ruling classes in order to facilitate imperial capital into the Indian market better by reducing contradictions emerging out of the federal characteristics of India. This is shown by the fact that in August 2025, the cabinet sanctioned ₹408.81 crore for the acquisition of 242 acres to establish a FinTech City in Patna. Beyond this, a larger-scale acquisition covering 2,627 acres across five districts, including Begusarai and Patna, was approved at a cost of ₹812 crore. These acquisitions were framed as part of the Bihar Industrial Investment Promotion Package 2025 (BIPPP-2025), which provides incentives such as free land, tax exemptions, and interest subventions to attract large-scale industrial investments. If the BJP is in state power, it would ensure a smoother path for imperial capital. This is because resistance to these projects is expected. While they are posited as pathways to employment generation and economic growth, the social and environmental consequences are profound. Displacement of local communities, marginalization of adivasi populations, and inadequate compensation for landholders are persistent concerns. The influx of multinational corporations associated with these projects risks undermining local industries in favour of the big bourgeoisie and feudal landlords who are working as the running dogs of imperialism. Secondly, this issue exposes the semi-feudal nature of parliament and the false democracy in India - where elections are not run on political consciousness but due to bhaichara, caste, religion and poverty and managed through feudal force and violence.

On Ladakh's Demand for Statehood

Ladakh has been promised statehood since the abrogation of Article 370. Along with it, it has been promised a separate legislative councils for Leh and Kargil, as well as a 6th Schedule status. Previously, Nazariya Magazine has already written an article (available on our website) which details why Ladakh is demanding the same which can be referred to for a more detailed analysis on the question. The promise for statehood has remained unfulfilled, with people's concerns arising out of youth unemployment in particular, mismanagement of land rights and the ecological damage that would be caused to the ecosystem being ignored as it is against imperialist interests. Their demands have largely been unheard - having usually adopted peaceful means to make their demands under the leadership of reformist-liberal Sonam Wangchuck.

The reality of Gandhian reformism, as well as the nature of semi colonial, semi feudal states, is laid bare in the manner in which the ruling classes have ignored the demands for statehood. After all, conceding to these demands is against the comprador bureaucratic capitalism nature of state as separate statehood would allow Ladakh more autonomy over its land and natural resources which is important for the imperialists, thereby not allowing our local dogs to faithfully wag its tail as it presents its masters with the gift of Ladakh. As long as the Ladakh movement remained peaceful, it remained harmless - in fact, it suited the ruling classes to allow the people some democratic space to vent their anger without harming its agenda. However, this changed when the youth burst into spontaneous militant action and set fire to a BJP office as well as CRPF vans, injuring some officials. This led to the state firing back with live bullets, martyring 4 lives. A curfew was immediately imposed and security tightened. This was followed by the timid, ruling class agent Wangchuck to call off his hunger strike, and condemn the violence - saying that violence is the primary reason for the failure of his movement which had been going successfully before that (having fulfilled 0 demands to date!). The MHA was nonetheless irked with Wangchuck for failing to carry out his peaceful protest, the toppling of KP Sharma Oli by militant angry youth having planted fear in their paper-tiger hearts, and subsequently blamed Wangchuck. First, they started an investigation into his NGO under FCRA saying that foreign elements were responsible for the Ladakh movement. The next day, charges under NSA has been slapped onto Wangchuck and he has been arrested. This ensures that the Ladakh movement remains leaderless, making it harder for it to organise itself into a movement with the capability to challenge the dictatorship of the ruling class. At the time this article was written, we can only observe for how it develops further.

On 100 Years of RSS

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925, has over the last century transformed from a cadre-based cultural organisation into the mass ideological anchor of capitalism-imperialism in its role as the enforcer of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism. Today, the RSS and its numerous arms function as the principal political-organisational vehicle of fascisation, providing the ideological-political basis for ensuring the reproduction of a social

order conducive to imperial capital and its interest. Though it proclaims itself as a "Hindu nationalist" organisation, we need to understand its real nature.

Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism is the ideology of the ruling classes, and the ruling classes in India are compradors by necessity if they want to maintain their rule - in semi colonial, semi feudal countries like India, the domestic ruling class can only maintain its rule through the approval of the imperial bourgeoisie since they are subservient to imperial capital. The past few years have been mired by crisis (and continue to be so), and demonstrate clearly the role of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism which is to serve imperial capital in the time of its crisis, through being the openly terroristic, chauvinist and violent defence of the same. The ruling class ideology in India is Brahmanism i.e. the hierarchal structuring of society in accordance to caste, and Hindutva is the particular development of Hinduism after the transfer of power to the big bourgeoisie which took place to justify their comprador nature. Therefore the purpose of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism is not only to provide an ideological-political justification to the semi colonial, semi feudal base of society at the level of consciousness, but also to perpetuate it in concrete conditions as per the requirements of the people's three greatest enemies - imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

India's economy has been experiencing an acute crisis. Unemployment remains persistently high, with CMIE reporting 8.1% overall and nearly one in four young people unemployed in mid-2024. Meanwhile, wealth concentration has reached obscene levels: according to Oxfam, India's top 1% control over 40% of wealth, while the Hurun Wealth Report revealed that millionaire households doubled to 871,000 in just four years. In such a context of growing discontent, the ruling classes required a mechanism to deflect and fragment the anger. This is precisely the role that the RSS has played by providing a distraction which helps in diverting the attention away from the political economic base of issues. Instead, they employ the rhetoric of caste-religious divide and the creation of a false enemy. For example, if there is unemployment due to lack of development in industry leading to no job creation, the issue would be explained by saying that Muslims do not practice birth control and are therefore eating away at the job prospects of people. As a result, instead of Hindu workers and peasants uniting with their Muslim, Christian, or Dalit counterparts in opposition to their class enemies and its policies of dispossession and privatisation, discontent is channelled into spectacles of violence and blame-games which leave the Indian ruling class to carry out its comprador duties. Mob lynchings of Muslims accused of cow slaughter, such as the Aligarh lynching in June 2024, or attacks on Christian Adivasi families in Chhattisgarh in early 2025, are not isolated eruptions but calculated modes of producing cohesion among the Hindu petty bourgeoisie.

The very nature of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism lies in the systematic otherisation of minorities, which fractures the working class and diverts attention from material exploitation. While Dalits and Christians are often subjected to humiliation and violence, Muslims remain the permanent "enemy within," structurally necessary for Hindutva's politics. Recent years have witnessed clear instances of this logic: the bulldozer demolitions of Muslim homes in Uttar

Pradesh in 2024, the communal violence in Nuh, Haryana in 2023, and the continuing prosecutions after the Khargone violence in Madhya Pradesh reveal how the state and vigilante formations combine to criminalise Muslim existence. Christians too have been attacked, as in the displacement of over 100 Adivasi families in Chhattisgarh, while Dalits face continuing atrocity, exemplified by the Hathras gang rape and cremation scandal. Yet Muslims are singled out as the principal other through laws such as the Citizenship Amendment Act and constant propaganda portraying them as demographic and cultural threats. This scapegoating displaces attention from unemployment, inflation, and wage suppression, ensuring that the working class remains fragmented and unable to unite against capital. The mechanism mirrors European fascism, where Jews were constructed as the “enemy within” to protect monopoly capital; in India today, Muslims occupy this role, providing the ideological cement for a social order that is otherwise cracking under the weight of imperialism.

This ideological project has been indispensable for the state in implementing neoliberal reforms. The BJP government under Narendra Modi, himself an RSS pracharak, has overseen the introduction of new labour codes that dismantle decades of protections by lengthening working hours, undermining collective bargaining, and facilitating contract labour. These reforms, carried out in the name of “ease of doing business,” were met with resistance by workers, but the Sangh’s trade union affiliate, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, functioned to discipline rather than mobilise the working class, fragmenting opposition and preventing the strike waves of 2020–2022 from developing into a revolutionary threat.

The fascisation of Indian society also intersects directly with imperialist demands. Over the past two years, India has deepened its role in the U.S.-led Indo-Pacific strategy, signing agreements for military access and technology sharing while simultaneously allowing U.S. investors to consolidate their dominance in Indian equity and bond markets, holding over 40% of foreign portfolio investment by mid-2024. These arrangements make India increasingly subservient to U.S. capital and require internal pacification to suppress dissent.

The intensification of Surajkund Scheme under Operation Kagaar is the starkest example of how Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism functions. The 2024 farmers’ protests, which challenged contract farming provisions aligned with WTO and U.S. agribusiness interests, were met with police repression, sedition charges, and ideological demonisation of Sikh farmers as “Khalistani.” Similarly, when U.S. semiconductor firms demanded tax concessions and land in Gujarat in 2024, the state readily obliged, with RSS networks facilitating “voluntary” land transfers. Any opposition to dispossession was cast not as class struggle but as betrayal of national progress, again illustrating how Hindutva ideology operates to legitimate imperialist penetration. Therefore, to fight against the dominance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, it is necessary for the masses to wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle against Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism and its vehicles.

On India's Expansionism

India's comprador nature and subsequent lack of self-reliance ensures that the Indian ruling class bend over backwards to serve the imperialists, which is why Indian expansionism is on the rise. It is investing in higher-risk countries of South Asia like Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka etc in place of imperialists, who are avoiding these markets due to unsurety about how much profits they may produce. Therefore, India is made to act in the capacity of their proxies in order to test out new markets and assert neocolonial methods of control over them. The logic here is clear: India mobilises its state apparatus, diplomatic leverage, and corporate houses to push projects that connect South Asia more tightly to circuits of imperial capital. In return, India receives investment inflows that sustain its domestic rule. According to Reserve Bank data, U.S. portfolio investors accounted for over 40% of foreign investment in Indian markets by 2024, while FDI inflows from U.S.-based firms rose sharply in high-tech, logistics, and defence. This dependence binds India's economic trajectory to imperial finance and compels it to act as an enforcer of neoliberal policies on behalf of imperialist nations.

One of the clearest markers of this subservience is India's integration into U.S.-led geoeconomic formations. Through the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) and QUAD arrangements, India has tied itself to global supply chains dominated by U.S. and Japanese capital. Semiconductor projects in Gujarat, announced in 2024, exemplify this. U.S. firms such as Micron have received billions in subsidies, tax breaks, and land concessions from the Indian state, effectively making India a low-cost site for American technological expansion. The benefits accrue largely to foreign investors, while India assumes the burden of financing, land acquisition, and labour discipline.

In the broader South Asian region, India operates as a financial and political intermediary. In Sri Lanka's 2022–2023 debt crisis, India provided over \$4 billion in credit lines for fuel, food, and medicine, but this aid was not autonomous. It was coordinated with the IMF and conditioned on Colombo's acceptance of IMF restructuring programs that enforce austerity and privatisation. Indian credit thus became a bridge ensuring that U.S.-dominated multilateral institutions could enforce neoliberal reforms, while simultaneously allowing Indian corporations—such as the Adani Group—to secure strategic infrastructure projects like the Colombo Port West Terminal.

In Nepal, too, India has acted as a proxy for imperial capital. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), a U.S.-backed infrastructure grant worth \$500 million, was fiercely contested within Nepal as an infringement of sovereignty. Yet India's ruling class and their political representatives worked behind the scenes to pressure Kathmandu into acceptance, since the project strengthens regional grid connectivity favourable to cross-border electricity trade dominated by Indian firms, who in turn rely on U.S. financing. Similarly, in Bangladesh, India's state-backed companies like NTPC and Reliance have invested in coal and LNG power plants, but these are underwritten by loans from global financial institutions, ensuring that Bangladesh remains locked into fossil fuel dependency while returns flow outward.

ON LIQUIDATIONISM OR PEACE TALKS: DEBATES WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP-

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CC OF CPI (MAOIST)

By a group of Marxist intellectuals

Dear comrades;

Red Salutes to all the Party leadership, Party members, our brave PLGA comrades, the Jantana Sarkar members and the leaders and revolutionary people of Dandakarnya and Bihar-Jharkhand!

At the onset, we would like to express our humble homage to all the comrades and people who have totally given their lives for the realization of a dream long cherished by different historical classes (slaves, serfs and the modern proletariat). Since the advent of private property, billions of humans in these exploited and oppressed classes have dreamt of the vanishing of all forms of exploitation and oppression by vanquishing all forms of private property. Particularly, we pay homage to the recent martyrdom of our comrades Basvaraju the General Secretary of CPI (Maoist) as well as the CC members of the Party, Raju Da and Kosa Da. Through their martyrdom, our eternal comrades have shown to the world that in this so called age of post-ideology; there are great people who die for their ideology. The comrades got martyred for the sake of upholding the correct line against the liquidationist tendencies within the revolutionary camps. The martyrdom of these comrades and the revolutionary people is another bold step of humankind in its historical march towards the end of private property by smashing feudal and capitalist private property relationships. Anyone who really cares for the development of humankind and is pro-people will not just express homage to the martyrs but will also express deep anguish and hatred for the opportunist, liquidationist and renegades who are hiding behind the red shades but have left no stone unturned to make the Party toothless. They are the representatives of the exploitative, oppressive and repressive ruling class within and around the revolutionary camps. They do not want the stage of Communism i.e. a stage where there would be no sorts of exploitation, oppression nor suppression. They are the representatives of private property, it is important that they must be exposed and thrown into the dustbin of history. Only when we struggle against liquidationism will we be able to move toward Communism. For according to our understanding, *Liquidationism in the communist party is a political, economic and social phenomenon*. When the communist party is liquidated, we do not have a force strong enough to fight the current form of private property. Liquidationism erupts sharply at the times of crisis.

Because at the time of crisis, the ruling class is strong and therefore its ideological influence is dominant everywhere. Hence, the quintessential question for us remains how to struggle against it ideologically, politically and organizationally. This letter is to help the communist party in the

ongoing struggle. It seeks to participate in the ongoing debates within the country about whether the Maoist movement should surrender their arms before the state and join the mainstream? In other words, should the Maoists make the Party open following the modern revisionist line of CPI (ML) Liberation, the party which it had declared as revisionist and the chief instrument of the ruling class in sabotaging the revolutionary movement, also popularly known as Sarkari Naxalite? Or should it move ahead with the path laid down by the great Naxalbari uprising despite all the odds - New Democratic Revolution through Protracted People's War through based on area wise seizure of power which will build revolutionary peoples committee in the countryside and would encircle the cities?

The history of the struggle which the Party is leading dates back to the times of Karl Marx who in the struggle against a ruling class element Herr Vogt in the workers movement in Germany, said that the struggle against Vogt is of “decisive importance for the historical vindication of the party and for its future position in Germany”. Marx exposed Vogt, a Bonapartist who was guided by a liberal bourgeoisie ideology, and who cowered under the groups of workers, going so far as to try smashing the party of the communists that existed in the form of Communist League in Germany then. Marx struggle against the liquidation of Communist League activities and was therefore the constant target of the attacks by ruling class and their agents. Vogt used his tongue as a propaganda tool to stop the formation of secret organization of the workers and thereby hinder proletariat revolution. He said, *“I was informed that the central festival of workers educational association was to be used to direct the workers to the path which they had absolutely refused to tread. It was hoped to be able to use the festival to form a secret committee.....I immediately decided to oppose such activities, in order to bring home to the workers once more that they should not lend their ears to any proposal of this kind. I express the warning”*. This is an open renunciation of the underground in the year 1850s. To this nonsense, Marx said that this declaration by Vogt is nothing but the “salvation of his own skin”. Marx replied to the questions raised on the secret organizations of the workers. He historicised the necessity of forming secret organizations among the workers and defended it, he said that this is the only method to give political education to the workers and thereby move to forcibly overthrow the ruling class.

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

understand it.” Lenin further said that it is only through an illegal underground party that the question of providing relief to the workers and peasants can be fulfilled. In order to support and extend the people's movement, we require what Lenin called “an illegal Party” without which “it is impossible to conduct this work, and it is quite useless talking about it.” The liquidators of Russia changed the social-democratic call for the overthrow of the tsarists autocracy into a fight for the democratic republic that fits the imagination of the liberals. The ruling class elements in the form of liquidators became a severe threat to the revolutionary communists. Lenin completely exposed the liquidationism and termed liquidationism as the extreme form of opportunism. Perhaps it was he who for the first time formulated against it. The Leninist struggle against liquidationism became the core of Leninist party building politics. This struggle of Lenin against liquidationism continues to live in the struggles within the communist party in India. In China under the leadership of Mao, the revolutionary communist movement struggled against Chen Tu Hsiu, who wanted to make the party and its members a lackey of the bourgeoisie KMT. He too was thoroughly exposed and then expelled.

In the history of communist movement in India, right from the period of 1947 (when the CPI declared that India is free and the transfer of power in 1947 was a bourgeoisie revolution) to 1969, it can be said that the communist movement in India was in great crisis. This is because it did not even have a communist party. The modern revisionism of CPI and CPI(M) under the leadership of Khrushchev of USSR turned into reformist parties as against the proletarian task of smashing feudalism and imperialism. Charu Majumdar (CM) and Kanhai Chatterjee (KC), the great communist revolutionary leadership smashed the right opportunist line of the CPI (M) and in 1969 formed CPI (ML) and MCCI respectively. They established that the path for revolution in India will follow the line and path laid out by Mao in China. That is the path for revolution in India will follow the path of Protracted People's War based on area wise seizure of power which will build revolutionary peoples committee in the countryside and would encircle the cities. ***For this, it was established that the party will be armed from the very beginning and for this it will be underground.*** Charu Majumdar said, *"Marxism-Leninism holds that the foundational question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed struggle is the central task and the highest form of revolution"*. Similarly, MCCI was formed in 1969 under the leadership of Kanhai Chatterjee who emphasised on the need to stick to a revolutionary political line in order to firmly move toward defeating revisionism. Kanhai Chatterjee said, *"If in a country the communist revolutionary has no concrete strategic and tactical line to derive their plans and policies then it would be impossible to consolidate the people of the country and move toward the path of protracted people war for the final victory of the proletariat. Considering the unequal economic and political development in India and the presence of large numbers of revisionist parties it becomes all the more important to emphasis that only by firmly relying on a concrete strategy and tactical line we can consolidate the people of the country and move toward the path of the Protracted People War and can achieve the final victory"*. It is worth noting that when Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee had initiated struggle against modern revisionist

there was nothing before the revolutionary communist. That is to say they did not have a party, nor did they have neither an army nor an united front.

There was nothing before the two great leaders but still they had all that was needed to gain the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of the country and the world. They had political line coming from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our revolutionaries built everything, only on the basis of the correct ideology - if a communist has the correct ideology, they have everything. In our country, where for a long time revisionist politics have dominated the mass organization and mass movement, contrary to this, CM and KC said that from the very beginning party should remain UG, form UG activist groups, cells and committees, and by centralizing it; should form guerrilla squad and people's militia through which we can consolidate people in and around the struggle for the seizure of state power. With the leadership of CM and KC, the people of India got the Party which is most important of the three magical weapon needed for the revolution; the other being army and united front. The blazing flames of Naxalbari engulfed the sub continent and they could form an all India party, embryonic form of a people's army was developed and a revolutionary united front based on the four class alliance was also formed. But this euphoria of the high tide in revolutionary movement in India was not to live long.

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

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

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

These are very important questions confronting the present generation of communist revolutionaries. But this is not the first time that an answer of these questions are sought. Earlier too MCCI could historically defeat the liquidationist line that emerged in 1971-78 and the AP state committee of CPI (ML) that later became CPI (ML) PW could isolate the liquidationist and right opportunists inside and outside the communist revolutionary camp. At the end of the decade, the communist revolutionaries emerged out of the crisis. A new party CPI (ML) PU too was formed during the last years of the decade. The AP state committee of CPI (M) too expanded the armed revolutionary movement to DK, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. Similarly, through the struggle against right opportunist and liquidationist MCCI could expand in the Bihar-Jharkhand strategic regions. A People's Liberation Guerrilla Army was formed and guerilla zones were developed. Centers of people's powers emerged in different parts of the country.

We achieved a great milestones in 2004 when the two great streams of the communist revolutionary movements, MCCI and CPI (ML) PW, merged to form CPI (Maoist). From 2004 to 2007 the Party was in comparatively stronger position, from 2007 to 2012 the Party was facing slow development, in the period from 2012 to 2018 the Party was facing tough conditions and from 2018 to the present times the Party lead movement is facing a temporary set-back. At one time, the Party could coordinate revolutionary movements throughout the country, its ideological influence was at its peak in 2012. Top intellectuals of the world like Noam Chomsky and Jan Myrdal stood firmly with the Party lead movement. The Party's political ideological firmness attracted every intellectual who was rational enough to seek answers to the questions that confronted people. The world's intellectuals collectively opposed Operation Green Hunt against the Party lead movement. It is important to point out that the movement could emerge from the crisis because it hold itself firmly on the political line and struggled against liquidationism to uphold the Leninist tradition of building an UG party.

But it again crumbled to the position of crisis. The movement had to retreat substantially. The loss of leadership and brave PLGA comrades is immense. The Party of thousands have been reduced to some hundreds. History repeated itself "first as a tragedy and then as a farce." In August 2024, the Polit Bureau of CPI (Maoist) in a circular held that the cause of the present

crisis is that “from 2007 to 2024 we did not practically implemented the principle of UG party building and therefore we lost party leaderships and now we do not have a party which is, while remaining among the peoples of cities and villages, are able to guide the armed revolutionary struggle”. The circular also identified the presence of right deviation trends within the Party, it said that “within the Party in Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Northern India among some comrades there is a misunderstanding that we can not build mass movement and mobilize the masses in large number with an underground party.” The presence of this section got escalated with the escalating attack on the Party leaderships, in the recent turn of events a veteran like comrade Sonu Da (demoted from his position as the Party Spokesperson) came out with a statement that said that the Party is going to temporarily surrender armed struggle and join the mainstream.

Had it not been the strong tradition of the communist party of struggle against liquidationism, the revolutionary hope of the people throughout the globe might have been extinguished. But the Party which has drenched its blood into the soil of our jal-jangal-jameen, which is waging a ruthless and relentless struggle against opportunism, liquidationism and revisionism and has smashed yet another attempt of liquidationism of the communist revolutionary movement, and will continue to wage war until communism. Comrade Raju and comrade Kosa re-affirmed the Party's commitment toward the revolutionary people of the world. They smashed such liquidationist attempts and a latest statement by the CC of the CPI Maoist held that the objective condition of the world had made the path of armed struggle all the more necessary for the people's liberation. Is this not true, world around and particularly in South Asia, we are witnessing the emergence of spontaneous uprising be it in Sri Lanka, Nepal or in the recent case of Ladakh in India where police opened fire on the people protesting for the autonomous unit of Ladakh region? If it gets organized then the grave of the fascist can be dug out. But in order to do that we need Mao's three magical weapons: party, people's army and united front of four classes in the struggle against Imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalism and Feudalism. But we also have opportunist and liquidationist within the camp who want to turn the Party into a toothless organization by making it open and suggest surrendering of armed struggle for the sake of peace. Peace that resulted from annihilation of communist revolutionaries and the Party. A "peace" where the big monopoly capital conquerors the jal, jungle and zameen of the people.

The communist party of Russia in 1908 defined Liquidationism as “the attempts of a certain section of the Party intelligentsia to liquidate” (i.e., to dissolve, destroy, abolish, close down) the existing organization of the . . . Party and substitute for it an amorphous association within the limits of legality” (i.e., conformity with the laws, “open” existence) “at all costs, even if this legality is to be attained at the price of an open renunciation of the program, tactics and traditions” (i.e., the past experience) “of the Party.” Such was the decision which the communist party took 117 years before. With this century old experience of struggle against liquidationism, the communist revolutionaries realizes the meaning of liquidationism; it means in the words of Lenin “the renunciation of the “underground,” the abolition of the latter and its

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

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

The communist movement in 1969 could come out of crisis because of the political line envisaged by CM and KC. Again the Party could come out of crisis in 1980s because of the revolutionary struggle against liquidationism and opportunism of all kinds. The present crisis too can be turned into a favorable period for the revolution if the Party sticks to the Leninist principles of UG party building and adopts the concrete tactical line to move ahead with the task

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

भारत के कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन में वर्तमान संकटः

By Shekhar

परिचय

वैश्विक पैमाने पर मची उथलपुथल- को देखें तो, दुनियाभर में फासीवादी ताकतें सत्ता में आ रही हैं और आज विदेशी बाजारों, विश्व तथा प्रभाव क्षेत्रों पर पुन बँटवारे को लेकर चल रही साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों के बीच होड़ लगी है जिसके कारण तीसरे विश्व युद्ध की आशंका बढ़ रही है। इसी होड़ के नतीजतन दुनियाभर में फासीवादी शक्तियाँ सत्ता में आ रही हैं। सन 2014 में सत्ता में मोदी सरकार का आना और पिछले 11 बरसों से सत्ता में काबिज रहना इसी का एक उदाहरण है। जब से मोदी सरकार आई है तभी से क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन की जमीन साफ़ करने में लगी हुई है ताकि उसके साम्राज्यवादी आका खासकर अमेरिकी साम्राज्यवाद बिना रोकटोक अपनी पूंजी निवेश का पौधा लगाकर भारत देश की सस्ती श्रम, जल, जंगल, जमीन लूट सके। सन 1970 के दशक में एक महाशक्ति का दर्जा खोकर और लगातार कमजोर होकर वेंटिलेटर में लेटा अमेरिकी साम्राज्यवाद अच्छी तरह से जानता है कि उसके लिए यह पौधा ऑक्सीजन का काम कर सकता है। वह काफी हडबडाहट में है क्योंकि अफ्रीकी और लैटिन अमेरिकी महाद्वीप में चीनी और रूसी साम्राज्यवाद मजबूत हो रहे हैं और इसके साथसाथ- अमेरिका से भी पहले लाइन में लगकर यूरोपियन यूनियन में शामिल जर्मनी, फ्रांस, इटली जैसे देश भी वहां की जनता को लुटने के लिए अपनी जगह बना रहे हैं। इसीलिए वह अपने आपकी जगह बनाए रखने के लिए बिमारी की हालत से उभरने के लिए दक्षिणी एशियाई देश खासकर भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था (खेती, विनिर्माण उद्योग, खनन, रियल एस्टेट आदि) को बिना पानी के गोली की तरह निगल जाना चाहता है।

इसीलिए ही, उसके रास्ते में एक बड़ी रुकावट के रूप में खड़े हिमालय पर्वत जैसे कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन का और उसका नेतृत्व करने वाली ताकतों का सफाया करने के लिए भीषण दमन जारी है। कांग्रेस राज में सलवा जुड़ूम और ग्रीनहंट से लेकर 2014 में भाजपा के सत्ता में आने के कुछ समय बाद ही ऑपरेशन समाधान के तहत कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों पर भीषण दमन किया गया जिसके कारण बिहार झारखंड और दंडकारण्य जैसे छापामार आधार इलाके सिकुड़ गए। भीषण दमन के बीच कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के एक हिस्से में क्रांतिकारी लाइन और क्रांति के प्रति शक पैदा हो गया। फलस्वरूप, सन 2018 में, क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलन अस्थाई सेटबैक का शिकार हो गया।

क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलन के अस्थाई सेटबैक के कारण:

सूरजकुंड योजना के तहत अत्याधुनिक तरीके का राजकीय दमन:

शासक वर्ग द्वारा अर्धसैनिक बलों व अत्याधुनिक तकनीक व मशीनरी का इस्तेमाल करते हुए क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलन पर 2022 में सूरजकुंड योजना के तहत रणनीतिक हमला और 2024 में कगार के तहत निर्णायक भीषण हमले किए गए. इन हमलों के प्रमुख निराशे नेतृत्वकारी कामरेड थे ताकि क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन को दिशाहीन किया जा सके. शासक वर्ग द्वारा अपने ही संविधान में दिए कानूनों का उलंघन करते हुए असंख्य कामरेडों और कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के नेतृत्व में सक्रीय जनता को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया. देशभर में कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के नेतृत्व में जारी जनसंगठनों (जो कि जनता के हकअधिकारों- के लिए संघर्ष करने के लिए प्रेरित करने और उनका स्थाई समाधान मौजूदा लूट और शोषण पर आधारित व्यवस्था को उखाड़कर नवजनवादी क्रांति को सफल बनाने की राजनीति पर काम करते हैं) पर प्रतिबंध लगाना और उनके हजारों कार्यकर्ता झूठे मुकदमों में फंसाकर जेलों में ठूसने के कारण कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों की ताकत कमजोर हो गई है. बस्तर में साम्राज्यवादियों और सामंतवादी ताकतों से जलअधिकार-इज्जत-जमीन-जंगल- को बचाने के लिए सक्रीय मूलवासी बचाओ मंच पर बैन लगाना और उसके नेताओं को जेल में ठूसना तो इसका केवल एक उदाहरण है. *आज कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के लिए करो या मरो की स्थिति है.*

कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के बीच तालमेल की कमी:

कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों पर जारी भीषण दमन और दमन के बीच तालमेल करने की उचित कार्यपद्धति में असक्षम होने के कारण पार्टी नेतृत्व और पार्टी कार्यकर्ताओं के बीच तालमेल कमजोर पड़ गया है. गिरफ्तारी और शहादत के कारण नेतृत्वकारी साथियों की कमी भी इसका एक बड़ा कारण हैं. देशभर में हजारों कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी कार्यकर्ता हैं, लेकिन उन्हें उचित समय पर दिशा निर्देश देने में असक्षमता झलक रही है.

अवसरवादीसंशोधनवादी-विघटनवादी- तत्वों का उभार:

हमने ऊपर देखा कि 1905-07 के समय पूंजीवादी-जनवादी क्रांति के असफल होने के बाद प्रतिक्रियावादी स्तोलिपिन का दौर शुरू हुआ जिसमें क्रांतिकारी पार्टी पर शासक वर्गीय प्रतिक्रियावादी दमन और सामाजिक संकट के कारण अवसरवादी- विघटनवादी और संशोधनवादी गुट पैदा हुए जिसके खिलाफ

कामरेड लेनिन के नेतृत्व में रूस की बोलशेविक पार्टी ने 1913 तक संघर्ष करके दुनिया को हिलाकर रख देने वाली रूसी समाजवादी क्रांति को अंजाम दिया.

ठीक इसी प्रकार, भारत के कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन में भी राजकीय दमन के कारण और व्यक्तिवादी और उदारतावादी गैर सर्वहारा रुझानों के कारण अवसरवादविघटनवाद- और संशोधनवादी तत्वों कोबाड़ गांधी, बलराज, दर्शनपाल, हरमन और सुमितसाहिल- गुट का उभार हुआ जिसके खिलाफ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने निर्मम संघर्ष किया. ये अवसरवादीसंशोधनवादी-विघटनवादी- तत्वों ने मालेमा और इस पर आधारित राजनीतिक लाइन और नेतृत्व के खिलाफ गुटबाजी करके वैचारिक, राजनीतिक और सांगठनिक रूप से तोड़फोड़- की कार्यवाइयों को अंजाम दिया और कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी कतारों, और जनता को क्रान्ति के मार्ग से पथभ्रष्ट करने का कुत्सा प्रयास किया. हालांकि इनके खिलाफ समय रहते एकएक- को चिन्हित करके कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी कतारों और जनता के बीच भंडाफोड़ किया.

कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी कतारों के बीच उत्पादन संबंधों के बारे में समझदारी में दो तरह के भटकाव मौजूद रहे: पहला, हरियाणापंजाब- में पूंजीवादी उत्पादन संबंध मौजूद है और “जमीन जोतने वाले को और सारी सत्ता क्रांतिकारी किसान कमेटियों को” का सवाल अब लागू नहीं होगा और न ही छापामार क्षेत्र बन सकता है. दूसरा, अर्धऔपनिवेशिकअर्धसामंती- व्यवस्था में कोई मात्रात्मक बदलाव नहीं हुआ. वह वैसी ही है जैसे 50-60 के दशक में थी. इन दोनों भटकावों के खिलाफ भाकपा (माओवादी) ने 2021 में “उत्पादन संबंधों में बदलावहमारा- राजनीतिक कार्यक्रम” दस्तावेज प्रकाशित किया जिसमें बताया है कि भारत में मौजूदा उत्पादन संबंध आज भी मूल रूप में अर्धऔपनिवेशिकअर्धसामंती- हैं और जो भी वैश्वीकरण की नीतियों के कारण पूंजीवादी विकास दिख रहा है, वह विकृत तरह का है. स्पष्ट किया कि साम्राज्यवाद के दौर में किसी भी अर्धऔपनिवेशिक अर्ध सामंती देश में स्वतंत्र पूंजीवादी विकास संभव ही नहीं है. हालांकि वैश्वीकरण की नीतियों के कारण उत्पादन संबंधों में जो भी बदलाव हुए हैं, वे मात्रात्मक प्रकृति के ही हैं. उन्हें दरकिनार करते हुए काम करना कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के लिए घातक साबित हो सकता है. संक्षेप में, उत्पादन संबंधों में आए मात्रात्मक बदलावों के कारण भारत में क्रांति करने के लिए रणनीति में कोई बदलाव नहीं होगा बल्कि जरूरी यह है कि उत्पादन संबंधों में आए मात्रात्मक बदलावों का गंभीरता से अध्ययन करते हुए अलगअलग- इलाकों की आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक और भौगोलिक परिस्थितियों के हिसाब से कार्यनीति तय की जाए. भारतीय समाज के उत्पादन संबंधों और उनमें बदलावों के लिए रणनीतिकार्यनीति- की इतनी स्टिक समझदारी अन्य किसी भी नामधारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नहीं है. यह कहने का तात्पर्य है कि भारतीय क्रांति के इतिहास में यह दस्तावेज एक मिल का पत्थर साबित होगा.

इंडियन एक्सप्रेस में प्रकाशित खबर बताती है कि भाकपा (माओवादी) की पोलित ब्यूरो द्वारा अगस्त 2024 में एक प्रस्ताव प्रकाशित किया है जिसमें बताया गया है कि पार्टी में कुछ जगहों पर दक्षिणपंथी भटकाव बढ़ रहा है “तेलंगाना और एपी राज्यों में कार्यरत खुले जनसंगठन और पार्टी सदस्य लम्बे समय से प्रधान रूप से प्रचार व आंदोलन कार्यक्रमों तक ही सिमित हुए. हमारी राजनीतिक लाइन के मुताबिक जनयुद्ध को आगे बढ़ाने में मददगार होने की दिशा में खुले व लीगल जनसंगठनों और जनसंघर्षों का राजनीतिक व सांगठनिक प्रयास होना चाहिए. लेकिन ये इस लाइन से डेविएट (हट) हो रहे हैं. उन्हें पार्टी की कैंडर पॉलिसी के अनुरूप संगठित नहीं करना हमारी पार्टी की ओर से एक बड़ी गलती है. नतीजतन शहरों और मैदानों में खुले जनांदोलन और गुप्त आंदोलन को विकसित करने में सहयोग देने लायक, उन्हें सशस्त्र संघर्ष से जोड़कर उसे प्रधान संघर्ष के रूप में विकसित करने में सहयोग देने लायक हमारा राजनीतिक व सांगठनिक प्रयास पर्याप्त रूप से नहीं चल रहा है. इससे जनयुद्ध के ऊपर केंद्र व राज्य सरकारों द्वारा जारी प्रतिघातक युद्ध के खिलाफ मजबूत व व्यापक जनांदोलन का निर्माण नहीं कर पा रहे हैं”. इस पर सर्वहारा वर्ग के नेता कामरेड लेनिन ने बताया है कि एक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को संघर्ष के लिए गैरकानूनी और कानूनी दोनों तरीके अपनाने चाहिए. पर सबसे जरूरी है कि कानूनी तरीकों को गैरकानूनी तरीकों की सेवा में होना चाहिए.

वहीं अस्थाई सैटबैक की स्थिति में और भीषण राजकीय दमन के कारण कुछ कामरेडों का विचार बन रहा है कि उन्हें हथियारबंद संघर्ष का रास्ता त्याग कर मुख्यधारा में आ जाना चाहिए और क्रांतिकारी संगठन को भूमिगत से एक ढीलेढाले- खुले संगठन में तब्दील करना चाहते हैं. पार्टी नेतृत्व ने इस लाइन को विघटनवादी लाइन करार देते हुए खारिज करते हुए पार्टी का चरित्र क्रांतिकारी बने रहने की घोषणा की.

पार्टी ढांचों का कमजोर होना:

देशभर में कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों की शहादत और गिरफ्तारियों के कारण कई जगहों पर पार्टी ढांचें कमजोर हो गए हैं तो कई जगह पर भंग भी हुए हैं. पार्टी नेतृत्व के साथ तालमेल न होने के कारण कतारों में राजनीतिक तौर पर लड़ने की क्षमता भी घट रही है. राजकीय दमन के बीच कामकाज संचालित करने में कमजोर होने के कारण वैचारिक कामकाज (कक्षाएँ व पत्रपत्रिका- आदि) संचालित करने में भी कमजोरी आ रही है जिसके कारण कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों में गैर सर्वहारा रुझान बढ़ रहे हैं. उनमें जनसंगठन की मानसिकता हावी होना दिखाता है कि पार्टी कामरेड चारु मजुमदार की इस बात पर अमल करने में कमजोर है. उन्होंने बताया है कि “आने वाले दिनों के पार्टी के संगठन के सभी काम पार्टी के पूरक के रूप में

करने होंगे, अर्थात्, पार्टी के एक मुख्य उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के एक अंग के रूप में जनसंगठनों का इस्तेमाल करना होगा. स्वभावतः इसके लिए जनसंगठनों पर पार्टी का नेतृत्व कायम करना होगा.” देशभर में पार्टी की लेनिनवादी कार्यपद्धति की ठोस अभिव्यक्ति को देखें तो शासक वर्ग से अभेद कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का निर्माण करने में भारी कमजोरी है. इसे पार्टी की पोलित ब्यूरो द्वारा जारी प्रस्ताव दस्तावेज इस प्रकार बताता है कि- “महाराष्ट्र, तमिलनाडु, कर्नाटक, केरल व उत्तर रिजियन के राज्यों के पार्टी सदस्यों के एक हिस्से में ये गलत विचार मौजूद हैं कि पार्टी गुप्त रूप से रहने से वर्ग संघर्ष में व्यापक जनता को एकजुट नहीं कर सकते हैं. इससे वे भूमिगत जिंदगी के लिए तैयार नहीं हो रहे हैं. जिन क्षेत्रों का वे नेतृत्व दे रहे हैं, उन क्षेत्रों में दुश्मन के लिए अभेद व गुप्त पार्टी का निर्माण नहीं कर पा रहे हैं. पार्टी गुप्त रूप से रहते हुए व्यापक जनता को वर्ग संघर्ष में एकजुट करने वाले कामकाज में प्रशिक्षित नहीं हो रहे हैं. इससे उन क्षेत्रों में पार्टी गुप्त रूप से पार्टी का निर्माण नहीं हो पा रहा है. ताकतवर वर्ग संघर्ष विकसित नहीं हो रहा है. छत्तीसगढ़ में गुप्त पार्टी निर्माण के बारे में सटीक रूप से नहीं समझने की वजह से व्यापक जनता को वर्ग संघर्ष में गोलबंद करने के प्रयास को महत्व नहीं देते हुए गुप्त रूप से रहने की वजह से वहां वर्ग संघर्ष विकसित नहीं हो रहा है. पार्टी में नई ताकतें नहीं आ रही हैं. सब गुप्त पार्टी निर्माण में और शहरी और मैदानी क्षेत्र के निर्माण में मौजूद गलत रुझानों के व्यक्तिकरण ही हैं”.

क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट खेमे में गैर सर्वहारा रुझान के रूप में सुखसुविधा- भोगने वाली जीवनशैली, व्यक्तिवाद, अनुभववाद, मनोगतवाद, नौकरशाही, अर्थवाद, कानूनवाद, उत्तर आधुनिक विचारधारा, आंबेडकर विचारधारा और महिलापुरुष- संबंधों में गलत रुझान आदि मौजूद हैं. इन सभी पहलुओं के कारण पार्टी ढांचे कमजोर हो रहे हैं.

बदलती परिस्थितियों के हिसाब से अपनी कार्यशैली को तब्दील नहीं कर पाना:

शासक वर्ग द्वारा चलाए गए सलवा जुद्ध और ऑपरेशन ग्रीनहंट के खिलाफ संघर्ष करते हुए कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के नेतृत्व में जनता ने कानूनी और गैरकानूनी तरीके से संगठित होकर उनको निरस्त करवाया. पर पिछले एक दशक से जारी रणनीतिक हमले और खास तौर पर कगार हमले को लेकर कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी नेतृत्व में मनोगतवाद हावी रहा जिसके कारण बदलती हुई परिस्थितियों का सटीक मूल्यांकन नहीं होने के फलस्वरूप बदलती हुई परिस्थितियों में सही समय पर कार्यनीति में बदलाव करने में उदारता बरती गई. देशभर में वैश्वीकरण के कारण सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक, भौगोलिक परिस्थितियों में आए बदलावों के कारण पैदा हुए नए वर्गों को संगठित नहीं कर पाए और न ही

उसके अनुसार पार्टी, जनसेना और सयुंक्त मोर्चा ढाल पाए. परिणामस्वरूप, क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलन अस्थाई तौर पर सेटबैक का शिकार हो गया.

जनाधार में कमी:

राजकीय दमन के दरम्यान क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आंदोलन को संचालित करने में निपुणता की कमी के कारण देशभर में जनाधार घट गया. जनता का और कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के बीच संबंध कमजोर पड़ गया. बिहारझारखंड- और दंडकारण्य के क्षेत्रों में बढ़ते सैन्यीकरण के कारण छापामार आधार इलाके धक्का खाए हुए इलाकों में तब्दील हो गए, शहरी, मैदानी, जंगली इलाकों को एक दुसरे के पूरक के रूप में काम करते हुए जनता को संगठित नहीं कर पाए. आत्मरक्षा के लिए जनता की संगठित रूप से शासक वर्ग पर हमला करने की ताकत घट गई और जनजीवन के आर्थिक, राजनीतिक और सामाजिक नियम कायदे कानून और वैकल्पिक विकास मॉडल का संचालन करने वाली जनताना सरकार कमजोर हो गई. जिसके परिणामस्वरूप साम्राज्यवाद, सामंतवाद और दलाल नौकरशाह पूंजीपति वर्गों द्वारा जनता का शोषण और उत्पीड़न बढ़ रहा है. बिहारझारखंड- और दंडकारण्य के जंगलों में आदिवासी जनता को जल-जंगल-अधिकार-इज्जत-जमीन से वंचित किया जा रहा है. मजदूर वर्ग और निम्न पूंजीपति वर्गों को कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन से जोड़ पाने में असफल रहे.

भारत में कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों के लिए कार्यभार

जब रूस में स्तोलिपियन प्रतिक्रियावाद के दौर में रूसी बोलशेविक पार्टी संकट का शिकार थी, तब कामरेड लेनिन ने क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन को संकट से बाहर निकालने के लिए जो बताया उनके बारे में कामरेड स्टालिन बताते हैं कि “लेनिन ने कहा था कि ऐसे मौकों पर क्रांतिकारी पार्टियों को अपना ज्ञान भरापूरा-बनाना चाहिए. क्रांति के उठान के दौर में, उन्होंने आगे बढ़ना सिखा था. प्रतिक्रियावाद के दौर में, उन्हें यह सीखना चाहिए कि सही तौर पर किस तरह पीछे हटें, भूमिगत किस तरह से हो जायें, गैर कानूनी पार्टी को किस तरह बनाए रखें और मजबूत करें, कानूनी सुविधाओं को कैसे काम में लायें, आम जनता से अपना संबंध दृढ़ करने के लिए किस तरह तमाम कानूनी संगठनों, खास तौर से जनसंगठनों का उपयोग करें”. उसी समय रूस की बोलशेविक पार्टी ने मौजूदा परिस्थिति और हमारे कार्यभार संबंधित एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव में तात्कालीन परिस्थितियों का ठोस रूप में मूल्यांकन किया कि सामंती निरंकुशतावाद का स्थान बुर्जुआ राजतंत्र ले रहा है. तीसरी इयूमा में सामंती जमींदार और वाणिज्यक पूंजीपति के बीच गठबंधन देखने को मिल रहा है. निरंकुशवाद अपने आपको संरक्षित रखने के लिए बुर्जुआ की तरफदारी कर रहा है.

वहीं बुर्जुआ जनवादी क्रांति के कार्यभार अधूरे हैं और इसी आधार पर जारशाही का भंडाफोड़ करने, 1905 की क्रांति के सबकों का अध्ययन करने, उदार बुर्जुआ वर्ग व भटकाव का शिकार क्रांतिकारी मार्क्सवादियों के खिलाफ संघर्ष करते हुए भूमिगत पार्टी निर्माण पर ध्यान केन्द्रित, जनता के रोजमर्रा के संघर्षों में शामिल होने, इयूमा को प्रचारप्रसार- के लिए इस्तेमाल करने और जनता के बीच समाजवादी कार्यक्रम पर अध्ययन चलाने के कार्यभार लिए गए.

ठीक इसी प्रकार भारत के क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन को अस्थाई सैटबैक से बाहर निकालने के लिए देश की ठोस परिस्थितियों का मूल्यांकन करते हुए अगस्त, 2024 में भाकपा (माओवादी) पोलित ब्यूरो द्वारा एक दस्तावेज में बताया है कि क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन के सामने प्रतिकुलताएं बढ़ने के कारण पुराने कामकाज की समीक्षा करते हुए पार्टी ने 'केन्द्रीय कार्यभार' में तब्दीली करते हुए क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन के लिए नया केन्द्रीय कार्यभार इस रूप में बताया है- **“पार्टी, जनसेना और सयुंक्त मोर्चा व क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन को बचाएंगे. डीके,बीजे- पूर्वी बिहारपूर्वी- झारखंड में ध्वस्त हुए गुरिला ज़ोन का पुनर्निर्माण करेंगे. देशभर में शहरी मैदानी व वन क्षेत्रों में हमारी ताकत के अनुसार लगातार जनाधार को बढ़ाते हुए आत्मगत ताकतों को विकसित करते हुए वर्ग संघर्ष लाल प्रतिरोध क्षेत्रों व गुरिला युद्ध को विकसित करेंगे. देशभर में आंशिक समस्याओं व राजनीतिक समस्याओं पर स्वतः स्फूर्तता से जारी जनांदोलनों को संगठित आंदोलनों के रूप में विकसित करेंगे. इसी कार्यभार के मुताबिक जारी हमारा प्रयास आधार इलाके के लक्ष्य के लिए मददगार होना चाहिए”**

भारत के क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन को दीर्घकालीन लोकयुद्ध के रास्ते पर चलते हुए अस्थाई सैटबैक से बाहर निकालकर नवजनवादी क्रांति को सफल बनाने और फिर समाजवाद कायम करने और अंतिम लक्ष्य के रूप में दुनियाभर में कम्युनिज्म कायम करने के लिए इस केन्द्रीय कार्यभार को समझना और लागू करना एक पूर्व शर्त है. इसीलिए एक बार फिर केन्द्रीय कार्यभार व्याख्या के साथ बिन्दुवार इस प्रकार हैं:

पार्टी, जनसेना, सयुंक्त मोर्चा व क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन को बचाएंगे.

कामरेड माओ ने कहा है कि किसी भी देश में तीन जादुई हथियारों पार्टी, जनसेना और सयुंक्त मोर्चा के बिना क्रांति संभव नहीं हो सकती. इसमें पार्टी ही है जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि पार्टी ही अन्य दोनों जादुई हथियारों जनसेना और सयुंक्त मोर्चा का नेतृत्व करती है. भारत में कामरेड चारु मजुमदार और कामरेड कन्हाई चटर्जी द्वारा संशोधनवादियों से एक सुस्पष्ट विभाजन रेखा खींचते हुए सही क्रांतिकारी लाइन को अपनाई और उत्पीड़ित जनता की मुक्ति के लिए तीन जादुई हथियारों पार्टी, जनसेना और

संयुक्त मोर्चा के निर्माण की नींव रखी. आगे चलकर हजारों कामरेडों ने शासक वर्ग से लड़ते हुए इन जादुई हथियारों को मजबूत किया. आज शासक वर्ग द्वारा जारी भीषण हमले का ये ही प्रमुख निशाना हैं. ऐसे समय में इन्हें बचाना खासकर पार्टी को बचाना हर एक मार्क्सवाद का पहला कर्तव्य है. कामरेड लेनिन ने भी संकट के समय में पार्टी संगठन को सुरक्षित रखने का कार्यभार बुनियादी कार्यभार बताया था. इसके लिए चाहिए कि पार्टी को विखंडित करने वाले विघटनवादियों के खिलाफ दृढ़ता के साथ संघर्ष चलाना चाहिए ताकि पार्टी की राजनीतिक लाइन की दृढ़ता के साथ रक्षा करते हुए विकसित की जाए. हर एक कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी को ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि जब तक पार्टी है, तब तक पार्टी के अंदर दो लाइनों का संघर्ष भी रहेगा. इसीलिए बिना थके, शासक वर्ग द्वारा पार्टी में पैर पसारने की तमाम कोशिशों को कुचल देने के लिए दो लाइनों के संघर्ष में सर्वहारा पक्ष को लगातार मजबूत करते हुए विकसित करना होगा. पार्टी में मौजूद गैर सर्वहारा रुझानों के खिलाफ निर्मम संघर्ष करते हुए सच्ची बोल्शेविक पार्टी का निर्माण किया जाए. कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की रीढ़ कहलाने वाले पेशेवर क्रांतिकारियों की तादाद बढ़ाने पर काम करना चाहिए.

डीके,बीजे- पूर्वी बिहारपूर्वी- झारखंड में ध्वस्त हुए गुरिला ज़ोन का पुनर्निर्माण करेंगे.

डीके,बीजे- पूर्वी बिहार, पूर्वी झारखंड में ध्वस्त हुए गुरिला ज़ोनों में शासक वर्ग द्वारा लगातार सैन्यीकरण करते हुए आदिवासी जनता की जमीन जबरन छिनकर मिलिट्री कैम्प लगाए जा रहे हैं. पहाड़ों को खोदने के लिए बड़े पूंजीपतियों को सौंप दिया जा रहा है. जब से डीकेबीजे- और पूर्वी बिहारपूर्वी- झारखंड के इलाकों में क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन को धक्का लगा है, तब से ही जनता के उत्पीड़न और शोषण में कई गुणा इजाफा हो रहा है. जिन इलाकों की उत्पीड़ित जनता ने दशकों से कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेतृत्व में जारी क्रांतिकारी जन कमेटियों की वैकल्पिक शासन व्यवस्था व वैकल्पिक विकास का मॉडल देख लिया हो और दशकों से जिसकी हिफाजत करने के लिए जनसेना हो, उसके दिलों में शासक वर्ग का मौजूदा गलासड़ा- तानाबाना- और उसकी सेना कभी भी जगह नहीं बना सकती है. यह शासक वर्ग भलीभांति जनता है कि वह हारी हुई लड़ाई लड़ रहा है. अतः यदि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को पुनर्संगठित कर लिया जाए तो ध्वस्त हुए गुरिला ज़ोनों का पुनर्निर्माण होने से बड़ी से बड़ी ताकत नहीं रोक पाएगी. इन इलाकों में कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन और वैश्वीकरण के कारण पैदा हुए मध्यम वर्ग को संगठित करने और जंगली इलाके के आसपास मैदानी व शहरी इलाकों में भी एक दम शुरू से ध्यान देकर जनता को क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन में संगठित करना होगा. डीकेबीजे- का पुनर्निर्माण करने के लिए कामरेड माओ की छापामार युद्ध निति का सख्ती से अनुशरण करना होगा कि शासक वर्ग जब हमला करता है तो, पिछे हटकर अपनी शक्तियों को

संरक्षित करना और जब शासक वर्ग वापसी में हो या सोया हो तब मजबूती के साथ हमलाकर उसे ढेर कर देना है.

देशभर में शहरी, मैदानी व वन क्षेत्रों में हमारी ताकत के अनुसार लगातार जनाधार को बढ़ाते हुए आत्मगत ताकतों को विकसित करते हुए वर्ग संघर्ष, लाल प्रतिरोध क्षेत्रों व गुरिला युद्ध को विकसित करेंगे.

देशभर में क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन का फैलाव करने के लिए चाहिए कि कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों को शहरी, मैदानी व जंगली क्षेत्रों में एकदूसरे- के पूरक के रूप में इस्तेमाल करते हुए क्रांतिकारी कामकाज संचालित करना होगा.

देशभर में आंशिक समस्याओं व राजनीतिक समस्याओं पर स्वतः स्फूर्तता से जारी जनांदोलनों को संगठित आंदोलनों के रूप में विकसित करेंगे.

वर्तमान में, देश का हर तबका शासक वर्ग के शोषण और उत्पीड़न के खिलाफ स्वतस्फूर्तः ढंग से अपने हकअधिकारों- के लिए आंदोलन कर रहा है. साम्राज्यवादी शिकंजा लगातार मजबूत होने की स्थिति में दलितों, महिलाओं, आदिवासियों, अल्पसंख्यकों और राष्ट्रीयताओं के आंदोलन अपनी जायज मांगों को पूरा करवाने के लिए बढ़ रहे हैं. लेह-लद्दाख की गुस्साई जनता ने अपनी जायज मांगों के लिए शासक वर्ग के खिलाफ प्रतिरोध कार्यवाई भी कर दी और राज्य का दर्जा और छठी अनुसूची में शामिल करने की मांग का नेतृत्व जनता द्वारा की गई कार्यवाई की निंदा करते हुए अहिंसा का पाठ पढ़ाकर जनता को कानूनवादसुधारवाद- में धकेल देना चाहता है. जनता के स्वतः स्फूर्त आंदोलन और जनांदोलनों में संशोधनवादियों. गैर सरकारी संगठनों आदि के जन विरोधी चरित्र का यह सिर्फ एक नमूना है. जिस दिन जनता को इनकी करतूतों का मालुम पड़ेगा, उस दिन जनता सारा हिसाब बराबर कर लेगी. पर जनता को मालुम कराने की यह जिम्मेवारी किसकी है ? यह जिम्मेदारी है कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों की. उन्हें चाहिए कि जनता के स्वतस्फूर्तः आंदोलनों को संगठित आंदोलनों में तब्दील करते हुए साम्राज्यवाद, सामंतवाद और दलाल नौकरशाह पूंजीपति वर्ग को इस धरती से हमेशा हमेशा के लिए मिटा दे. यदि स्वतः स्फूर्त आंदोलन को संगठित आंदोलन में नहीं बदले जाने की स्थिति के बारे में कामरेड लेनिन क्या करें किताब में बताते हैं कि मजदूर वर्ग के स्वतः स्फूर्त आंदोलनों में से अपने आप सिर्फ लिबरल बुर्जुआ सुधारवाद ही पैदा हो सकता है. यदि उन्हें क्रांतिकारी आंदोलनों के रूप में तब्दील करना है, तो उन्हें बाहर से दिशा देने का काम क्रांतिकारी पार्टी का ही होगा.

इसी कार्यभार के मुताबिक जारी हमारा प्रयास आधार इलाके के लक्ष्य के लिए मददगार होना चाहिए

कामरेड लेनिन ने बताया है कि क्रांति का प्रमुख सवाल है राजनीतिक सत्तादखल का सवाल. भारत की ठोस आर्थिक, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों में राजनीतिक सत्तादखल का सवाल के रूप में दीर्घकालीन लोकयुद्ध लाइन के रास्ते पर चलते हुए नवजनवादी क्रांति, समाजवाद और फिर वैश्विक पैमाने पर साम्यवाद कायम करने की तरफ आगे बढ़ सकते हैं. भारत की ठोस परिस्थितियों में दीर्घकालीन लोकयुद्ध की लाइन का अर्थ है जमीन जोतने वाले को और सारी सत्ता क्रांतिकारी किसान कमेटियों के नारों के आधार पर इलाकावार सत्तादखल करते हुए एक क्रम में सफेद क्षेत्रों को लाल प्रतिरोध इलाकों, छापामार क्षेत्रों, छापामार आधार क्षेत्रों और आधार क्षेत्रों व मुक्त क्षेत्रों का निर्माण करना. यदि किसी भी कार्यभार को आधार इलाके को दरकिनार किया जाए तो दक्षिणपंथी अवसरवाद का शिकार हो जाएंगे और सर्वहारा वर्ग से गद्दारी कर बैठेंगे. अतः कोई भी कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी जो भारत में क्रांति करना चाहते हैं उन्हें आधार इलाकों को केंद्र रखकर ही कामकाज संचालित करना चाहिए.

निष्कर्ष

क्योंकि अब सबने क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन के अस्थाई सैटबैक में होने के कारणों और पुनर्संगठित करने के बारे में जान लिया है, इन सभी बिन्दुओं में सबसे प्रमुख बिंदु यही है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को बचाया जाए क्योंकि कामरेड लेनिन ने कहा है कि सर्वहारा के पास यदि पार्टी नहीं तो, कुछ भी नहीं. वे एक अन्य कथन में बताते हैं कि “क्रांति से पहले के लंबे वर्षों में कैसे काम करना चाहिए, यह सब जानते थे. लोग यूँ ही नहीं कहते हैं कि हम चट्टान की तरह दृढ़ हैं. सामाजिक जनवादियों ने एक सर्वहारा पार्टी बनाई है जो पहले हथियारबंद आक्रमण की असफलता से हिम्मत नहीं हारेगी, अपने होशोहवास नहीं खो देगी और दुस्साहसवाद में नहीं फंसेगी”. भारत के सन्दर्भ में देखें तो, क्रांति करने के लिए सर्वहारा वर्ग के पास पार्टी भी है जो डीकेबीजे- इलाकों में धक्का खाने के बावजूद हिम्मत नहीं हारेगी. वह मजबूती से क्रांतिकारी लाइन पर चलती रहेगी, अपना होशोहवास नहीं खोएगी. संशोधनवाद के दलदल में कभी नहीं फंसेगी. इसकी छाप कामरेड राजू दा और कोसा दा शहीद होने से पहले देकर गए हैं. हर एक कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी का फर्ज है कि वे इस छाप को और गाढ़ा करें.

LESSONS FROM LENIN'S ROLE IN THE PARTY CRISIS:

Wage Relentless Class War for the Correct Ideological Line!

By Sohan

"Let the liberals and terrified intellectuals lose heart after the first genuinely mass battle for freedom, let them repeat like cowards: don't go where you have been beaten before, don't tread that fatal path again. The class conscious proletariat will answer them: the great wars in history, the great revolutionary problems were solved only by the advanced classes returning to the attack again and again; and they achieved victory after having learned the lessons of defeat. Defeated armies learn well. The revolutionary classes of Russia have been defeated in their first campaign, but the revolutionary situation remains. In new forms and by other ways, sometimes much more slowly than we would wish, the revolutionary crisis is approaching once more, is maturing again. We must carry out the prolonged task of preparing larger masses for the revolutionary crisis; this preparation must be more serious, taking into consideration the higher and more concrete tasks; and the more successfully we fulfil this task, the more certain will be our victory in the new struggle. The Russian proletariat may be proud of the fact that in 1905, under its leadership, a nation of slaves for the first time transformed itself into a mighty host attacking tsarism, into an army of the revolution. And now the same proletariat will know how to carry out persistently, staunchly and patiently the work of educating and training new cadres of a mightier revolutionary force."

- V.I. Lenin, *On the High Road*

INTRODUCING LENIN AS A PARTY ORGANISER AND LEADER IN THE TIME OF CRISIS

The relevance of Lenin as a party organiser and leader lies not in his name, not in the inclusion of 'Leninism' in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but in what he practiced in the creative application of the essence and principles of Marxism to real life practical problems to which he tried to find a solution. He was a leader not because he gave ideas, but because he took ideas, shed the light of theory on facts, and then practiced it to advance the practice of Marxism through creativity and revolutionary commitment. There may be two kinds of people who claim to be Marxists, but as we know, there is a veritable gulf that divides them in accordance to the method of work that they employ. Those so-called Marxists preach Marxism like a gospel straining their throats in their screams to claim revolutionary authority, but only in a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. They are therefore nothing but dishonest cretins, dishonest intellectuals who know not struggle, only their individual ego. Stalin says about them, *"Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to put it into practice, it converts the living, revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless, meaningless formulas. It does not base its*

activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx." Lenin took the Party out of a severe crisis, emerging out of this crisis to carry forth the great October Revolution and therefore setting an example for communists worldwide; he was not a leader because he led the people, he was a leader because he was a Marxist.

Lenin was a leader and an organiser because he was able to formulate the proletarian party in the most trying conditions, under a ferocious absolutism and the expectation of a bourgeois democratic revolution. It grew under conditions that the Party had enemies both external and internal - on one hand, the tsarist repression was robbing the Party of its best workers, on the other, and the opportunists-revisionists-liquidationists were diverting the working classes to bourgeois revolution, towards open and legal work. However, the objective conditions required that the spontaneous working class movements be consolidated into an organised and militant action led by a secret fighting core of professional revolutionaries capable of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under these circumstances, Stalin enumerated the tasks of the Bolsheviks: *"the task was to separate the sheep from the goats, to dissociate oneself from alien elements, to organize cadres of experienced revolutionaries in the localities, to provide them with a clear, programme and firm tactics, and, lastly, to gather these cadres into a single, militant organization of professional revolutionaries, sufficiently secret to withstand the onslaughts of the gendarmes, but at the same time sufficiently connected with the masses to lead them into battle at the required moment."*

To do this, Lenin waged a tireless and relentless struggle against any and all who posed themselves as a threat to the party, even those who emerged out of its own structures. The basic principle of class struggle is not only about waging a struggle against an external enemy, against the bourgeoisie, but also against ourselves and our non-proletarian trends. This includes not only struggling against those who we may call our comrades (who may prove themselves our enemies in the process of class war) but also against our own internal class trends. On this, Lasalle said something relevant when he proclaimed, ***"The Party becomes strong by purging itself"***. This is why those critiques of Lenin who whined about him being too harsh and too rigid, who accused him of excessive inclination towards splits and controversy and who cribbed that he was too relentless in his struggles against conciliators and so on are nothing but garbage opinions which should be thrown into the dustbin of history, lest they stink up the whole revolutionary movement. As it applied to Lenin's critiques yesterday, this applies to the trash critiques who try to bring back already well-settled debates today.

It is through this process of class struggle, of struggling against the crisis, that we will win victory, that we will win the hearts and minds of the people who will join us with the force of a tsunami: great, rising and sweeping its enemies to the shores from where they will be forgotten, while the ocean of the united people carries forth. Even under the current conditions of the Indian revolutionary movement, Lenin remains relevant as we will have to be the new Lenins of today, of contributing towards bringing in a new type of Bolshevik Party which is able to topple

its enemies like dominoes, and liberate the proletariat by unleashing the potential of the masses through the principles and practice of Marxism.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY THAT LED TO THE CRISIS

Until the 1918, Russia was a feudal country with strong capitalist tendencies, which is why Lenin said, "*The autocracy is the principal enemy of the proletariat and of the whole of democracy. However, it would be a mistake to imagine that it remains unchanged.*" (Lenin, Collected Works Volume 4).

Russia was a feudal country which was rapidly making transitions towards capitalism, though the development towards capitalism was still in a transitional phase. To understand the political situation which gave rise to the present tasks, we can refer to the '*Draft Resolution on the Present Situation and the Tasks of the Party*' by CPSU which said that the old feudal autocracy is developing and becoming transformed into a bourgeoisie monarchy which cloaks absolutism with pseudo-constitutional forms. This could be seen in how the Third Duma was the reactionary class alliance between the tsarism, the Black Hundred landlords and the upper strata of the commercial industrial bourgeoisie. The autocracy is driven by the necessity that if the landlords want to retain their influence on the definite path of capitalist development on which Russia is treading; it has to come to negotiate with the emerging bourgeoisie classes. Therefore, the autocracy is manoeuvring between the feudal classes and the representatives of capital. Therefore, in this period that feudalism was changing yet still dominant in the production relations, there was a sharp struggle not only between the ruling classes and the exploited and oppressed masses, but amongst the ruling classes themselves. In the struggle between the ruling classes, by being able to understand the dynamics, we can try to understand why the role of the peasantry was important. In this struggle, the bourgeoisie was still weaker yet it cannot be said that its influence was insignificant as it was also gaining a sufficient base amongst the people. Due to this, the feudal classes had to give concessions to the bourgeoisie as well as collaborate with them. Therefore, there were some contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the feudal classes which lulled the peasantry towards the side of the bourgeoisie, having been severely oppressed by the autocracy and seeing a new hope in the bourgeoisie as a means of liberation from the autocracy.

This loss of faith of the peasantry in the monarchy also drove the agrarian policy of tsarism of that time which Lenin described as being "distinguished by its bourgeois-Bonapartist character". This was because the autocracy had lost faith the in naïve devotion of the peasantry to the monarchy, which is why it resorted to seeking an alliances with the rich peasants who allow for the surrender of their villages to the autocracy so that they may be plundered, and in the process, make some gains for themselves at the expense of the other, more impoverished sections, of the peasantry. To deal with the peasants, the autocracy started to make rapid efforts towards breaking up all communal-allotment landownership and strengthening exclusively private property in land. The draft states that "*such a policy renders all the contradictions of capitalism*

in the village a hundred times more acute and accelerates the division of the village into an insignificant minority of reactionaries, on the one hand, and the revolutionary proletarian and semi-proletarian mass, on the other."

Therefore, it remained the task of the revolutionaries to explain to the peasantry that the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and feudal ruling classes was never antagonist contradictions, and when it came to preserving their class interests (which would inevitably be achieved through the exploitation and oppression of the masses), the two so-called enemy (for they were never enemies to each other, only for the exploited masses) classes of the feudal and the bourgeoisie would always align. This is why *"the fundamental position of the proletariat in regard to the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia remains unaltered: to guide the democratic peasantry; to wrest it from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Cadet Party, which continues to draw ever closer to the Octobrists, notwithstanding the petty, private squabbles, and which quite recently has been striving to organise national-liberalism and to support tsarism and reaction by chauvinist agitation. The resolution states that the struggle, as hitherto, is being waged for the complete abolition of the monarchy and the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry... The overwhelming majority of the peasants cannot but strive for an agrarian revolution which would destroy semi-feudal landownership and which cannot be achieved without the overthrow of tsarism."*

This was the political economic situation in Russia - a feudal society which was rapidly moving towards capitalism. At the time, an incorrect understanding of the political economic situation can be said to contribute towards the Party's internal crisis. There were two incorrect lines which led to the incorrect formulation of the strategy and tactics necessary for revolution. Those who took the position that Russia has become capitalist also took the position that all work should be conducted in an open manner. On the other hand, those who said that there were no changes in feudal relations in Russia, took the position that only secret work should be conducted as it is not possible to do any open work.

PARTY CRISIS AND ROLE OF LENIN

DEBATE WITH LIQUIDATIONISM

Lenin's struggle against the liquidationist factions within the Party was not merely an ideological or theoretical struggle, it was a struggle for the very existence of the Party, a basic question about whether it will survive or not. By insisting that the working class should conduct economic struggle against governments and employers at the local level without the formation of an all-Russia militant organisation, without a party, was to ensure the doom of the communist movement before it was even born. The Party had within it two factions - a liquidationist group and an anti-liquidationist group. The liquidationists group of the Mensheviks preached indiscriminate participation in all representative institutions irrespective of the given stage of development of the revolution, irrespective of the absence or presence of a revolutionary upsurge

and therefore made a fetish out of legality. What was the result of specific conditions i.e. the setbacks in the movement and the scattered and divided state of the labour movement out of which grew a particular tactic, the Mensheviks made a principle. Therefore, by proclaiming that the communist party should restrict itself to legal, democratic and open struggle only and renounce all secret functioning, the liquidationists stood the ground of theoretical and tactical revisionism. These sections of the Party was therefore insisting on legality and were compromised to the extent that they insisted that it was necessary to legalize even at the price of the open renunciation of the Party programme, tactic and organizations. They were therefore identified under the extreme right trend i.e. liquidationism trend. This was not only an organisational but also an ideological and political crisis.

He criticised the liquidationists for being a group to form an independent group, insisting that reconciliation with the Bolsheviks is impossible and therefore refusing to stay within the party structure and secede from it was liquidationism. Therefore they display their right-opportunism-to put forth their individual interest, they consider themselves above the collective (the party) and are therefore willing to break it. They will also indulge in covert activities, to break people away from the genuine revolutionary party and bring these factions to their side. *"The activities of the independents are harmful and fatal to the R.S.D.L.P., the party of the working class, and that we must expose them at all costs,"* proclaimed Lenin.

DEBATE WITH OTZOVISM

The context in which Otzovism arose was in the period post the call for boycott of the Bulgarian Duma which did not succeed. After this period of great revolutionary upheaval, an equally severe period of counter revolution began. In this period, the revolutionary forces had to apply revolutionary tactics under new political conditions and to do this, an important task was to utilize the open Duma for the purpose of assisting Marxist agitation and organisation. Yet, amidst the rapid change of events, a section of the workers who had participated in the direct revolutionary struggle was unable to do so, and *"they confined themselves to the mere repetition of slogans which had been revolutionary in the period of open civil war, but which now, if merely repeated, might retard the process of consolidating the proletariat under the new conditions of struggle."* It was amongst these sections of workers, the victims of disillusionment and despair, that the Otzovists found their social base.

Lenin concludes the debate through his sharp analysis. He bluntly stated the cause of Otzovism, *"Such elements, which are not sufficiently imbued with the proletarian point of view."* He further analysed that in troubled times, when such elements display their lack of consistency in Marxism and therefore come to harder blows with the fundamental principles of Marxism, the tendency of Otzovism and ultimatism is given shape. He argues that this leads *"to the theory which in essence expresses the ideology of political indifference, on the one hand, and of anarchist vagaries, on the other."*

In 'Notes of a Publicist', Lenin asserts how the Otzovists are unable to concretely grasp the prevailing conditions. Wrongly, they assume the period of revolution to be one wherein the bourgeoisie-democratic revolution has been completed and a shift has been made to the next qualitative stage due to which the Duma has no revolutionary purpose as it cannot be utilized at all for the cause of revolution. However, Lenin corrects their assumption that the prevailing mode of production in Russia is one of transition from feudalism to capitalism, and in this transitory phase, there is still scope for the utilisation of the Duma, of both legal and illegal means of struggle, and as long as there is some potential to do propaganda for revolution, the revolutionary forces should utilise that chance. That's why he said, *"But the transition period is transitory precisely because its specific task is to prepare and rally the forces, and not to bring them into immediate and decisive action. To know how to organise this work, which is devoid of outward glamour, to know how to utilise for this purpose all those semi-legal institutions which are peculiar to the period of the Black Hundred-Octobrist Duma, to know how to maintain even on this basis all the traditions of revolutionary Social-Democracy, all the slogans of its recent heroic past, the entire spirit of its work, its irreconcilability with opportunism and reformism—such is the task of the Party, such is the task of the present moment."*

DEBATE WITH CONCIALLATORS AND TROSTKY

The Marxist method of unity is through the principles of unity-struggle-unity. This means that when there is a contradiction between the people, one starts with the point of unity (for example, both you and your comrade want to build a stronger mass movement). Keeping this common revolutionary objective and intention of both comrades in mind, you (assuming yours is the correct position) start a struggle with the incorrect views on ideological-political-organisational lines in order to win over the comrade to the Marxist position. Therefore, the process of struggle leads to unity once again and the two sides are therefore conciled into one whole, united in both thought and action in order to strengthen the revolutionary movement. However, this was neither the attitude nor the intention of the conciallators, especially Trotsky. Lenin criticised Trotsky for his views on party unity: *"Differences of opinion must be hushed up; their causes, their significance, and their objective conditions should not be elucidated. The principal thing is to "reconcile" persons and groups. If they do not agree upon the carrying out of a common policy, that policy must be interpreted in such a way as to be acceptable to all. Live and let live. This is philistine "conciliationism," which inevitably leads to narrow-circle diplomacy."*

Therefore, Lenin denounced the conciallators since under the cloak of unity, they were battling for disunity. By forcing together two groups who did not have any ideological basis to stay together, Trotsky was ensuring that the split would happen at a later date. By that time, the incorrect view would have had even more time to spread amongst the rank and file of the communist party and therefore weaken it. This is because it would have had more time to spread confusion and subsequently weaken the party at an ideological-political level. Further he asserted that such diplomacy opens doors to "persons, groups and institutions" which play the part of "honest brokers" in all kinds of attempts at "conciliation" and "neutralisation", thereby allowing

for the infiltration of coverts, state agents and other ill-intentioned people into the party who want to break it, not rebuild it through unity.

Lenin concludes for us: *"Unity is inseparable from its ideological foundation, it can grow only on the basis of an ideological rapprochement, it is connected with the appearance, development and growth of such deviations as liquidationism and otzovism, not by the casual ties of this or that controversy or this or that literary struggle, but by an internal, indissoluble tie such as that which binds cause and effect."*

LIQUIDATIONISM AS THE MAIN DANGER DURING THE TIME OF CRISIS

Through out his revolutionary career, Lenin has emphasised on the characteristics of the Bolshevik Party, which is the only truly communist party. He has been consistent in his insistence that the communist party must be a secret organisation, that it must not be functioning neither by ignoring secret work nor by completely ignoring open work, that it must combine the two methods. He has also asserted that the emphasis must be on secret work, especially in the time of reaction, in the period of crisis, for it is only the employment of secret methods which would preserve the party and revive its capacity to wage war against the class enemies. In times of crisis, secret functioning allows the Party space to breathe, to analyse concrete conditions, to assess its own success and shortcomings, to recalculate its central tasks and to revive its functioning while evading the enemy's assault. If the party remains fully legal and open, it would be destroyed.

Lenin warned us of this danger: *"A bourgeois intellectual is inclined, because of his petty-bourgeois psychology, to give up the struggle in disgust: so it was, so it will be; to defend the old illegal organisation is hopeless, to create a new one is still more hopeless; generally speaking, we have "exaggerated" the forces of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, we erroneously ascribed "universal" importance to the role of the proletariat... directly and indirectly drive towards the renunciation of the illegal Party. Once on the slippery slope, the independent fails to observe that he is slipping down lower and lower, he does not realise that he is working hand in glove with Stolypin: Stolypin destroys the illegal Party physically, with the aid of the police, the gallows and penal servitude; the liberals do exactly the same thing directly, by their open propaganda of "Vekhi" ideas: the independents among the Social-Democrats indirectly assist in the destruction of the illegal Party by their shouts about its "atrophy," by their refusal to help it and by their attempts (see letter 16 in Golos, No. 19-20) to justify desertion from it. From one step to the other. Let us not shut our eyes to the fact."*

A communist party is the party of the proletariat made from the masses; it is stronger the more it has the proletariat as it is the proletariat who will be able to give the party the leadership it needs. It is through the proletarianisation of the whole Party and its cadres, whatever their class origins might be, that the revolutionary movement is able to maintain the correct ideological-political-

organisational line, as it is the proletariat who is the most exploited and oppressed class, who when kept at the centre of the movement, will be able to lead the movement to its completion. Due to this political conviction and the revolutionary potential of the working class, the ruling classes tremble at the thought of their organisation, especially under the communist party. This is why it is necessary to organise them in an underground (UG) manner - if the working class is organised openly, the reaction will be both swift and severe, cutting off the revolutionary movement instantly. This is why we need an illegal party to connect with the masses. Once the revolutionary movement is able to connect with the masses through UG functioning, the revolutionary party will be able to easier develop from mass organisations to activist groups (AG formation) to cell formation, which is the nuclei of the communist party. Therefore, in strengthening underground functioning, the revolutionary movement is strengthening its own ideological-political-organisational capacity and unity and truly upholding the legacy of Lenin, Mao and all those who relentlessly struggled, who have given their life to make true the aspiration of the people, of a communist society.

Therefore the RSDP adopted a simple, but decisive, organisational policy: *"To strengthen the illegal Party organisation, to create party nuclei in all spheres of work, to create in the first instance "purely Party committees consisting of workers, even if their number be small, in each industrial enterprise," to concentrate the leading functions in the hands of leaders of the Social-Democratic movement from the ranks of the workers themselves—such is the task today. And, of course, the task of these nuclei and committee, must be to utilise all the semi-legal and, as far as possible, legal organisations, to maintain the "closest contact with the masses," and to direct the work in such a way that Social-Democracy responds to all the needs of the masses. Every nucleus and every Party workers' committee must become a "base for agitation, propaganda and practical organisational work among the masses".*

This is also why those who insist on going open from underground functioning are also the manifestations of the liquidationist trend. The insistence on going open is nothing but a manifestation of the petit bourgeoisie nature of some elements in the revolutionary movement who have betrayed the logic of Marxism, it is nothing but a comfort seeking reconciliatist method which makes the people who were once our comrades fall within the ruling class camp. Those who go open after being UG will not be allowed to function, even Amit Shah has said in unequivocal terms that the only path forward for CPI (Maoist) is to surrender, and that is exactly what these betrayers, weak-willed and politically degenerated liquidationists are doing when they decide to go open after being UG. They are giving up on the possibility of working further for the people as it is without a doubt that these people will be arrested, or so closely surveilled, threatened or intimidated that they will be unable to function fully, or even at all. More importantly, they are surrendering to the ruling class ideology within themselves, letting it dominate their lives and making it easier for the ruling classes to win, for the revolutionary movement to be destroyed and for the people to remain exploited and oppressed under the dictatorship of the bourgeois. ***Therefore, those who insist on political activists going open, who***

go from being UG activists to open activists, are also liquidationists who fall within the ruling class camp.

CONTINUATION OF THE LENINIST LEGACY

CHINA: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LIQUIDATIONIST CHEN TU-HSUI

The CPC had expelled Chen Tu-Hsui who had formed an anti-party faction with the Trotskites. This was after a process of struggle which was taken with him, but he refused to rectify. First, Chen Tu-Hsui had undermined the role of the peasantry, saying that the movement should be a workers movement concentrated in cities. This was criticised in the 6th conference of the CPC which held that the peasant struggle will be key in New Democratic Revolution and that an army needs to be formed. Under Mao's guidance, the Workers Peasant Army was formed which subsequently formed the 1st base area in Chiangking Mountains.

The 1927 revolution didn't succeed. The Wuhan government was formed under severe economic crisis, in which the bourgeoisie and capitalists opposed the government, even fleeing with silver and moving oil which reduced production and led to soaring prices of commodities. While base areas continued to be developed, the condition in the cities was bad. Further, due to internal conflicts and splits, the Wuhan government was itself crumbling. This led to a situation favourable to the enemy, who used this opportunity to attack the alliance of which the communists were a part. The landlords and the bourgeois elements in the region under the Wuhan government were the first to oppose the worker and peasant movement. They attacked the peasant associations and the trade unions in the cities as lawless organizations. Acting in unison with them the reactionaries in the Wuhan government rose in revolt. Hsia' Tou-yin was the first to rebel openly on May 17, while the revolutionary armies were marching on Honan, and the troops of the Szechuan warlord Yang Sen were attacking Wuhan. Then Hsu Xe-hsiang, another reactionary officer, followed suit in Changsha on May 21, laying siege to the buildings of the Provincial Trade Union Federation, the Provincial Peasant Association and all other revolutionary organizations, arresting and killing Communists and the revolutionary masses. Chu Pei-teh in Nanchang, Kiangsi, forced all the political workers in the army out of the province and murdered leaders of the worker-peasant movement, making Kiangsi independent of the Wuhan government. The areas under the control of the Wuhan government were greatly reduced as a result of these revolts and betrayals. All this was bound to have its impact upon the Kuomintang leaders in Wuhan, who were surrounded and influenced by landlord and bourgeois elements. The economic and political crises in Wuhan made them vacillate all the more and eventually betray the revolution. It is without a doubt that numerous measures were intended to suppress the worker-peasant movement with a view to subordinating it to the interests of the ruling class, with the Kuomintang having allowed itself to be completely subordinate to warlord interests, which is why the Kuomintang leaders did not take any severe measures against the rebel generals.

The leadership of the Communist Party under the leader of Cheng Tu-Hsui should have unequivocally condemned the Kuomintang, expelled the rightists and rebuilt its army to recapture power while pushing forward the mass movement of peasants and workers. Instead, they made no protest whatsoever against the latter's resolution to oppose the peasant movement. They even echoed the landlords and the bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang in their clamour against the so-called excesses of the peasant movement, and proposed to stop the agrarian revolution, demanding that it be criticized in the press and its "deviations" rectified by proclamations from the Ministry of Agriculture. As to the question of peasants' political power, the opportunists agreed to the policy of "rural autonomy" put forward by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in Wuhan with the aim of stopping the peasant movement. They even spread the venomous rumour that the mass struggle in Wuhan was started by Chiang Kai-shek agents. Therefore, the right-opportunist line within the party which was represented by Cheng Tu-Hsui become liquidationists, insisting that since the Party had failed completely, the Party should carry out legal struggle. He called the seizure of political power through armed uprising an "unwarranted illusion". Even worse, the capitulationists voluntarily surrendered the leadership and ordered all Communists working in the headquarters of the Kuomintang and newspaper officers to submit themselves to the Kuomintang's guidance and give up their own views. All this meant not only the loss of independence of the Communist Party but also the liquidation of the revolutionary mass movement in general, abandoning it to the supervision of the Kuomintang.

However, this was not the defeat of the CPC who continued to wage struggle along with the Chinese People. The first anti imperialist and anti feudal war led by the CPC between 1924-1927, in which the Kuomintang joined forces with the imperialists to attack the revolution. Internally, a struggle waged between the right-opportunist line favouring the bourgeoisie and the Marxist-Leninist line favouring favouring the proletariat, represented and led by Chen Hu-Tsui and Mao respectively. Due to the theoretical shortcomings in which the members did not make adequate efforts to grasp the essence of Marxism-Leninism, the capitulationist line of right-opportunism leading to liquidationism dominated and allowed Chen Hu-Tsui to take control of the leading organs of CPC.

Soon after the betrayal of the Kuomintang, at the critical juncture when first Chiang Kai-shek and then Wang Ching-wei had betrayed the revolution, the Party set out to salvage the revolution from defeat by organizing an armed uprising in Nan-chang, Kiangsi, on August 1, 1927 with more than 30,000 troops under the command of Comrades Chou En-lai and Chu The. A leading organ called the Revolutionary Committee was formed. The uprising was started at dawn, and after only three hours' fighting the Kuomintang reactionary troops were put out of action and the city was liberated. On August 5 the revolutionary forces evacuated Nanchang and started on a march towards Kwangtung. Though the movement was defeated, it was a great historical period for the CPC - the beginning of the struggle of the revolutionary armed forces under the sole leadership of the Communist Party against the counter-revolution, a brave struggle that aimed to

save the revolution at the critical juncture by opposing the counter-revolutionaries. It thus marked a new historical period thus began for the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people.

As a consequence of his actions, Cheng Hu-Tsui was criticised in the 7th Conference of the CPC. Ho Ka Chih writes: *"The Chinese Communist Party held an emergency conference of the Central Committee on August 7 at Kiuki-ang, Kiangsi Province. The conference criticized the erroneous capitulationist line of the Right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu on the questions of revolutionary leadership, revolutionary armed forces and agrarian revolution, and removed Chen Tu-hsiu from the leading post. It maintained that, as the agrarian revolution was the key to the Chinese democratic revolution, the Party must lead the peasants in solving the agrarian problem by revolutionary means. It laid down a general line of putting up armed resistance to the Kuomintang reactionaries' policy of massacre and called upon the whole Party and the masses to persist in the revolutionary struggle. It established a Revolutionary Committee which was to serve first as the leading body in the up-rising and then as the provisional revolutionary government after the uprising had achieved victory. It decided to found a workers' and peasants' revolutionary army and to carry out extensive political work and establish a system of Party representatives in the army. These were the achievements of the August 7 Conference and constituted its main feature"*. Later, Chen Hu-Tsui died in a mysterious plane accident when the capitulationist, fearing the people's wrath, was fleeing the country to meet up with the Trotskites.

INDIA: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISTS KOBAD TO BALRAJ

Kobad went into prison as a Central Committee member of CPI (Maoist), and he exited prison as a traitous liquidationist. In the reply to his book *Fractured Freedom*, CPI (Maoist) asks a basic question: *"Kobad left aside the riches and dedicated his life for the sake of revolution but why is he craving for normal life now? Does he not understand that the ruling class shall make his life a medium and use it against the revolutionary movement? Is he not self negating through such writings? Is this not an insult to the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives? Is this not a betrayal to the thousands and lakhs of activists, people's fighters and revolutionary people who are still fighting in the arena of war? It definitely is."*

Kobad became a right-opportunist liquidator because in his attempt to appease the ruling classes in order to get back entrance into ruling class society, he not only completely denied his role as someone who once led the revolutionary CPI (Maoist), but also became someone who has renounced all basic principles of class struggle. The reason behind his trends is simple - unable to shed his class origin in the process of class struggle, he never truly became a communist - he never steeled himself in the fires of class struggle, never transformed and self-rectified in the process of proletarianisation.

His book is an attempt to destroy the prestige of the movement going on in the leadership of the Maoist party. In this matter the great teachers taught us. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao taught us that it is necessary to study according to conditions and not with subjective wishes but

objective truth. Mao said – ‘...*this subjectivist method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must overthrow him. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious. We must assert that the absence of a scientific attitude, that is, the absence of the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory and practice, means that Party spirit is either absent or deficient*’. (Reform your study, Vol-III, SWM).

He adopted right opportunist line. He tries to spread illusions, despair, disappointment among the people and activists, discourage people to fight against injustice. Moreover, we must question why a member who had attained Polit Bureau status within the banned party deemed a terrorist organization by the Indian state has received not only benefits but was released from jail? What is the reason for this kindness of the Brahmanical Hindutva fascist rule towards Kobad? *One who gets degenerated and surrenders to the enemy will be granted concessions only when one talks something against the party.* They must provide secret information to the enemy about the party, activists, they must get them murdered, must give statements against the party, must show the places to allow the enemy to attack and so on. By doing so he props up the enemy class, exploitation and repressive state machinery and tries to protect this inhuman, authoritarian state. He mainly rejects class struggle. This has to be severely condemned. Kobad is not the first person who left the movement at the time of cruel repression unleashed by the counter revolutionary ruling classes in a fascist method on the revolutionary movement. Revolutionary movement dumped such persons into the dustbin of history and advanced with aplomb.

The legacy of liquidationists doesn't end with Kobad Gandhi - it continues under Balraj who was expelled from the cc of the Party for renouncing underground life and insisting that CPI (Maoist) must be made an open and legal party. He was supported by Darshanpal who led the Farmers Protest in 2019 and was later expelled from the party. Issue 5 of our magazine, 'Combat Revisionism' has an article detailing the modern revisionist line which may be referred to as a supplement to this section. The masses are suffering under the assault of Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism as a result of the world imperialist crisis, and in this context, the state repression on the revolutionary movement is strong. Balraj is opportunistically using this to spread disillusion among the cadres, claiming that:

1. It's not possible for the current revolutionary movement to guide the mass work openly and therefore a different structure or committee which has to be open is needed for mass work
2. The party is not giving due importance to mass work and the military line is dominating
3. There is capitalist development in Punjab, Haryana and elsewhere
4. There is no place for debate in the party

In essence, all these ideas are manifestations of the right-opportunist line leading to liquidationism since they would ensure that the revolutionary movement is made toothless, exposed to enemy attack and unable to defend itself as the Party will have to lay down its arms to be able to "rectify" these mistakes. If Balraj has his way, the Party would renounce the path of Protracted People's War and be reduced to a bourgeois parliamentary party like the likes of CPI ML Liberation, it would utterly destroy the party and betray all basic logic and essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is because any revolutionary communist party needs to be both underground and armed from the very first day of its formation because without secret functioning and self-defence against a cruel and unrelenting bourgeois enemy, the Party will be destroyed if it engages in the class struggle necessary for bringing communism.

LENIN AND DK - WHAT WOULD LENIN DO WERE HE IN DK?

The Indian revolutionary movement is facing an internal crisis. Due to the high presence of the petit bourgeois class in revolution, there is ideological wavering and crumbling spirit amongst those are supposed to be the vanguard. Sonu Da i.e. Venugopal Rao had once been the spokesperson of CPI (Maoist), but is now ready to surrender. In the name of Abhay (a name reserved only for the Spokesperson of CPI Maoist, a person capable of valiantly taking the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line), he betrayed the people and the communist party representing them by saying that CPI (Maoist) is ready to lay down arms and join mainstream society. A group from the CC is also leaning towards his right-opportunist liquidationist line.

An example like this is nothing that history has not seen - at the time of the Party crisis during the time of Lenin, he was left with a mere 3-5 people with whom he struggled for a Bolshevik party, and won. The legacy of Lenin continues in martyrs like Gen Secretary Com Basavraju, who like Lenin, set the correct line before his death and formulated the path forward for the Party to revive itself through intense struggle. To wage relentless struggle against incorrect ideas, against the incorrect ideological-political line is the Leninist method of resolving dealing with crisis. In carrying forth struggle against the incorrect ideas of a section in the CC so that the Party might extend a hand to its members so that they might be saved should they chose to hold the Party's hand, comrades Raju Da and Kosa Da were martyred. Despite knowing the full dangers of time, they gave their lives in the struggle against Sonu and the liquidationist section of the CC, being killed by the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist state just after attending a meeting to struggle against the liquidationist tendencies plaguing the Party. To give your life to the revolution, to be willing to sacrifice everything for the line - that is a true communist, a true Lenin, and he would do what CPI (Maoist) is doing. Red Salutes to the comrades who did everything that Lenin would do were he in Dandakarnya! Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

THE PARTY CRISIS AND OUR TASKS

by Com. Stalin

It is no secret to anyone that our Party is passing through a severe crisis. The Party's loss of members, the shrinking and weakness of the organizations, the latter's isolation from one another, and the absence of co-ordinated Party work—all show that the Party is ailing, that it is passing through a grave crisis. The first thing that is particularly depressing the Party is the isolation of its organizations from the broad masses. At one time our organizations numbered thousands in their ranks and they led hundreds of thousands. At that time, the Party had firm roots among the masses. This is not the case now. Instead of thousands, tens and, at best, hundreds, have remained in the organizations. As regards leading hundreds of thousands, it is not worth speaking about. True, our Party exercises wide ideological influence among the masses; the masses know the Party, the masses respect it. That is what primarily distinguishes the "post-revolution" Party from the "pre-revolution" Party. But that is practically all that the Party's influence amounts to. And yet ideological influence alone is far from enough. The point is that the breadth of ideological influence is neutralised by the narrowness organisational consolidation. That is the cause of our organizations' isolation from the broad masses. It is sufficient to point to St. Petersburg, where in 1907 we had about 8,000 members and where we can now scarcely muster 300 to 400, to appreciate at once the full gravity of the crisis. We shall not speak of Moscow, the Urals, Poland, the Donets Basin, etc., which are in a similar state. But that is not all. The Party is suffering not only from isolation from the masses, but also from the fact that its organizations are not linked up with one another, are not living the same Party life, are divorced from one another. St. Petersburg does not know what is going on in the Caucasus, the Caucasus does not know what is going on in the Urals, etc.; each little corner lives its own separate life. Strictly speaking, we no longer have a single Party living the same common life that we all spoke of with such pride in the period from 1905 to 1907. We are working according to the most scandalously amateurish methods. The organs now published abroad—*Proletary*⁷⁵ and *Golos*⁷⁶ on the one hand, and *Sotsial Demokrat* ⁷⁷ on the other, do not and cannot link up the organizations scattered over Russia, and cannot endow them with a single Party life. Indeed, it would be strange to think that organs published abroad, far removed from Russian reality, can co-ordinate the work of the Party, which has long passed the study-circle stage. True, the isolated organizations have much in common which links them together ideologically—they have a common programme, which has stood the test of revolution; they have common practical principles, which have been approved by the revolution, and glorious revolutionary traditions. This is the second important distinction between the "post-revolution" Party and the "pre-revolution" Party. But this is not enough. The point is that the ideological unity of the Party organizations does not by a long way save the Party from their want of organisational cohesion and isolation from one another. It is sufficient to point out that not even information by correspondence is kept at anything like a desirable level in the Party. How much more so is this the case as regards linking up the Party in a single organism. Thus: 1) The Party's isolation from the broad masses, and 2) the isolation of

its organizations from one another—that is the essence of the crisis the Party is passing through. It is not difficult to understand that the cause of all this is the crisis in the revolution itself, the temporary triumph of the counter-revolution, the lull after the various actions, and lastly, the loss of all those semi-liberties which the Party enjoyed during 1905 and 1906. The Party developed, expanded and grew strong while the revolution was progressing, while liberties existed. The revolution retreated, the liberties vanished—and the Party began to ail, the intellectuals began to desert the Party, and later these were followed by the most vacillating of the workers. In particular, the desertion of the intellectuals was accelerated by the ideological growth of the Party, or rather of the advanced workers, who with their complex requirements have outgrown the meagre mental stock-in-trade of the “intellectuals of 1905.” It by no means follows from this, of course, that the Party must vegetate in this state of crisis until future liberties are ushered in, as some people mistakenly think. In the first place, the ushering in of these liberties depends largely upon whether the Party will emerge from the crisis healthy and renovated; liberties do not fall from the skies, they are won thanks, among other things, to the existence of a well-organised workers’ Party. Secondly, the universally known laws of the class struggle tell us that the steadily growing organisation of the bourgeoisie must inevitably result in a corresponding organization of the proletariat. And everybody knows that the renovation of our Party, as the only workers’ party, is a necessary preliminary condition for the growth of the organisation of our proletariat as a class. Consequently, our Party’s recovery before liberties are ushered in, its release from the crisis, is not only possible but inevitable. The whole point is to find ways of bringing about the recovery of the Party, to find means by which the Party 1) will link up with the masses, and 2) unite the organizations now isolated from one another in a single organism. *

* * And so, how can our Party extricate itself from the crisis; what must be done to achieve this? Make the Party as legal as possible and unite it around the legal group in the Duma, some say to us. But how can it be made as legal as possible when the most innocuous legal institutions, such as cultural societies, etc., are suffering severe persecution? Can it be done by abandoning its revolutionary demands? But that would mean burying the Party, not renovating it! Moreover, how can the group in the Duma link the Party with the masses when it is itself isolated not only from the masses, but also from the Party organizations? Clearly, such a solution of the problem serves only to confuse it further and to make it difficult for the Party to extricate itself from the crisis. Transfer as large a part of the Party functions as possible to the workers themselves and thereby rid the Party of the inconstant intellectual elements, others tell us. There can be no doubt that ridding the Party of useless guests and concentrating functions in the hands of the workers themselves would contribute a great deal to the renovation of the Party. But it is no less clear that the mere “transfer of functions” under the old system of organization, with the old methods of Party work, and with “leadership” from abroad, cannot link the Party up with the masses and weld it into a single whole. Obviously, half-measures cannot achieve much—we must seek radical means for a radical cure of the ailing Party. The Party is suffering primarily from its isolation from the masses; it must be linked up with the masses at all costs. But this can be done under our present conditions primarily and mainly on the basis of those questions which are

particularly exciting the broad masses. Take, for example, the impoverishment of the masses and the offensive launched by capital. Huge lockouts swept over the workers like a hurricane, and the cutting down of production, arbitrary dismissals, reduction of wages, lengthening of the working day and the capitalist offensive in general are continuing to this day. It can hardly be realised what suffering all this is causing among the workers, how intently it is making them think, what a host of “misunderstandings” and conflicts arise between the workers and the employers, what a mass of interesting questions are arising in the minds of the workers on this basis. Let our organizations, in addition to conducting general political work, constantly intervene in all these minor conflicts, let them link these up with the great class struggle and, backing the masses in their daily protests and demands, demonstrate the great principles of our Party by means of living facts. It should be clear to everybody that only in this way will it be possible to stir the masses who have been “forced to the wall,” only in this way will it be possible to “shift” them past the accursed dead point. And “shifting” them past this dead point means precisely—rallying them around our organizations. The Party committees in the factories and works are the Party organs which could most successfully develop such activities among the masses. The advanced workers in the factory and works committees are the living people who could rally to the Party the masses who are around them. All that is needed is that the factory and works committees should constantly intervene in all the affairs of the workers’ struggle, champion their daily interests and link up the latter with the fundamental interests of the proletarian class. To make the factory and works committees the principal bastions of the Party—such is the task. Further, in pursuit of the same object of drawing closer to the masses, the structure of the other, higher, Party organizations must be adapted to the task of defending not only the political but also the economic interests of the masses. Not a single branch of industry of any importance must escape the attention of the organisation. To achieve this, in building up the organisation the territorial principle must be supplemented by the industrial principle, i.e., the factory and works committees in the various branches of industry must be grouped in sub-districts according to industry, and these sub-districts must be linked up territorially in districts, etc. It will not matter if this increases the number of sub-districts—the organisation will gain a firmer and more stable foundation, and it will become more closely linked with the masses. Of still greater importance for overcoming the crisis is the composition of the Party organizations. The most experienced and influential of the advanced workers must find a place in all the local organizations, the affairs of the organizations must be concentrated in their strong hands, and it is they who must occupy the most important posts in the organizations, from practical and organisational posts to literary posts. It will not matter if the workers who occupy important posts are found to lack sufficient experience and training and even stumble at first—practice and the advice of more experienced comrades will widen their outlook and in the end train them to become real writers and leaders of the movement. It must not be forgotten that Bebels do not drop from the skies, they are trained only in the course of work, by practice, and our movement now needs Russian Bebels, experienced and mature leaders from the ranks of the workers, more than ever before. That is why our organisational slogan must be: “Widen the road for the advanced workers in all

spheres of Party activity,” “give them more scope!” It goes without saying that in addition to the will to lead and initiative in leadership, the advanced workers must possess considerable knowledge. We have few workers who possess knowledge. But it is just here that the assistance of experienced and active intellectuals will be of use. Arrangements must be made for higher circles, “discussion groups” for advanced workers, at least one in every district, at which they will systematically “go through” the theory and practice of Marxism. All this would to a very large extent fill the gaps in the knowledge of the advanced workers and help them to become lecturers and ideological leaders in the future. At the same time, the advanced workers must more often deliver lectures at their works and factories to “get the utmost practice,” even at the risk of “making a mess of it” in the opinion of their audience. They must once and for all cast aside excessive modesty and stage fright, and arm themselves with audacity, confidence in their own strength. It will not matter if they make mistakes at first; they will stumble once or twice, and then learn to walk independently like “Christ walking on the water.” In short, 1) intensified agitation around daily needs linked with the general class needs of the proletariat, 2) organisation and consolidation of the committees in the factories and works as the Party’s most important district centres, 3) the “transfer” of the most important Party functions to the advanced workers and 4) the organisation of “discussion groups” for the advanced workers—such are the means by which our organizations will be able to rally the broad masses around themselves. One cannot help observing that life itself is pointing out this path to the overcoming of the Party crisis. The Central region and the Urals have been doing without intellectuals for a long time; there the workers themselves are conducting the affairs of the organizations. In Sormovo, Lugansk (Donets Basin) and Nikolayev, the workers in 1908 published leaflets and in Nikolayev, in addition to leaflets, they published an illegal organ. In Baku the organisation has systematically intervened in all the affairs of the workers’ struggle and has missed scarcely a single conflict between the workers and the oil owners, while, of course, at the same time conducting general political agitation. Incidentally, this explains why the Baku organisation has maintained contact with the masses to this day. Such is the situation as regards the methods of linking the Party with the broad masses of the workers. But the Party suffers not only from isolation from the masses. It also suffers from the isolation of its organizations from one another. Let us pass to this last question. * * * And so, how can the isolated local organizations be linked up with one another, how can they be linked up in a single well-knit Party, living a common life? One might think that the general Party conferences that are sometimes arranged would solve the problem, would unite the organizations; or that Proletary, Golos and Sotsial-Demokrat, which are published abroad, would, in the long run, rally and unite the Party. There can be no doubt that both the first and the second are of no little importance in linking up the organizations. At any rate, the conferences and the organs that are published abroad have been until now the only means of linking up the isolated organizations. But in the first place, conferences, arranged very rarely at that, can link up the organizations only for a time and, therefore, not as durably as is required in general: in the intervals between conferences the connections are broken and the old amateurish methods continue as before. Secondly, as regards the organs that are published abroad, apart from the fact

that they reach Russia in extremely limited quantities, they naturally lag behind the course of Party life in Russia, are unable to note in time and comment on the questions that excite the workers and, therefore, cannot link our local organizations together by permanent ties. The facts show that since the London Congress, the Party has succeeded in organising two conferences and in printing scores of issues of the organs published abroad; and yet the work of uniting our organizations in a genuine Party, the work of overcoming the crisis, has made scarcely any headway. Hence, conferences and organs published abroad, while extremely important for uniting the Party, are, nevertheless, inadequate for overcoming the crisis, for permanently uniting the local organizations. Evidently, a radical measure is needed. The only radical measure can be the publication of an all-Russian newspaper, a newspaper that will serve as the centre of Party activity and be published in Russia. It will be possible to unite the organizations scattered over Russia only on the basis of common Party activity. But common Party activity will be impossible unless the experience of the local organizations is collected at a common centre from which the generalised Party experience can later be distributed to all the local organizations. An all-Russian newspaper could serve as this centre, a centre that would guide, co-ordinate and direct Party activity. But in order that it might really guide the Party's activity it must receive from the localities a constant stream of inquiries, statements, letters, information, complaints, protests, plans of work, questions which excite the masses, etc.; the closest and most durable ties must link the newspaper with the localities; acquiring in this way adequate material, the newspaper must note in time, comment on and elucidate the necessary questions, distil from this material the necessary directions and slogans and bring them to the knowledge of the entire Party, of all its organizations. . . . If these conditions do not exist there can be no leadership in Party work, and if there is no leadership in Party work the organizations cannot be permanently linked up in a single whole! That is why we emphasise the necessity of precisely an all-Russian newspaper (and not one published abroad), and precisely a leading newspaper (and not simply a popular one). Needless to say, the only institution that can undertake to launch and run such a newspaper is the Central Committee of the Party. Even apart from this it is the duty of the Central Committee to guide Party work; but at the present time it is performing this duty unsatisfactorily and, as a result, the local organizations are almost completely divorced from one another. And yet, a well-run all-Russian newspaper could serve as a most effective instrument in the hands of the Central Committee for effectively uniting the Party and guiding Party activity. More than that, we assert that only in this way can the Central Committee be transformed from a fictitious centre into a real, all-Party centre, which will really link up the Party, and really set the tone of its activity. In view of this, the organisation and running of an all-Russian newspaper is the direct task of the Central Committee. Thus, an all-Russian newspaper as an organ that will unite and rally the Party around the Central Committee—such is the task, such is the way of overcoming the crisis through which the Party is passing. Let us sum up all that has been said above. Owing to the crisis in the revolution, a crisis has developed in the Party—the organizations have lost permanent contact with the masses, the Party has been broken up into separate organizations. Our organizations must be linked up with the broad masses—this is a local task. The above-

mentioned organizations must be linked up with one another, around the Central Committee of the Party—this is a central task. To carry out the local task, in addition to general political agitation, economic agitation must be conducted around the acute daily needs of the workers; there must be systematic intervention in the workers' struggle; factory and works Party committees must be formed and consolidated; as many of Party functions as possible must be concentrated in the hands of the advanced workers; "discussion groups" must be organised for the advanced workers for the purpose of training mature workers' leaders equipped with knowledge. To carry out the central task we must have an all-Russian newspaper that will link the local organizations with the Central Committee of the Party and unite them in a single whole. Only if these tasks are carried out will the Party be able to emerge from the crisis healthy and renovated; only by fulfilling these conditions can the Party undertake the responsible role of worthy vanguard of the heroic Russian proletariat. Such are the ways of overcoming the Party crisis. Needless to say, the more fully the Party utilises the legal possibilities around it—from the floor of the Duma and the trade unions to co-operative societies and burial funds—the sooner will the task of overcoming the crisis, the task of the renovation and recovery of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, be carried out.

यौनिक अवसरवादी और विघटनवाद

By Sarita

जैसा कि भारत की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (माओवादी) की पोलित ब्यूरो द्वारा अगस्त 2024 में जारी “पोलित ब्यूरो प्रस्ताव” में बताया गया है कि वर्तमान में कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन संकटग्रस्त स्थिति में पहुँचने का कई कारणों में से एक कारण है-पार्टी और जन सेना में बढ़ रही महिला-पुरुष संबंधी मामलों में नैतिक गलतियाँ यानी गैर सर्वहारा रुझान. कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में यौन संबंधी मामलों में बढ़ती नैतिक गलतियों की जड़ हम यौनिक अवसरवादी रुझानों के रूप में देख रहे हैं. यौनिक अवसरवाद के सवाल को हमने रमणीय के खिलाफ संघर्ष में भी उठाया था. जिसके कारण पाठकों के एक हिस्से में यह सवाल उठ रहा था कि यौनिक अवसरवाद भला है क्या ? ऐसे में हम यौनिक अवसरवाद पर यह लेख प्रकाशित कर रहे हैं.- संपादक मंडल

परिचय:

किसी भी क्रान्तिकारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को क्रांति की विजय तक पहुँचने के लिए शासक वर्ग के खिलाफ संघर्ष करने के साथ-साथ पार्टी में मौजूद अवसरवादी-विघटनवादी-संसोधनवादी विचारों के खिलाफ भी संघर्ष करना पड़ता है. इतिहास गवाह है कि जिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों ने अवसरवाद-विघटनवाद-संसोधनवाद के खिलाफ संघर्ष नहीं किया वे आखिर में शासक वर्ग के खेमों में जा मिलते हैं. रूस की बोलशेविक पार्टी के सफल होने का कारण हम कामरेड स्तालिन के शब्दों में समझ सकते हैं “हमारी पार्टी अपनी कतारों में अपूर्व दृढ़ता और आंतरिक एकता मुख्यतः इसलिए कायम कर सकी कि वह समय रहते अवसरवादी कोढ़ से अपने को शुद्ध रख सकी, वह अपनी कतारों से विसर्जनवादियों, मेन्शेविकों को निकाल सकी. सर्वहारा पार्टियाँ अपनी कतारों से अवसरवादियों और सुधारवादियों, सामाजिक-साम्राज्यवादियों और सामाजिक-अंधराष्ट्रवादियों, सामाजिक-राष्ट्रभक्तों और सामाजिक-शांतिवादियों को निकालकर विकसित होती हैं. पार्टी अपनी कतारों से अवसरवादी तत्वों को निकालकर मजबूत होती हैं.” आज भारत का कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन भी नाजुक स्थिति में पहुँच गया है, यानि आज कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन करो या मरो की स्थिति में हैं.

अगर हम भारत के कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन के नाजुक स्थिति में पहुँचने के प्राथमिक कारणों का मूल्यांकन करें तो यही पाते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी क्रांतिकारी आंदोलन में मौजूद अवसरवादी-विघटनवादी-संसोधनवादी विचारों के खिलाफ संघर्ष करने में और शासक वर्ग द्वारा घुसाए गये कोवर्ट को पहचानने में कमजोर रहा है. शासक वर्ग द्वारा चलाया गया दमन अभियान भी तमाम कारणों में से एक है. आज भारत के कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में शासक वर्ग से प्रभावित होकर अवसरवादी-विघटनवादी-संसोधनवादी तत्वों ने आंदोलन के खिलाफ दुष्प्रचार करते हुए तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाई शुरू कर दी है जिसमें वे काफी हद तक सफल भी हो रहे हैं. जिसकी एक झलक हम बलराज उर्फ बच्चा प्रसाद समेत आन्दोलन से गद्दारी करके शासक वर्ग की गोद में बैठने वाले आसीन-सोनिया के रूप में देख सकते हैं. वहीं दूसरी तरफ आन्दोलन की एकता को तोड़ने वाले विघटनवादी तत्व भी सिर उठाए खड़े हैं.

संकट के समय में कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में दो प्रकार का अवसरवाद पैदा होता है। पहला वामपंथी अवसरवाद व दूसरा दक्षिणपंथी अवसरवाद। वामपंथी अवसरवाद के अनुसार संकट के समय में पार्टी को सब कुछ गैर-क्रान्ती तरीके से करना चाहिए। ये निम्न-पूँजीवादी विचारधारा से प्रभावित होते हैं, जो अराजकतावाद के ज्यादा करीब होते हैं। वहीं दक्षिणपंथी अवसरवादी बुर्जुआ मानसिकता से प्रभावित होता है। इनके अनुसार संकट के समय पार्टी को अपने भूमिगत रूप व गैर-क्रान्ती कामकाज को छोड़कर खुली क्रान्ती पार्टी में तब्दील हो जाना चाहिए। अवसरवाद को समझे बिना हम विघटनवाद को नहीं समझ सकते। कामरेड लेनिन ने हमें बताया है कि **“विघटनवाद अवसरवाद की उच्चतम अवस्था है जो पार्टी के अंदर शासक वर्ग की विचारधारा का नेतृत्व करती है।”** अवसरवाद ही विघटनवाद की पहली कड़ी है। जो लोग अवसरवादी होते हैं वे आगे चलकर विघटनवादी ही बनते हैं। अवसरवादी पार्टी को शासक वर्ग की लाइन पर चलाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन विघटनवादी पार्टी को ही खत्म करना चाहते हैं।

आज हमें यौनिक अवसरवाद को भी कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन के सामने एक बड़ी चुनौती के रूप में देखना चाहिए क्योंकि कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में काम करने वाले कुछ साथी अपने अंदर मौजूद यौनिक अवसरवाद को पुरे क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन की कमजोरी बना देते हैं व कई बार तो वे इसे पूरा करने के लिए पार्टी के अंदर तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाई शुरू कर देते हैं। पार्टी संकट के समय वे खुद को वैचारिक रूप से मजबूत न करके खुद के अंदर चल रहे अंतर्विरोधों का समाधान अपने यौनिक संबंधों में देखते हैं व साम्राज्यवाद द्वारा प्रचारित संस्कृति का शिकार हो जाते हैं। इस लेख को लिखने का उद्देश्य है कि हम यौनिक अवसरवाद को अवसरवाद के रूप में ही देखें। और समझें कि कैसे खुद के अंदर मौजूद यौनिक अवसरवाद के कारण लोग कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन को निम्न-पूँजीवादी विचारधारा से ग्रसित होकर आन्दोलन को गैर मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांतों पर चलाना चाहते हैं व कई बार तो इसके कारण सर्वहारा वर्ग और उसकी हिरावल पार्टी के विरोधी तत्व बन जाते हैं।

यौनिक अवसरवाद:

आज दुनिया के स्तर पर चल रहे आर्थिक संकट के कारण फासीवादी प्रवृत्तियाँ बढ़ रही हैं जिसके कारण सर्वहारा की हिरावल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कमजोर स्थिति में है। सर्वहारा वर्ग की पार्टी कमजोर होने के कारण सर्वहारा वर्ग की विचारधारा का प्रभाव निम्न-पूँजीपति वर्ग पर कमजोर हो रहा है। आज निम्न-पूँजीपति वर्ग न तो सर्वहारा वर्ग के साथ जुड़ पा रहा है और न ही साम्राज्यवादी विचारधारा के साथ जुड़ पा रहा है क्योंकि साम्राज्यवादी विचारधारा निम्न-पूँजीपति वर्ग की छोटी पूँजी को निगलने का काम करती है। यह विशेष तौर पर निम्न-पूँजीपति वर्ग में व सामान्य तौर पर उत्पीड़ित वर्ग का किसी भी वर्गीय विचारधारा के साथ अलगाव होने के रूप में यौनिक जिन्दगी में भी झलकता है। जिसके कारण सामान्यतः यौनिक मामलों में अराजकता पैदा हो रही है। यहीं संकट यौनिक मामलों के सवाल पर निम्न-पूँजीपति वर्ग की राजनीतिक लाइन के रूप में आन्दोलन में भी झलकता है। साम्राज्यवादी विचारधारा के प्रभाव के तहत कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में काम करने वाले कुछ कामरेड सभी राजनीतिक कामों में यौनिक मामलों को ही प्राथमिकता देते हैं और गैर-कमिटीड यौनिक संबंधों, शादी पूर्व यौन संबंधों, मल्टीपल यौन संबंधों में शामिल रहते हैं। यह सब करते हुए हर एक अवसरवादी की तरह पार्टी का सबसे अनुशासित सदस्य होने का व सर्वहारा यौन नैतिकता की लाइन के प्रति कमिटीड होने का दावा करते रहते हैं। जो अवसरवादी जो यौन नैतिकता के सवाल पर दो मेज पर (एक साम्राज्यवादी यौन नैतिकता जिसका वो पालन करते हैं व दूसरा कम्युनिस्ट यौन नैतिकता जिसको वे व्यवहार में लागू करने का दावा करते हैं) बैठे रहते हैं। वहीं यौनिक अवसरवादी कहलाते हैं।

यौनिक अवसरवादियों का दर्शनशास्त्र:- यौनिक अवसरवादियों का दर्शनशास्त्र यांत्रिक भौतिकवादी होता है। जो यौनिक जिन्दगी में वर्ग-संघर्ष को नकारता है। क्योंकि इनका कहना है कि हम परिवार व पार्टनरशिप के सवाल पर संघर्ष नहीं कर सकते हैं। ये महिला-पुरुष संबंधों में वर्ग संघर्ष की बजाय वर्गीय तालमेलवाद (शांतिवाद) को सच्चे दिल से स्वीकार करते हैं। जब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी इनके साथ परिवार व पार्टनरशिप के सवाल पर संघर्ष करती है तो ये बोलते हैं कि हमारी भावनाओं को नहीं समझा जा रहा है, परिवार व पार्टनरशिप के प्रति जो भावनाएं हैं उनको कैसे बदला जा सकता है। यह तो महिला-पुरुष संबंधों को डील करने का बड़ा ही यांत्रिक (आम प्रचलित शब्द मैकेनिकल) तरीका है। जबकि हकीकत यह है कि ये खुद ही यांत्रिक भौतिकवादी (आम प्रचलित शब्द मैकेनिकल) हैं जो बदलाव को ही नकार रहे हैं। (असल में देखें तो, आखिर में ये दर्शनशास्त्र के भाववादी खेमें में ही जाकर गिरते हैं, जो हमेशा एक काल्पनिक जिन्दगी जीते रहते हैं)

1. यौनिक अवसरवाद कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में लम्बे समय से जगह बनाए हुए है। आज के समय में यौनिक अवसरवाद आन्दोलन की मुख्य समस्याओं में शामिल हो चुका है। यौनिक अवसरवाद के कारण कार्यकर्ता संसोधनवादी रास्ते पर चलने के साथ-साथ शासक वर्ग के खेमें में पहुँच रहे हैं। वे कोवर्ट से लेकर गद्दारी तक का रास्ता तय कर ले रहे हैं। यौनिक अवसरवाद के कारण की गयी गद्दारी के कारण कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन ने कई महान सर्वहारा के नेतृत्व को शासक वर्ग की मुठभेड़ों में खो दिया है। इसलिए आज हमारे लिए जरूरी है कि हम यौनिक अवसरवाद के लक्षणों को समझें और उन्हें कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन से बहार कर दें।
2. यौनिक अवसरवाद के कारण कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता गैर-सैद्धांतिक (गैर मार्क्सवादी) जिन्दगी जीते हैं। वे बात कम्युनिस्ट नैतिकता को लागू करने की करते हैं, लेकिन वे जीते साम्राज्यवादी- सामन्ती संस्कृति को हैं। लेकिन मौजूदा ढाँचे में जब इनसे बातचीत की जाती है तो ये अपनी बातों को स्पष्ट न रखकर बातों को इधर-उधर घुमाते रहते हैं। कामरेड लेनिन ऐसे लोगों के बारे में बोलते हैं कि **“इनका अवसरवाद कभी ऊपर चढ़ता है और कभी नीचे उतरता है और एक डंडे से दुसरे डंडे पर छलांग मारते हुए अपने सिद्धांतों को निश्चित रूप से बताने से हमेशा बहुत चालाकी के साथ कतरा जाता है।”** यौनिक अवसरवादी हमेशा सैद्धांतिक पक्ष पर बात करने से बचते हैं ताकि बाकि कार्यकर्ता इनके यौनिक अवसरवाद को पहचान न लें। यौनिक अवसरवादी हमेशा फ़िराक में रहते हैं कि यौनिक मामलों पर पार्टी की समझदारी को बदल दिया जाए ताकि ये अपनी यौनिक इच्छाओं का स्पष्टीकरण दे सके। कामरेड लेनिन ने अवसरवाद की विशेषता का जिक्र करते हुए बताया है कि **“हमें आजकल के अवसरवाद की एक विशेषता को कभी नहीं भूलना चाहिए, जो प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में पाई जाती है अर्थात उसकी अस्पष्टता, बिखराव, और कभी पकड़ में न आने वाला गुण। अवसरवाद का स्वभाव ही ऐसा होता है कि वह हमेशा किसी भी सवाल को स्पष्ट और निर्णायक रूप से पेश करने से कतराता है, वह हमेशा कोई बीच का रास्ता निकालने की फ़िराक में रहता है; दो एकदम विरोधी दृष्टिकोणों के बीच सदा सांप की तरह बल खाता रहता है और दोनों के साथ सहमत होने की कोशिश करता है; और अपने मतभेदों को छोटे-छोटे संसोधनों, संदेहों और निर्दोष सुझावों का रूप देने की कोशिश करता रहता है।”**

3. यौनिक अवसरवादियों की विशेषता है कि वे आन्दोलन में यौनिक सम्बन्धों को कम्युनिस्ट अनुशासन के अनुसार न चलाकर अराजकतावादी सिद्धांतों के आधार पर चलाना चाहते हैं। ये क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट खेमों में खुद को लौह अनुशासन को लागू करने वालों में सबसे आगे दिखाते हैं लेकिन ये अपनी यौनिक संबंधों में मौजूद अराजकता को पार्टी से छिपाकर लागू करते हैं। जब इनके द्वारा की गयी गलतियों के बारे में पार्टी को पता चलता है तो ये नेतृत्व के प्रति अविश्वास की दुहाई देना शुरू कर देते हैं। ये भूल जाते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट संचालन पद्धति पार्टी अनुशासन के अनुसार चलती है न कि किसी के विश्वास और अविश्वास पर। कामरेड लेनिन ऐसे लोगों को जवाब देते हुए बोलते हैं कि “अब मैं बिना कोई कारण या उद्देश्य बताए, केवल अपने विश्वास या अविश्वास का अभाव की घोषणा नहीं कर सकता, बल्कि अब मुझे समझना चाहिए कि अपने फैसलों के लिए और आम तौर पर पार्टी के किसी भी हिस्से के सभी फैसलों के लिए- मुझे पूरी पार्टी के सामने जवाब देना पड़ेगा। अपने विश्वास के अभाव को व्यक्त करते समय या इस अविश्वास पर आधारित अपने विचारों या इच्छाओं को मनवाने की कोशिश करते समय, मुझे एक बाजाबता तौर पर निर्धारित कार्यविधि के अनुसार चलना होगा।” ये लोग अनुशासनहीनता सिर्फ खुद नहीं करते बल्कि अपने आसपास मौजूद यौनिक मामलों में जारी अनुशासनहीनता को रोकते भी नहीं हैं, बल्कि उन्हें गैरजरूरी बताकर उन पर पर्दा डाल देते हैं ताकि इनके यौनिक अवसरवाद के लिए जगह बन सके। ये यौनिक मामलों में सर्वहारा दृष्टिकोण के बारे में सभी कार्यकर्ताओं तक चर्चा नहीं करते हैं।
4. यौनिक अवसरवादियों की विशेषता है कि वे सर्वहारा के अधिनायकत्व पर बात न करके हमेशा जनवादी मांगों की दुहाई देते रहते हैं। उनके चर्चा के पसंदीदा विषय होते हैं- पितृसत्ता, जेंडर, लिव इन रिलेशनशिप आदि। इन मामलों पर भी सर्वहारा की समझदारी न रखके वे उतर-आधुनिक पहचान की राजनीति की समझ देते हैं। राजनीतिक सत्तादखल, सर्वहारा वर्ग का अधिनायकत्व, मालेमा सिद्धांत आदि पर बात करना तो वे कभी सपने में भी नहीं सोचते हैं। यौनिक अवसरवादी पार्टी में केन्द्रीयता के बहुत बड़े दुश्मन होते हैं। कामरेड लेनिन बोलते हैं कि “जो सर्वहारा वर्ग के अधिनायकत्व से डरते हैं और जो सदा जनवादी मांगों के निरपेक्ष मूल्य के बारे में आहं भरा करते हैं वो असल में अवसरवादी हैं।”
5. यौनिक अवसरवादी पार्टी कामकाज से जुड़े सभी फैसले यौनिक संबंधों को केंद्र में रखकर लेते हैं। लेकिन ये हमेशा पार्टी से उम्मीद करते हैं कि पार्टी इनके रिश्ते को साथियों के सामने आदर्श के रूप में पेश करें। ये अपनी यौनिक इच्छाओं को पूरा करने के लिए लगातार गलतियाँ करते रहते हैं लेकिन ये अपनी गलतियों के लिए जिम्मेदार नेतृत्व को ठहराते हैं। जब नवजनवादी क्रांति के लिए कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी इनको किसी और इलाके में कामकाज करने की जिम्मेदारी देने की बात करती है तो इनके दिमाग में हमेशा सबसे पहले एक ख्याल आता है कि जीवनसाथी के बगैर कैसे काम करेंगे। या फिर इनकी तरफ से आता है कि हम दोनों को एक साथ-एक जगह पर भेजा जाएँ (काम करने की शर्त के बतौर)। पार्टी के अंदर खुद को पेशेवर बोलने वाले कई जोड़े तो हकीकत में अंशकालिक कार्यकर्ता के रूप में काम करते रहते हैं। उनके काम करने की दिनचर्या ऐसी होती है कि वे दिन में तो पार्टी के लिए काम करते हैं लेकिन शाम को उनको हर कीमत पर एक साथ यानी अपने पार्टनर के पास होना चाहिए।

मार्क्सवाद-लेनिनवाद-माओवाद (मालेमा) चीजों को हमेशा द्वंद्वात्मक भौतिकवादी दर्शनशास्त्र से देखता है। द्वंद्वात्मक भौतिकवाद का मानना है कि कोई भी वस्तु अपने से विपरीत वस्तु में बदल सकती है। यौनिक अवसरवाद एक ऐसा घुन है जो कभी भी विघटनवाद- संसोधनवाद में तब्दील हो सकता है। पार्टी संकट के समय में तो कोवर्ट से लेकर गद्दारी तक सफर तय कर सकता है। इसके बावजूद, यदि यौनिक अवसरवाद को समय रहते पहचानकर क्रांतिकारी पार्टी के ढांचे और एक व्यक्ति विशेष का सर्वहाराकरण करते हुए वर्गविहीन समाज की स्थापना कर सकते हैं। आज हमारे लिए समझना जरूरी है कि कैसे कोई यौनिक अवसरवादी विघटनवादी बनता है। यौनिक अवसरवादी से विघटनवादी बनने के सफर को हमें एक कड़ी के रूप में देखना चाहिए, वह कड़ी इस प्रकार है:-

1. शासक वर्ग पार्टी को खत्म करने के लिए राजकीय दमन व मनोवैज्ञानिक युद्ध का सहारा लेता है। यौनिक अवसरवादी राजकीय दमन का सामना न करके खुद संकट में फस जाता है। ये अपने अलगाव का समाधान मालेमा में न देखकर अपने जीवनसाथी में देखते हैं।
2. यौनिक अवसरवाद के कारण ये अपने अंदर चल रहे संकट का समाधान खुद को राजनीतिक रूप से मजबूत करके नहीं करते जिसके कारण इनकी आंतरिक दृढ़ता निरंतर कमजोर होती जाती है व पार्टी लाइन और मालेमा के प्रति प्रतिबद्धता कमजोर होती जाती है।
3. आज जहाँ एक तरह शासक वर्ग द्वारा चलाया जा रहा मनोवैज्ञानिक युद्ध लगातार तेज हो रहा है। वहीं दूसरी तरफ यौनिक अवसरवादी रुझान मजबूत होने के कारण वे खुद को राजनीतिक रूप से असक्षम पाते हैं जिसके कारण वे पार्टी को भी संकट से निकालने में असक्षम हो रहे हैं।
4. यौनिक अवसरवादी निम्न-पूँजीपति पद्धति के अनुसार व्यक्तिगत यौनिक प्यार में शुक्न को ढूँढते हैं जिसे वो पार्टी संकट से निकालने के रूप में देखते हैं। ऐसे में कुछ भूमिगत जोड़े अंशकालिक कार्यकर्ता के रूप में व्यवहार करना शुरू कर देते हैं व पार्टी कामकाज को दरकिनार करते हुए वे हर किम्मत पर एक साथ रहने की मांग करते हैं। और अपनी एक साथ रहने की मांग को एक जिद (काम करेंगे तो इस जिद के साथ, नहीं तो काम नहीं करेंगे) बना लेते हैं।
5. ऐसे कार्यकर्ता कामकाज को दरकिनार व अनुशासन का पालन न करके व्यवहार में निम्न-पूँजीपति विचारधारा के अनुसार यौनिक मामलों में यौनिक अराजकता को और तेज कर देते हैं। वे अपनी जिन्दगी में हर कदम पर पार्टी अनुशासन की अवहेलना शुरू कर देते हैं।
6. अवसरवादी की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता होती है कि चीजों को व्यवहार में लागू करते हैं और उसको कमी के रूप में स्वीकार न करके उसका स्पष्टीकरण देना शुरू कर देते हैं। यौनिक अवसरवादी अपनी इस विशेषता को लागू करते हुए वो पार्टी द्वारा दी जा रही सुविधाओं का फायदा उठाते हैं और अपने अंदर मौजूद इस यौनिक अराजकता का स्पष्टीकरण देना शुरू कर देते हैं। (यानि इसके लिए वो परिस्थितियों को जिम्मेदार ठहराना शुरू कर देते हैं।)
7. यौनिक अराजकता के ऐसे माहौल में पार्टी द्वारा यौनिक अवसरवाद के खिलाफ संघर्ष शुरू किया जाता है। यौनिक अराजकता व यौनिक अवसरवाद को जड़मूल से खत्म करने के लिए कुछ फैसले लिये जाते हैं।

8. पार्टी द्वारा लिये गए फैसलों से वे अपने यौनिक अवसरवाद को जारी नहीं रख सकते इसलिए वे पार्टी द्वारा लिये मत व फैसले के खिलाफ ग्रुप बनाना शुरू कर देते हैं. लेकिन समय रहते इनके यौनिक अवसरवाद को पहचान लिया जाता है.
9. यौनिक अवसरवादियों को जब ये लगता है कि पार्टी में इनके यौनिक अवसरवाद की कोई जगह नहीं है तब भूमिगत जिन्दगी को त्यागने का निर्णय करते हैं व अपने भूमिगत जिन्दगी को त्यागने का कारण नेतृत्व को बताना शुरू कर देते हैं और नेतृत्व की डीलिंग पर सवाल उठाना शुरू कर देते हैं. उनको पता है कि अगर वे पार्टी अनुशासन पर सवाल उठाएंगे तो खुद ही फस जाएंगे. इसलिए उनके लिए आसान होता है कि वे नेतृत्व की डीलिंग पर ही सवाल उठा दें. यहीं उनका विघटनवाद है. बड़े दुःख की बात ये है कि हमारे कई हमदर्द इनके इस प्रोपगेंडा का शिकार भी हो जाते हैं.
10. ऐसे में ये पार्टी विरोधी तत्व के रूप में शासक वर्ग के खेमें में शामिल हो जाते हैं.

यौनिक अवसरवाद के खिलाफ निर्णायक लड़ाई लड़ते हुए सर्वहारा वर्ग के हिरावल दस्ता का बोलशेविकरण कैसे किया जाए

यौनिक अवसरवाद अवसरवाद का ही एक रूप है. यदि यौनिक अवसरवाद के खिलाफ मजबूती से वैचारिक-राजनीतिक संघर्ष ना किया जाए तो, इसका आगे का रास्ता विघटनवाद और संसोधनवाद तक जा मिलता है. इसीलिए आज हमारे लिए जरूरी है कि हम आन्दोलन में मौजूद यौनिक अवसरवादी रुझानों को एक एक कर पहचान करें व उनके खिलाफ निर्णायक संघर्ष शुरू करें. यौनिक अवसरवाद से कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी खेमें में यौनिक अराजकता फैलती है जो कभी भी सर्वहारा वर्ग के अधिनायकत्व को स्थापित करने के लिए व्यापक जनता का दिल नहीं जीत सकती. यौनिक अवसरवादियों का समाजवाद काल्पनिक समाजवाद ही होता है और कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों का वैज्ञानिक समाजवाद. कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का लक्ष्य होता है कि वो सर्वहारा वर्ग का अधिनायकत्व स्थापित करे व अंतिम लक्ष्य के रूप में दुनिया के स्तर पर साम्यवाद को स्थापित करें. यदि आज हमने पार्टी के अंदर यौनिक अवसरवाद के खिलाफ वैचारिक संघर्ष नहीं किया तो हम कभी भी पार्टी के अंदर विघटनवाद और संसोधनवाद को पैदा होने से रोक नहीं सकते. परिणामस्वरूप, सर्वहारा वर्ग की मुक्ति के लिए कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी अपने मकशद नवजनवादी क्रांति को सफल बनाने और फिर समाजवाद और साम्यवाद कायम करने के मार्ग से भटक जाएगी . इसलिए आज कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारियों को यह समझना जरूरी है कि प्रत्येक प्रकार का यौनिक व्यवहार किसी न किसी विचारधारा का हिस्सा होता है. ऐसा कोई यौनिक व्यवहार नहीं है जो विचारधारा से परे हो और जिसे न समझा जा सकता हो. आज सर्वहारा वर्ग कमजोर और सामंती-साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें मजबूत हैं. इसलिए यौनिक व्यवहार भी साम्राज्यवादी और सामन्ती विचारधारा से ज्यादा प्रभावित हैं. लेकिन हमें कामरेड कार्ल मार्क्स की बात को कभी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि **“विचार एक भौतिक ताकत होता है. जिससे हम भौतिक परिस्थितियों को बदल सकते हैं”**. सर्वहारा वर्ग की विचारधारा एक मजबूत वैज्ञानिक विचारधारा है जो लगातार शासक वर्ग की विचारधारा से संघर्ष करती रहती है. जैसे-जैसे समाज के आर्थिक बुनियाद में वर्ग-संघर्ष तेज होता है वैसे ही इसका प्रभाव अधिरचना पर भी पड़ता है.

अधिरचना और आधार में वर्ग-संघर्ष के द्वंद्व के आधार पर ही यह तय होता है कि व्यक्ति किस विचारधारा से प्रभावित होता है। अगर सर्वहारा मजबूत बन जाए तो सर्वहारा का विचार प्रभावशाली होता है, नहीं तो शासक वर्ग की विचारधारा ही प्रभावशाली होती है। इसलिए आज हर कम्युनिस्ट क्रांतिकारी के लिए जरूरी है कि वो सर्वहारा वर्ग की विचारधारा को आत्मसात करें व उसके नैतिक मूल्यों को अपने जीवन में उतारकर समाज में जारी वर्ग संघर्ष को नेतृत्व प्रदान करें। हर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के शादीशुदा सदस्य को समझना चाहिए कि अगर वो अपनी यौनिक जिन्दगी में कम्युनिस्ट अनुशासन को लागू नहीं कर रहा है तो इसका मतलब है वो शासक वर्ग की मूल्यों (सामन्ती-साम्राज्यवादी) को ही साथ लेकर चल रहा है। कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में शादीशुदा सदस्यों का साथ में काम करने का सवाल व साथ में रहने का सवाल आन्दोलन की स्थिति के अनुसार तय होता है न कि किसी की व्यक्तिगत इच्छा से। हम बिना त्याग और बलिदान के इस शोषणकारी व्यवस्था को नहीं हरा सकते हैं और जब तक ये शोषणकारी व्यवस्था है तब तक समाज में सच्चे प्यार को स्थापित नहीं किया जा सकता है। इसीलिए आइए, नवजनवादी क्रांति को सफल बनाने के लिए सामंतवाद, दलाल नौकरशाह पूंजीवाद और साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ निर्णायक संघर्ष छेड़ने के क्रम में क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट खेमें में मौजूद यौनिक अवसरवादी गैर सर्वहारा रुझानों को जड़मूल से उखाड़ने के लिए भी निर्णायक संघर्ष करें।

CALL TO JOIN REVOLUTION IS ALSO A CALL TO STRUGGLE AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM.

-BY ANAND

“I want to become a Maoist” said VP Singh, the former prime minister of the Indian ruling class. He himself has gone on record to say that “given the today's development I want to become a Maoist and the only thing which is stopping me from becoming the one is my ill health.” He goes on further to pose a question before the youth, the question is highly re-sounding and it still haunts the enemy classes. The influence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was so sharp that the most reactionary representative of the ruling class too crumbled to it. But now when the revolutionary high tide has slowed down and is in great crisis, even the comrades within the revolutionary camp wants to join the ruling class camp by deserting the party and organization.

For the vast majority of youth in the country the question according to VP Singh is “What is stopping the youth from joining the Maoist movement?” Isn't the question relevant in the present context too? The youth of the country is in desperate condition. Nothing is business as usual for them. The village life which earlier used to provide social and economic security to them has been made unstable. Market penetrated into the villages and made agriculture expensive affairs fit only for very few big landlords. In order to resolve this crisis, the youth come out of the villages and look for jobs, before this the state requires him to pass an entrance exam. This creates new crisis, the crisis of giving huge amount of money in tuition fee for cracking the government job entrance exams. This is an entrance exam whose whole purpose is to reserve seats by methods of elimination for those who have the privileged background of having contacts in the upper realm of government/administrative circles. The youth comes out of the village, finds an expensive shelter in the cities for which he sometimes sell his villages agricultural land to the big landlord. After spending lakhs on staying in the cities and preparing for the exam; which perhaps is so biased that not from any parameter it can be termed a fair competition for in this exam, 98 percent probability remains that he will not be selected by the state.

Having being eliminated some among these youths finds petty jobs in some private sectors. While a vast majority of them remain unemployed, prone to be employed by the ruling class fascist forces like RSS-BJP in the massacre of the religious minorities, dalits, adivasis and women. The ruling class through this structural process converts a large section of the youth into their foot soldiers in order to carry forward the viscous design to convert the country into a complete fascist Hindu rastra. In this process if some youth gains class consciousness and align with the peoples movement in the country then they are killed in fake encounters or are left to die behind the bars. Frustrated by this process thousands of youth are compelled to suicide or tread the path of drugs intake and prostitution. At such time it is important to realize that Marx was once a youth, Lenin too was youth, so was Mao a youth when he joined the revolutionary movement. They joined revolution with an understanding that unless we change the society which is had been so structured by the dictates of the imperialism and feudalism youth's crisis could not be resolved. The energy which the youth have can not be dammed by the state forces

how so ever strong it may be. We have seen this in the Nepal, Sri Lanka and Palestine. In India too the energy is just about to be released.

The Indian youth have witnessed the increasing polarization within the state institutions that is the state has nakedly performed as the managing body of feudal big landlords who in order to exploit and oppress divides us on the basis of caste, religion and sex; besides it has also nakedly performed all the tasks of its imperialist bosses like US thereby benefiting the comprador capitalist like Adani. The Indian state is constantly bowing down to US imperialist pressure. Indian youth considers this our national shame. For the youth in India, nationalism is not the massacre of religious minorities, Dalits and Adivasis of the country rather it is smashing the feudal and imperialist roots in the country and protecting the jal, jungle and zameen of our country against the US imperialist sponsored loot. Therefore the youth are with the peoples of DK and their party CPI(Maoist). The youth understands that only by eliminating the most reactionary feudal forces of the country can our country be developed and be modern in its outlook. With this understanding thousands of Indian youth had joined the Naxalbari movement in the 70-90s. And with the very same understanding the youth in and around Delhi are going underground and trying to resist fascism at ideological, political and organizational level. With Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as their guiding ideology the youth can create a new future for the country, a future where right to life with dignity will have both social and juridical implementation. The present time requires us to move ahead with the task of broader propagation of our ideology and demands from us to be firm in the practice of this ideology. Such is the specificity of the period of crisis. During crisis, the objective condition of the revolution sharpens. But this objective condition for the revolution can only be utilized when we have subjective forces, forces who would work upon the conditions to bring the new and dynamic change in motion.

This objective logic of social transformation makes ruling class thoroughly repressive at this point of history. Liquidationism that is the ruling class ideological penetration within the revolutionary camp leads the cause of breaking or frankly dissolving the revolutionary party or organization. Through the infusion of this ideology ruling classes wants 1) to develop ideological confusion within the revolutionary camps and lead some sections of the revolutionaries on the bourgeoisie revisionist line; 2) to make the ug leadership go open so that enemy can easily attack them and thereby dissolve the revolutionary movement. CPSU the communist party of Russia under the leadership of comrade Lenin declared in 1908 that “The other deviation indicated in the decision of the Party is precisely liquidationism. This is obvious from the reference to the “renunciation” of the “underground” and to the “debasement” of its role and importance which it is necessary to combat. . . .”

Similarly in Indian conditions, the ruling class is trying to prop up this debate within the revolutionary camps in one or the another forms. We saw how the revolutionary mass organization like MAS, a working class organization fought the liquidationist Sumit-Sahil. Nazariya magazine brought this to the notice of the revolutionary people through an article on this. Besides exposing the TPC's urban avtar SFPD (TPC is a liquidationist group from the CPI(Maoist), whose only aim is to annihilate the party) Nazariya built a revolutionary propaganda against liquidationism and all the traitors of the revolutionary organization and party. With this we moved ahead to bring a dedicated 5th issue against Revisionism and now the 6th

issue is the advancement of the previous struggle. While the 5th issue got published and it was being circulated, the state forces attacked the editor of the magazine Vallika, called her for interrogation, the ATS visited her house and it become more likely that she would be arrested. Considering this our magazine got her underground, she started working underground. Her letter has become a source of inspiration for the youth of the country. This process which Nazariya has taken with comrade Valika is quite consistent with the ideology and politics that it has been upholding.

Some sections within the revolutionary camp, started attacking the comrade and our magazine. They are saying that :-

1. The decision of the magazine to get comrade Valika underground (ug) was wrong and was taken in haste.
2. That it was because of her going ug that state repression was unleashed upon the revolutionary mass organization bsCEM and FACAM comrades.

The raising of these debates is perhaps the re-emergence of opportunism-liquidation-revisionism questions. These questions have well being settled by us in our previous issues and also on the online portal. This comes in succession with the repression on the magazine by the state forces. Comrade Lenin truly said that liquidationism is the ruling class political force. What ruling class could not achieve by the covert and its ideological propaganda tried to achieve by torturing comrades. It was only after the brutal repression of comrades in Delhi that opportunism which was once defeated could rear up their heads. After when Nazariya brought an article against the liquidator group named SFPD, It was agreed upon by all within the revolutionary camp that going ug is the only method to mobilize the masses in the revolution but after the repression doubts were raised on the line of sending some comrade to work in ug format.

The position of Nazariya is very clear from the very first day of its formation, it is that we upholds M-L-M as our guiding light, we consider the party, CPI (Maoist) as the true upholder of this ideology and therefore we broadly sympathize with the political line and the movement lead by the party. We consider the political activities of the party as the part of the rich experience which the world proletariat has gained in its struggle against capital. Therefore we seek to learn from it and imbibe it in our practice. In accordance to which we took the decision that leadership needs to be preserved, when it is known that in most likelihood she would be arrested, it was but natural to get her work underground. This format increases the professionalism of comrade, pursues her to integrate with the basic masses of peasants and workers while making her move forward on the path of comrade Anuradha and comrade Niti. The work among the basic masses and the preparation to build party, peoples army and United Front (Jantana Sarkars/ Revolutionary Peoples Committee) in villages for successful completion of New Democratic Revolution can only be done in ug format. Therefore we proudly uphold her decision to go ug. Her work among the basic masses will be the determining factor in the revolution. We also believe that it is not an easy task for her too, given her class background and the privileges which she enjoyed henceforth, it is only the sheer ideological political motive for the proletarian revolution that made her to take this bold step. We salute her and seek to advance it even further.

Now coming to the questions before us. Firstly, anyone who try to attack on the ug character of the comrade involved in revolutionary work is actually attacking the revolutionary traditions and

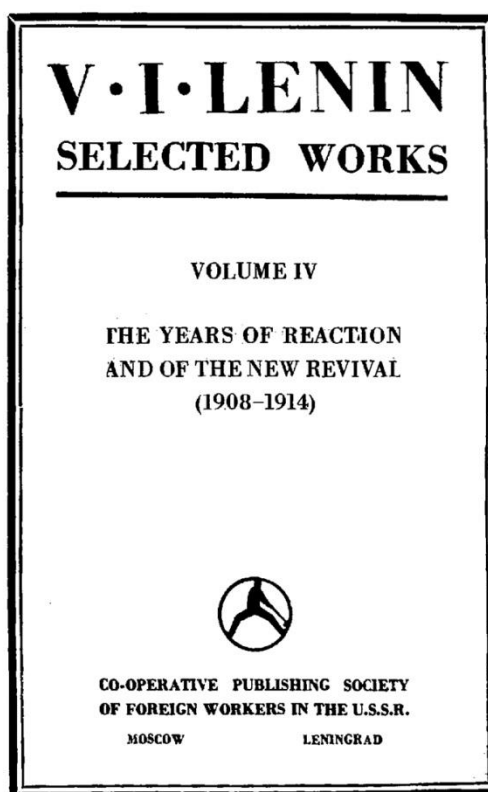
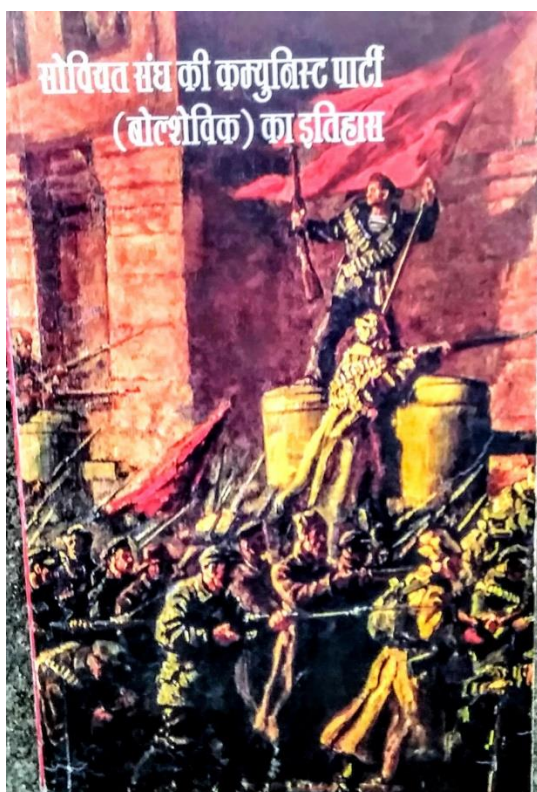
legacy. They do not want the revolution to be completed, for when the subjective forces who can guide the revolution politically will remain open at the disposal of the ruling class and its state, for how long he can escape repression? Therefore there is no question of any changed opinion on the question of comrade Val going ug. Secondly, the repression which was carried out in Delhi on comrades from bsCEM and FACAM was because of certain immortal contribution of these two organization and fronts with regard to the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist); it has nothing to do with Val going ug, this is just an eyewash. The intention is to shut down any voice speaking against state repression and commodification in Bastar. We at Nazariya unequivocally stands against the repression on these organizations.

We call upon the youth of this country to :- be expert in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, become an ug professional revolutionary, start work among the basic masses and take part in the revolutionary class struggle which is moving swiftly under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist). Only then will the youth of this country gain liberation.



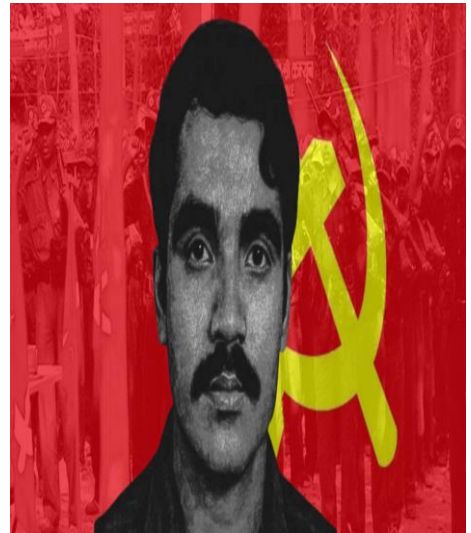
Comrade Lenin: The organizer and leader of the Party who took the Bolshevik Party out of its crisis through his struggle against opportunism-revisionism-liquidationism! Red Salutes to Comrade Lenin

BOOK RECOMMENDATIONS



COMRADE BASAVRAJU

Comrade Basavraju was the General Secretary of CPI (Maoist) when he laid down his life while struggling for the fulfilment of peace talks so that the masses could get a reprieve from the brutal Operation Kagaar. Despite having the chance to escape encirclement by the enemy, he chose to become a martyr for the cause of the people right to their jal-jangal-zameen and izzat-adhikar. It was under his leadership that the need to go UG was emphasised and the roadmap towards the Party's revival was laid down. It was his line on which Comrade Raju and Kosa were martyred in fighting against liquidationism.



Fight Liquidationism! Remain armed and underground!

Jose Maria Sison

Com JM Sison was the Chairman of the Communist Party of Philippines and he was martyred while struggling for the correct ideological line. He has also helped guide the CPP in its rectification campaign- even in prison while he was being tortured, he made use of this time to advance the revolution. When there was confusion with respect to opportunism and left and right deviations in the Party, he sent out many letters and articles to address and criticize the confusion. He 2 years to write Basics of ML: A Primer to complete this task. Longlive the spirit of relentless struggle!

