

# To Win Victory In The Revolution We Must Establish The Revolutionary Authority

—Observer

**O**UR great Indian revolution is advancing irresistibly. The flames of armed peasant revolution are already raging in nine States of our great motherland. The basis of our Party has been established in all the States and the Red political power has appeared on the soil of our country, the red banner of which is flying high in Srikakulam.

In its irresistible onward march the great Indian revolution has not only provided us with extremely valuable experience and lessons, it has at the same time produced great heroes of the new era, the successors of the glorious tradition of the long anti-imperialist struggle of our great country, and genuine communists imbued with Mao Tsetung Thought and reared by the teachings of our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, heroes who have laid down their lives in the struggle against revisionism, and native and foreign reactionaries.

The onward march of the great Indian revolution is making the prospect of our victory brighter with every passing day but we are, at the same time, called upon to pay an increasingly heavy price for this, and we have to pay this price. Chairman Mao has taught us that we must give something in return for what we get. The happiness of millions of people can be won only by sacrificing the lives of a few. This is precisely the law of dialectical development of history. As we think of these great martyrs we are "moved to song and tears." While we cannot but mourn the death of our class brothers it fills our hearts with pride

at the same time and we feel like raising our clenched fists and declaring that our comrades have been able to take their place among the fighting communist heroes of the rest of the world, and that our revolution has produced Chairman Mao's good soldiers. The shedding of blood by our martyrs further intensifies our class hatred and spontaneously we take the vow: "We will avenge your murder by stepping up daily the battle of annihilation of the feudal class enemies in every corner of the vast countryside of India."

The 1970's has arrived with great promise. The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has declared: "The 1970's will be years in which the storms of the people's revolution will rise still more vigorously throughout the world, years in which the collapse of imperialism will be hastened in the midst of countless contradictions."

The tremendous momentum that the Indian revolution is to gather during this decade is likely to surpass even our boldest imagination. But we shall also be confronted during this period with new problems and new contradictions without resolving which it will not be possible for the revolution to forge ahead.

In the beginning of 1970 Chairman Mao issued the call: "be prepared against war." Comrade Charu Mazumdar has called on us not to make the folly of treating this call of Chairman Mao's lightly.

Faced as they are with their total collapse, imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries will make a last desperate strike before meeting their doom. This is so because the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader has dashed all the hopes of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries to stage a come back in China by victoriously carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and by

consolidating the gains of that revolution through the historic Ninth National Congress.

Our revolution will also have to go through severe trials. The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has given the directive: "heighten our vigilance", "the principles of "self-reliance" and "hard struggle" set forth by Chairman Mao should be put into practice in every province, every county, every basic unit and every undertaking" and "the people of the world must heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundredfold!... We must be fully prepared both ideologically and materially. **The centralized leadership of the Party must be strengthened.**" (Our emphasis)

To be able to carry out this instruction we must be prepared for more arduous struggle and more bitter sacrifice, and must go forward by laying down many more revolutionary lives. There is no easy way to achieve our goal, no shortcut to avoid these hardships. We must know the enemy better and more concretely and heighten our revolutionary vigilance every moment against the possibility of all the attacks of the enemy both open and secret. And the sole condition for being able to do this is to establish firmly the revolutionary authority at every level of the Party and at every stage of the revolutionary struggle.

### New Tactic of Revisionism

Comrade Charu Mazumdar has pointed out: "Today, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revisionism which has turned into social-imperialism, has become the enemy of every revolution. That is why no revolution in any country can win victory without fighting revisionism." The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has pointed out: "The Soviet revisionist renegade clique—the centre of modern revisionism—is heading for total bankruptcy at an accelerated tempo. Khrushchov the clown, who swaggered like a conquering hero not long ago, is now

a heap of dirt beneath the contempt of mankind." The real face of modern revisionism is increasingly getting exposed in various countries of the world with the passage of time. That is why modern revisionism has begun to adopt new and more subtle tricks both internationally and nationally to meet the requirements of imperialism. Today, modern revisionism in its new form appears on the stage with the name of Chairman Mao on its lips and dons the deceptive cloak of allegiance to the Communist Party of China.

The excellent situation of world revolution and the tremendous advance of the great Indian revolution have frightened and struck panic in the hearts of the imperialists and their domestic lackeys. Realizing that they cannot prevent the revolution from advancing by "encirclement and suppression" alone, they have ordered their loyal lackey—revisionism—to create confusion inside the revolutionary Party and among the revolutionary masses and to try to divert their attention from the main task.

Acting under orders from their masters individuals like Asit Sen, Parimal Dasgupta, T. Nagi Reddy, Kunnikal Narayanan and Utpal Dutta, and groups like "Dakshin Desh" have started their foul business in our country, while in the international field it is being done by the new-type revisionists donning the cloak of revolutionaries.

In some cases their actions are quite apparent and clear and they attack us openly but in many other cases they do it quite subtly sometimes using the name of our Party and even by pretending to support our Party line.

In their periodicals they attack us and the theme is invariably this: The CPI(M-L) is not following Chairman Mao. Their main target of attack is Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who, according to them, is acting in a way which runs counter to Mao Tsetung Thought. They draw analogy by quoting passages from the works of Chairman

Mao arbitrarily and demand that things should happen in India exactly in the same way as they did in China. They want to find similarities between the China of 1927 and the India of 1969. But this is never possible, neither now nor later.

This is how they attack our Party from outside. A simultaneous attack is also being launched within the Party in a more subtle way. It consists in creating mutual distrust among the Party comrades, and weakening the authority of the Party, that is, the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar by such talks as: 'Comrade Charu Mazumdar is all right and, of course, we follow him. But, as for the others, we simply do not recognize them, not to speak of following them.' And of course, there is no dearth of arbitrary quotations in this case also. Just at a time when the battlecry of revolution is: "Have faith in the masses and have faith in the Party", they are raising the cry of "doubt everything". Their subtlety is turning increasingly into vile devilry aimed at confusing the simple-minded comrades and leading them astray. Basing on the theory that the "development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement"—the main thing in materialist philosophy—Chairman Mao has said: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well-founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

Completely distorting this vitally important instruction of Chairman Mao's they are introducing into the Party the slogan: "doubt everything". This is a fascist slogan. It was Hitler who preached "trust none but yourself." At a time when in our struggle against the ferocious enemy we need most of all a fraternal unity in the Party based on iron discipline, this slogan renders the Party passive and disarms it in face of the enemy, exposes the Party organi-

zation before the enemy and nullifies this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. ...Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."

All of them have the same objective. Summing up the experience of the practice of the Indian revolution Comrade Charu Mazumdar taught us in April, 1969, the method to expand the guerrilla warfare in the Indian conditions. He pointed out that this method consists in forming guerrilla squads under the leadership of the poor and landless peasants and annihilating the class enemy (the feudal class and its agents). The tremendous significance of this teaching of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's has already been demonstrated in Srikakulam and by the rapid expansion of guerrilla war in eight States of India. It is the great credit of Comrade Charu Mazumdar that he has successfully applied Vice-Chairman Lin's famous theory of guerrilla war in the Indian conditions. This is a matter of great pride for us and has been upheld time and again by the international communist leadership—the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. This is the way to overthrow feudalism in India and march forward to seize political power by armed force, the way to lay the foundation for the successful completion of the democratic revolution, and to ensure the destruction of imperialism, social-imperialism, bureaucrat capital and feudalism. This is precisely why the revisionists have taken it up as their most sacred task to concentrate their attack against this revolutionary line. Their battlecry is what their masters have laid down for them: "Spare no efforts to stop this battle of annihilation."

They cannot afford to do it openly or they would be exposed. So they are resorting to all sorts of subterfuges

which are well-planned and have connections with one another.

Khrushchev the clown taught them that destruction of the faith of the revolutionaries should be the first step towards laying the foundation for revisionism, and that the way to do this was to attack the revolutionary authority. This is precisely what that clown did in his own country by launching a poisonous attack against the great Stalin.

These new-type revisionists have, from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle, consistently obstructed the establishment of revolutionary authority, frantically opposed the creation of one centre, and vainly tried to turn the Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries into a meeting-place of various open and clandestine factions. Whenever there was any suggestion for building the Party these people loudly opposed it under all sorts of pretexts: "It is not yet time for building the Party"; "the Party will grow of itself from below"; "who do you think can lead it if we set to building the Party now?", and so on. But all the same, in face of their joint and active opposition, "the Marxist-Leninist Party was born out of the struggle" because of historical necessity. And as soon as the Party won recognition from the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China these people quickly changed their tactics, and started fresh attacks against the Party leadership and are creating confusion in the Party by using the name of the Party. Their sole purpose in doing all this is to "prevent the battle of annihilation and thus to obstruct the onward march of the agrarian revolution."

Quite recently a pocket-size pamphlet allegedly "published by a local unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)" is being circulated in the Party in Calcutta. It is needless to mention that no local unit of our Party has anything to do with this pamphlet. Along with profuse references to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin,

it carries quotations from Chairman Mao also. Wherein lies its devilish trickery? All the dirty tactics that the revisionists are capable of employing have been used in it and it provides a measure of the extent to which they can degenerate. Let us consider a few of their tricks.

(1) There are in it any number of quotations from the writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar but his name has not been mentioned anywhere. This means only one thing—defy the revolutionary authority. (2) On page 12 it says: "after this comes the annihilation of the class enemy through guerrilla action", but immediately after this, on page 13, it hastens to add "the guerrilla unit is equipped with the modern weapons captured from the class enemy." This is nothing but to deliberately create confusion about who are our class enemies, and thus basically, to put obstacles in the way of the battle of annihilation. (3) On page 21 it quotes Lenin to the effect that whoever rejects the slogan of revolution and democratic dictatorship, of a revolutionary army and of a revolutionary government and **revolutionary peasant association** is pitifully incapable of understanding the revolutionary work. On page 28 there is a quotation from Chairman Mao that every communist must be a friend of the masses in a mass movement, and so on. This is nothing but an attempt to attract people towards open mass organizations and mass movements.

This new-type revisionism has become active in the international field also. Its cry is: follow Chairman Mao but reject Lin Piao; it is all right to accept the Chinese revolution, but only upto that and no farther, and refuse to treat the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (which is the third great revolution of world-wide importance) as anything more than a mere internal affair of China.

Why are the new-type revisionists resorting to this tactic? The reason for this is Comrade Lin Piao's famous thesis that Chairman Mao Tsetung's theory of people's war and the establishment of rural revolutionary base

areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside constitutes today, the only tactic of armed struggle for all the countries of the world, that is, for the capitalist countries, for the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries and for the colonial countries alike. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has firmly established this thesis of Comrade Lin Piao's, radically changed all the old concepts about the revolutionary party and world revolution which were current before the Cultural Revolution, and established new Marxist-Leninist concepts which are the contributions of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the international field also, these new-type revisionists are trying very subtly and cautiously to build up an alternative to the great Communist Party of China and the great leader of the world's people—Chairman Mao Tsetung. As opposed to Chairman Mao's call "**preparations should be made right now!**" against the "**war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism**", the new-type revisionists are advancing their alternative slogan: "China is so powerful that imperialism will not dare attack her. So, there is not going to be any more war." With such diversionary slogans they are trying to weaken the firm unity and vigilance of the international revolutionary camp and provide some breathing space for dying imperialism and social-imperialism.

#### Establishment of Revolutionary Authority Is the Only Condition for the Struggle Against Revisionism

There can be no revolution without a revolutionary authority. The history of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China shows us how the Chinese revolution began to win success to the extent Chairman Mao's revolutionary authority was established and, how after his authority was fully established at the Tsunyi conference in 1935, the Chinese revolution surged forward irresistibly, overcoming both the Right and the ultra-Left deviations.

In our country the establishment of the revolutionary authority proceeded in a rather unique manner which has probably not been seen anywhere else in the world.

Unlike the Party of Lenin and Stalin which enjoyed the advantage of the direct leadership of the great Lenin, and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China which enjoyed the advantage of Chairman Mao's direct leadership, we, in India, lacked any Marxist-Leninist leader of such outstanding personality. As a result, though a struggle between the two lines has been going on in the Party for long forty-six years we were not able to turn the old Party itself into a revolutionary Party by driving out the traitorous spies and agents from it. So, we had to lay the foundation of a new and genuine Communist Party by first basing ourselves on the experience gained from applying Mao Tsetung Thought on the soil of India, and then advance by establishing step by step the revolutionary authority.

From the initiation of the Naxalbari struggle to the building of the Party, strengthening of the Party by fighting against the hidden enemies in it and the leadership given by the Party over the armed struggle all over India—each of these events bears the indelible imprint of the able, correct and successful leadership given by our respected and beloved leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar, leadership which has grown still richer and firmer through the summing up of the experience of the Indian revolution.

Our task today is to establish firmly the authority of the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar at all levels of the Party and revolution. We shall be able to strengthen the authority of the Party and turn the Party and the revolutionary forces into an iron bastion in face of all the attacks of revisionism and the reactionaries to the extent we succeed in establishing this authority.

This, by no means, is an easy task. If every one of us

reviews his work in the light of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's article "March Forward By Summing Up the Experience of the Peasant Revolutionary Struggle of India" we shall find how at different times and in different ways we violated, knowingly or unknowingly, the instructions of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and invariably got stuck, and the revolutionary struggle suffered as a result of this. Even today, when the Party leadership and the rank and file are unanimous about guerrilla struggle, we still suffer from confusion and vacillation regarding the relation between mass struggle and guerrilla struggle and their respective importance, are still yielding to the tendency towards economism in approaching every class and section of the people in spite of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's repeated instructions to the contrary, are still proving unable to integrate ourselves with the poor and landless peasants in spite of Comrade Charu Mazumdar's repeated instructions, are still proving unable to promote the poor and landless peasants to leading positions in the Party, to give expression to the intense class hatred against the feudal class in our writings, songs and speeches, which shows that the poor and landless peasants, who have taken upon their shoulders the heavy burden of carrying forward the great Indian revolution, are still not able to influence our consciousness.

Today, the situation is such that if we are to advance the revolution in face of the attacks of revisionism and the reactionaries, we must conscientiously and seriously wage a struggle to establish the revolutionary authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. Our slogan is: "Internationally, we must follow Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China as well as the world-lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, nationally, we must be loyal to Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and the Communist Party of China and must fully accept the revolutionary authority of the leadership of Comrade Charu

Mazumdar. Only thus can the revolutionary unity be built and the revolution win victory.

Our great Indian revolution has developed to a new stage and is on the verge of bursting forth with a tremendous force which we are not even able to think of now. Our armed struggle has qualitatively changed from the stage of primary guerrilla activities to the stage of guerrilla warfare against the armed forces of the reactionary government. All the indications of this qualitative change are present in Srikakulam today. The situation in Srikakulam today is full of the birth-pangs of the new that is about to be born. Reaching this new stage means the beginning of the stage of founding the Indian People's Liberation Army and its active participation in the civil war—an event which would bring about a qualitative change in the all-India politics and in the relations and balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy.

In the editorial "Usher In The Great 1970's" the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has declared: "The revolution is forging ahead and the people are marching forward. The dawn of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation is ahead. Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! **Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**"

History will not forgive us if we fail to carry out our tasks resolutely in spite of such an excellent situation.