**Let us never forget the essence and importance of the historic**

**Naxalbari Peasant Rebellion on the occasion of its Fiftieth Anniversary!**

**Naxalbari is the only and correct path to People’s Liberation!**

**Kishan**

Genuine Communists know that the siren of the historic Naxalbari Armed Revolutionary Peasant struggle in fact sounded as a Spring Thunder in the month of May 1967. It gave a heavy blow to the revisionist stream that was dominating the Communist movement for a long time in India through a qualitatively different process- a split and a step forward. As a result genuine Communist Revolutionaries could politically and organizationally separate themselves from the stranglehold of the diehard revisionist CPI and CPI(M). Great Debate started at the international level in the leadership of Comrade Mao against the revisionism of Khrushchev. In this debate there was mainly ideological, political, theoretical discussion and logic between revisionism and armed struggle. Naxalbari struggle greatly highlighted the understanding of armed struggle in this discussion, that the then Communist Party of China (CPC) in the leadership of Mao brought forth.

**Why did Naxalbari Peasant struggle become historic and decisive?**

Genuine Communists must imperatively deeply think of the many fundamental factors regarding this struggle. They must come to a proper understanding. The fundamental factors are like this –

1. Right from the beginning certain fundamental weaknesses such as lack of proper political-organisational-military line for the liberation of the Indian masses, failure in applying the successful revolutionary path, i.e., Armed Agrarian Revolution, the path of Protracted People’s War (PPW) to the specific conditions of India repeatedly came forth from the core of the leadership of the Communist Party of India (CPI) that was formed outside the country in 1921 and in the country in 1925. We have to clearly remember and keep this in view. At times right and at times ‘left’ deviation dominated the then unified party. It means at times the diehard right-revisionist line of Dange and Ajay Ghosh and at times the opposite ‘left’ deviation of B.T.Ranadive dominated. Later in 1964 the Communist Party split and CPI (M) was formed. Even then in fact revisionist-reformist line dominated the leadership of both the parties. In practice both the parties had the work style and actions of taking up the parliamentary path and drowning themselves in the game of votes in the contemporary deceitful electoral system. The line of the two parties of participating in elections in the higher plane is normally a tactical issue of Marxist-Leninist policy. In a direction totally different to this, they took up the line of ‘Peaceful transformation into Socialism’ that traitor Khrushchev brought forth, that brought a split between revisionism and Communist movement in a conspiratorial manner. The line of taking up all kinds of actions with only strategic perspective dominated these parties. They entirely left Armed Revolution and the game of seizing power through elections to Assembly-Parliament-Panchayat, the way Comrade Lenin described as ‘pigsty’ became the only path for them. Naxalbari Armed struggle drew a pronounced, decisive line of demarcation from this parliamentary-reformist-revisionist line and their actions. This is the reason why the ‘Naxalbari Peasant struggle’ is called a historic struggle.
2. Since the formation of Communist Party of India the question of Armed struggle did not find place in the agenda of its meetings. It is the ‘Naxalbari Peasant struggle’ that gave a great blow to this revisionist stream going on in a diehard form and brought a qualitative change. The Armed struggle brought the question of real liberation of 90 percent toiling masses into the agenda of Communist Revolutionaries. Due to this reason too Naxalbari struggle is said to be a struggle with historic importance.
3. ‘Naxalbari Peasant struggle’ proved that this struggle is not only to occupy a little land or for land but on the contrary it is a struggle to seize state power. Land problem is certainly one important problem in New Democratic Revolution. But if it does not have the main aim of seizing state power, the peasantry would be drowned in the struggle for land their life long. They will have to be mired in the struggle to submit charter of demands to the Village Development Officers (VDO) only for achieving general-outdated demands that have been going on for centuries. This is why the ‘Naxalbari struggle’ was said to be historic.
4. ‘Naxalbari struggle’ did not only bring forward the problem of seizing state power. It also brought forward the entire politics of New Democratic Revolution that is the first stage of Revolution for achieving a society of People’s Democratic Dictatorship through Armed Agrarian Revolution and Protracted People’s War.

Naxalbari also provided an understanding regarding ‘who were friends and who were enemies’ and also about organizing real friends against real enemies in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. It declared that all the imperialist powers including US, the Feudalism, meaning big feudal class, the agents of imperialism - the Indian big bourgeoisie as the real enemies. Similarly it made it clear that workers-peasantry, petty bourgeois class and national bourgeois class are the real friends. The analysis of friends and foes was not as clear as it is now. However, it could put forward a qualitatively different class analysis from the repeated wrong class analysis of the past revisionist leadership. This too made ‘Naxalbari struggle’ historic.

1. If we see the erstwhile Communist Movement in India, in fact Telangana Armed Struggle began in the leadership and supervision of the Andhra state committee following the path of Chinese Revolution. On one hand the then party leadership betrayed and on the other the comrades following the path of struggle were not firm on the ideological-political line, they did not demonstrate the firmness to be prepared to split organizationally implementing the understanding of the line of Comrade Mao and so the Telangana movement temporarily faded away. It erupted in an extensive and qualitatively different form in Naxalbari. The Naxalbari Peasant rebellion emerged through the process of totally divorcing from the old revisionist-reformist understanding and method of work. So too Naxalbari movement was said to be a movement with historic perspective.
2. ‘Naxalbari Peasant struggle’ made clear the necessity to build a Revolutionary Communist Party divorced from the diehard revisionist CPI and CPM that totally imbibed the revisionist theory and revisionist organizational structure and work style in content and form and is based on the correct line-policy, style of work, to all the Communist Revolutionaries. The ‘Naxalbari Peasant struggle’ also taught thus – 1. The leadership of the Revolutionary Party must not be imposed from the above but it shall be formed by achieving coordination between the theory and practice and through participating in the revolutionary movement. 2. The path of Protracted People’s War is the path of seizing state power. 3. People’s Liberation Army must be formed to establish liberated areas in the rural areas and area wise power must be seized. It should be gradually spread and the towns that are the bases for the strength of the enemy must be encircled. Ultimately the towns too must be seized.
3. Naxalbari struggle brought forth the importance to lay the foundation for a strong worker-peasant unity by organizing the broad peasantry that is the main force in the stage of New Democratic Revolution in the leadership of the proletariat. Moreover the working class cannot blend with the peasantry through going to the villages from the cities in intervals and give a few speeches. On the contrary it must personally declassify and take up a hard, difficult process and only thus can fulfill the work of blending with the peasantry, said Naxalbari. This too made Naxalbari movement to be called as one with historical perspective.

**The relevance of the aim of Naxalbari Peasant struggle is as much as at that time!**

The historic Naxalbari Peasant struggle is going to complete fifty years now. Fifty years is not a little time. However we must say that the relevance of the Naxalbari Peasant struggle is as relevant as it was at that time. Naturally a question arises. What is its relevance?

It is not enough for us to only say ‘Naxalbari is the only correct path to liberation’, ‘Naxalbari ek hi raastha’ (the only path) with the clear theoretical understanding that we gained basing on the present understanding and experience but we also have to say that the main work is to implement it on the land of India. A correct theoretical-political-organisational-military line is necessary to successfully implement this main work. Documents providing many more fundamental guidelines in the direction of this theory are also necessary. Our Party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) said thus in the document Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution –

‘The aim of Strategy and Tactics will always be to successfully complete a given stage of any revolution based on the programme related to that stage. It is important to bear in mind the guidelines given by Com. Stalin that theory should guide the Programme; Programme should guide the Strategy; and Strategy should guide the Tactics. The strategy can be correctly worked out only by basing itself on the data provided by, and the conclusions drawn from, the theory and programme of MLM.

The Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution should be formulated by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism Maoism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country. This means that the Strategy and Tactics should be evolved by basing on an objective class analysis of the Indian society; the character of the Indian State; the Fundamental contradictions and the Principal contradiction; and by taking into account the specific characteristics, the special features as well as the peculiarities of the Indian situation.

The strategy of the Indian Revolution in the present stage should thus serve to fulfill the New Democratic programme by successfully completing the New Democratic Revolution. The tactics that are to be formulated in every twist and turn of the movement in the various regions at various times should be subordinated to the strategy and to serve to effectively implement the above strategy. Such is the dialectical relationship between the Programme, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution’.

In view of the above quotation, it is clear that we need MLM, Party Program, Strategy-Tactics, Party Constitution, Political Resolution and other such things to make Indian Revolution successful. It also needs special policy documents with special guidelines to successfully accomplish many more practical tasks. But it would not be enough to only have many basic documents and documents regarding policy-program. We have to build a strong Party organizing the comrades who stand in the forefront through theory and practice. We have to formulate guidelines to decide whether the path of Indian Revolution shall be General Insurrection or whether it takes up Strategy and Tactics of Protracted People’s War (PPW). If we follow the path of Protracted People’s War, we have to select strategic areas and deploy the available forces in the area. The formation of army and liberated areas should be decided as the main, central and immediate task. We have to form United Front of the four class alliance (worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois) through the process of Armed struggle. We have to successfully complete the contemporary New Democratic Revolution. For this purpose we need to have clear theoretical understanding about the formation of three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and United Front.

Why was the Naxalbari struggle that took place fifty years back with the above mentioned standard criteria not successful as expected? We must search the reasons. We have reviews to search. Since the set back of the Naxalbari movement in 1971-72 there are many such reviews.

Depending on the issues that came forth in these reviews, though our general line is correct, we can say that we could not take up special lines, special tactics and programs according to this line. As a result, as the POR of CPI(ML)[PW] said and the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress accepted, ‘Splits began in the Party as a result of- severe tactical mistakes and certain ideological, political and organizational weaknesses; there was severe repression, heavy losses; lack of experience, the internal actions of sabotage of the right opportunists; temporary setback due to this and political/ideological illusions. When Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the leader of Naxalbari movement and one of the founders of our Party, of our teachers and leaders was in police custody in 1972, he was tortured and became a martyr. His martyrdom was a severe loss to Indian Revolution and the entire ML movement. Later the movement suffered loss and temporary setback. The above mentioned shortcomings and weaknesses are seen even after completion of fifty years of Naxalbari movement. We did not achieve the expected results.

So we take lessons from the erstwhile movement and with a strong will step forward firmly facing many kinds of complex, difficult problems and the conditions of ebbs and flows in the leadership of CPI (Maoist) to advance the Indian Revolution. In view of this we can say that the historic aim of Naxalbari movement is as much relevant as at that time.

**Never forget the necessity to constantly fight against all kinds of revisionism and its evil tactics!**

Since Marxism emerged revisionism too came forth against it. Struggle started between two mutually different factors, Marxism and Revisionism in the form of conflicts. In the process of struggle between Marxism and revisionism the Telangana struggle arose (this did not have theoretical firmness. Due to the betrayal of the then revisionist leadership it ultimately failed. The flame of that Telangana struggle faded off). Later in May 1967, the historic Naxalbari movement broke as a Spring Thunder. The great and favorable factor of this struggle is in the efficient fight against the diehard revisionist line and tactics of the leadership of the CPM party. It could divorce from it organizationally in proper time. Thus it could implement a fundamental rule or principle, the principle of separation or a leap, of the entire rules or concepts of Marxist Dialectical Materialism in practice, achieved and showed the historic objective of it.

Again in 1971-72 when the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement started setting back it gave way for many kinds of wrong and revisionist lines. Almost all these lines are like ‘old wine in a new bottle’ and on the whole these brought forth revisionist line and tactics with a revolutionary jargon. For example the revisionist line of the cent per cent diehard revisionist and Party disruptor Sathyanarayana Singh is worth mention (there is no need to discuss this in detail in this article. Discussion has been going on about this as and when needed).

On the whole our movement is facing a difficult situation and in a few places it temporarily setback too. Even now we realize the danger of various kinds of revisionist-reformist wrong lines aimed to give a blow to the line of Protracted People’s War and the necessity to give a strong fight against the same. In fact these wrong lines not only revealed the possibility of danger but also the necessity to take up a strong fight against it as an immediate and imperative political task. The resolution of CC-4 said thus – ‘In such conditions right and left opportunist trends would arise here and there in the Party……where the right-opportunist, disrupting, revisionist political arguments are brought forth, there……….they are bringing forth right trend in the veil of left line…….few say that semi-colonial-semi-feudal relations of production in India have changed and capitalist relations of production have come up. Basing on this they are bringing forth the wrong arguments that Protracted People’s War does not suit India. In the veil of implementing the correct line of the Party, few people have sectarian and bureaucratic trends and are harming the Party and the movement……..we have to formulate a strategic scheme to bring a stage of advancement from the present difficult situation of the movement. The first thing in this is to strengthen the whole Party theoretically and politically, condemn anti-Marxist bourgeois, revisionist theories, expose and defeat them. As a part of it we have to face the Post-modernist theories in the present conditions. We have to educate the whole party abiding to the political line of our Party’.

**We can strengthen the entire Party in all ways only through the process of bolshevizing, we can thus eliminate the shortcomings and weaknesses in the Party and the movement and advance the work of reorganization!**

We gave a call to bolshevise the entire party to advance this great work in the leadership of our Party in a proper manner. We did not give an ordinary call but released many circulars and necessary letters to the cadres abiding the general call to make it successful –

1. We have to regularly take up theoretical-political education for the gradual development of the theoretical-political level of understanding in the entire Party as a campaign; we have to select leadership comrades, pay special attention towards them and implement the process of educating them in both theory and practice. Thus we will be able to train few comrades to provide qualified and efficient leadership. We have to investigate the changes in economic-political sectors (condition) in the past thirty years and the present time and enrich our understanding regarding the same. Thus we can formulate our tactics according to the necessity.
2. We have to take up rectification movement as a campaign from top to bottom to entirely eliminate the petty bourgeois, bourgeois tendencies and all kinds of non-proletarian tendencies and practice of the same arising inside the party.
3. We have to constantly take up theoretical and political struggle against all kinds of revisionism, whether it is ‘right or left’. We have to take up the process of relentless fight against the views and understanding of post-modernism, theunderstanding and line that capitalism developed in every sector in India; we have to take up the process of bolshevizing as that of arming the Party gradually with proletarian character and proletarian qualities; we have to do unrelenting work to provide deep understanding about the dialectical materialist analytical methods, the rule of ‘unity between two mutually opposite factors’, the principle of seeing everything as ‘one dividing into two’.
4. We have to protect all the leadership comrades starting from the highest committee CC to the Area Committee; we have to protect the party committees in all formations in PLGA like the BnPC, CyPC, PPC, members, entire commanders, deputy commanders and members of various levels of commands; we have to protect the leadership and activists of RPC, KKC and other Mass Organisations.
5. We have to pay special attention towards building the Party, PLGA, KKC and other various Mass Organisations with Party as the fundamental foundation and taking the village as a unit, following class line-mass line to strengthen much more the foundations of the Party according to the class line and taking it among the masses. Thus we have to strengthen the basis of the Party so that it can sustain and withstand any number of losses. Thus we have to strengthen the Party from the basic level in various forms, select a few out of them as Professional Revolutionaries and recruit them into the appropriate level of organization and other such things.
6. It is necessary to have hold on implementing the principle of ‘unity-struggle between two mutually opposite things’ and ‘one divides into two’ in practice in order to achieve successes in any work in the ongoing comprehensive revolutionary movement.

We can make proper analysis and inferences about the reason behind the ordinary weaknesses, especially the domination of revisionist line, revisionist tactics and occasionally the deviation and domination of the ‘right’ that have been continuing in the Indian Communist movement since the past and about the favorable results and the unfavorable factors achieved through the movement, only if we gain hold on implementing the principle of ‘unity-struggle between two mutually opposite factors’ and in practice ‘one divides into two’. Anyway there are a lot of weaknesses in doing so. So we have to certainly gain hold on implementing the above principles.

This is the call of CPI (Maoist) on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari **-** Let us do hard work to achieve complete success in the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of the Party and advance in the direction of first forming People’s Democracy and later Socialism-Communism!

The unjust offensive war going on since the Spring Thunder of the united, newly formed CPI (Maoist) and the situation of just war of resistance against it proved to the people of India that the line of Agrarian Revolution and the Protracted People’s War of the Party since the historic Naxalbari rebellion to the present time is entirely correct. Especially the offensive war in the name of Operation Green Hunt for the past ten years and the war of resistance to totally fight it back are going on in a fierce way and became a prominent point of discussion in the Indian political situation. Thus as a part of the process of implementing the line of Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla war in practice, the programs we are taking up to overcome the situation of ebbs-flows, the difficult situation and the setback situation, our strategy-tactics have been enriched. However our Party is yet very weak to the level expected. Many non-proletarian trends, patriarchal habits and practice exist inside the Party. So we have to take up constant struggle against these entire wrong trends and eliminate them. Along with this we have to advance firmly the process of bolshevizing the party constantly. Whatever the conditions may be, we have to control losses to the Party.

Along with the formation of the united Party, we could make a leap in the progress of the Indian Revolutionary movement by forming People’s Liberation Guerilla Army in the leadership of the Party. During this period we could also learn the science of war with MLM perspective. We could also understand the dynamics of war to some extent. We could develop the art of war to some extent only in the method of ‘learning war through war’ and from the lessons achieved from the sacrifices of the countless brave commanders and warriors. By implementing Protracted People’s War with the aim of formation of liberated areas we could form many guerilla zones. We achieved many tactical successes by facing the very strong enemy army by implementing guerilla war tactics with dare, efficiency in thought and according to the terrain. With this we are able to gain support to advance our guerilla war in the direction of mobile war. We advanced the immediate, main and central task. We concentrated in the strategic areas implementing the Party line and formed red resistance areas and guerilla zones with the perspective to establish liberated areas. We established guerilla bases. We are pouring in all our energies in the present People’s War with the firm will to transform guerilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerilla zones into liberated areas. We faced heavy losses and achieved certain successes. Though we faced certain severe losses and reached the situation of a setback, there are opportunities to develop guerilla war to a much higher stage. But we must absolutely discard complacency. We must see that we do not repeat our mistakes. On the contrary we have to gain inspiration from our victories. We must not be disappointed with the failures but take lessons from them. We have to decide specific tasks according to our condition and subjective forces.

We could establish units of people’s revolutionary power from the lower level to area level in few places in the country. However, in view of the objective situation, the possibilities and necessities, we could not give a practical form to the people’s alternate democratic system in one big area. This is our one serious weakness. It is our immediate task to overcome this as soon as possible. We know that the international and domestic situations are more favorable to revolution than ever before. We have to utilize this favorable factor in a proper manner and thus can totally rectify our shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in a specified period. Then there is a possibility to make a leap in the revolutionary war in the background of the favorable and unfavorable impacts we gained in the process of advancing our People’s War for the past ten years. We have to advance People’s War and concentrate our attention on the task of uniting all the forces against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism to form United Front of four classes (worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois). We have to pay attention on recruiting young women and men from among the workers, peasants, adivasis and dalits. We must work to transform PLGA to PLA. We have to creatively implement our tactics, take up tactical offensives against the enemy forces, conduct appropriate counter offensive actions against the inhuman military campaign or the offensive war and defeat the constant attacks of the enemy, the Maoist elimination campaigns, ‘encirclement-elimination’ campaigns and various counter-revolutionary campaigns. We have to develop guerilla war into mobile war, establish organs of people’s revolutionary power and transform the guerilla zones in our strategic areas into liberated areas. We have to develop new guerilla zones and red resistance areas in all the rural areas. We must spread guerilla war. Thus we have to create a revolutionary great storm. We have to implement our immediate tasks and be firm in strategy and flexible in tactics. The leadership must make active efforts to transform the unfavorable conditions favorable. We have to consider the enemy as an actual tiger tactically and as a paper tiger strategically and develop our tactics accordingly. Thus we have to work to build and strengthen the three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and Revolutionary United Front all over the country.

Including US imperialism in 2008, all the imperialists are now gradually facing severe unprecedented crisis. The fundamental contradictions in the world are becoming severe than ever before. People’s movements, national liberation struggles and revolutionary movement are brewing up against the suppression, oppression and exploitation of the capitalist-imperialists and reactionary ruling classes. Come, let us utilize this favorable situation to achieve a great leap in the contemporary People’s War going on in the country!

Comrades, it is clear that the major task of Modi government is to entirely wipe out the Maoist Party and the Maoist movement. But this is not the decision of the wish and will of one party in India. It cannot be so, because the Indian ruling class parties are the compradors of imperialism. Therefore any party or government of any color would be according to the direction of imperialism, especially US imperialism and should entirely implement the various factors in LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) policy. This happened in the UPA rule. Now it is going on in the NDA rule. Therefore this has become the major task of not only the Modi government. If we see the rule of UPA-1 and 2 governments both of them took up the elimination of our Party and the Maoist movement saying it to be ‘the biggest danger of the internal security of the country’ as the major task and implemented the same. The first and the second stages of ‘Operation Green Hunt’ took place during the rule of this government. What was the result of this? History is the evidence that they have entirely failed. On the contrary Maoist party and the movement rooted among the masses. Though there was heavy loss out of the martyrdom of thousands of warriors, Party strengthened with many experiences and lessons.

Presently Modi government is taking the support of all the imperialists and reactionaries including US imperialism and is implementing the third phase of ‘Operation Green Hunt’ to wipe out the revolutionary movement. Modi government brought a total transformation in the ‘encircle-wipe out’ campaign, many kinds of repressive campaigns, surrender policy, the policy of ill propaganda in the form of psychological war, various kinds of programs said to be ‘reform’ programs or programs in the name of development. As soon as Modi government came to power on one hand it announced the elimination of Maoists and on the other it continues to say it shall form large number of Para-military battalions and deploy in Maoist areas. It is also forming ‘Bastariya battalion’ in one place and ‘Local Adivasi Battalion’ in the other as a part of the reactionary policy to ‘pluck out the thorn with a thorn’ and is implementing the reactionary LIC policy more consistently so that ‘Adivasis fight the Adivasis’.

The surrender policy, another cruel method started during the UPA government is said to be made ‘more attractive’ by giving more money.

The foremost and the main task will be to protect the leadership from the CC to the AC andthemass organizations andto fight back such kind of anti-revolutionary policies. We have to bolshevise the Party much more. We have to train the entire Party cadres and the struggling masses and make them capable to fight back the multipronged offensive of the enemy through multipronged counter offensive. We must train them so that they can at least take up retaliatory actions. Thus they must be able to transform the counter offensive into People’s War. We must certainly advance the political, organizational, military preparations as a campaign. We must absolutely work for building people’s struggles like on the severe problems of the people by taking up counter offensive action to the enemy’s military offensive and counter propaganda campaign to the enemy’s ill propaganda.

Comrades, we can advance the coming phase of the advancement of Indian revolution only by successfully fighting back the heavy challenges. So we have to complete all kinds of preparations to face all kinds of challenges. It means it is our immediate and major task to totally implement ways and tasks to rectify all kinds of the above mentioned weaknesses.

Only thus we will be able to build and constantly strengthen the three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and United Fronts. We cannot go one step forward without bolshevizing the party in a proper manner. Come! Let us determine to remove all types of shortcomings and weaknesses not only in words but also deeds. Let us protect the internal unity of the Party with great care and strengthen it much more. Let us defeat all kinds of revisionism, whether it is ‘left’ or right revisionism and firmly implement the proper line, policy and style of work of the Party.

No doubt the path has twists and turns and is difficult and complex. But if we stick on to MLM and the Party line, we can speedily advance the major and the immediate task of turning guerilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerilla zones into liberated areas to advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution by overcoming all kinds of obstacles.

Come! Let us jump into the arena of class war daringly to accomplish the dreams and the incomplete tasks of our great martyrs. History is the evidence that masses achieve the final victory. If darkness of the night ends, the red rays of dawn would be definitely seen. Indian Revolution will certainly succeed. First New Democratic Revolution and later the Socialist Revolution will definitely become successful. As the historic Naxalbari Peasant rebellion announced, the correct path of ‘Naxalbari is the only way to liberation’ and the slogans ‘Naxalbari is the only path’ will certainly come into practice and turn to be a reality on this land. This is the great call of our Party.