

**Workers of All Countries, Unite!**

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# Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism



**Contributions Towards Building the Marxist-Leninist Party in India**

**A People which Oppresses  
Another Cannot Itself  
be Free!**



**Oppose INDIAN Neocolonial  
Exploitation Of NEPAL**

Further Articles

- REPUDIATION OF TENG HSIAO-PING'S "THREE WORLDS SCHEME".
- CRITICISM OF DENG HSIAO-PING'S "THREE WORLDS" PATTERN, Joint Statement by the Editorial Staffs of Rote Fahne, Westberliner Kommunist and Gegen die Strömung, 1977.
- SOME FUNDAMENTAL CRITICISMS OF THE 1984 "DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT".
- CRITICISM OF THE NEPAL COMMUNIST PARTY(MASHAL).
- THE PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT - ISSUES.Document.

**Support the Striking Textile Workers in Delhi!**

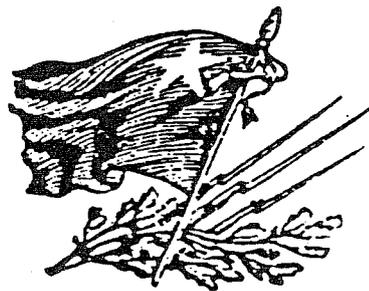
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**Oppose  
INDIAN Neocolonial  
Exploitation  
Of NEPAL**

**Uphold Solidarity With Migrant  
Workers From Nepal**

## INTRODUCTION

Marx taught, " a people which oppresses another cannot really emancipate itself". It forges thereby its own chains.

This fundamental Marxist truth was repeatedly emphasized by Lenin and Stalin against nationalism and opportunism, against social chauvinism and big nation chauvinism.

These words also apply to the participants of a revolutionary and progressive movement in an oppressed country like India, though some superclever and chauvinist opportunists think otherwise, because India is after all itself an oppressed country.

To smash such a thesis in theory and practice is of prime importance. It is a TOUCHSTONE for distinguishing the true Marxist-Leninists from those practising revisionism and nationalism.

For: even if India is a country oppressed by imperialism, by and within India itself there is a kind of continuation of oppressive politics. The oppression of the people of Nepal and of the migrant workers from Nepal in India, whether they constitute a national minority settled in one compact area since many dozens of decades, or whether they constitute a floating migrant population in the various regions of India, is an EXEMPLARY CASE of national oppression which cannot simply be reduced to the oppressive politics of imperialism.

One cannot be a Marxist-Leninist, a revolutionary in India without fighting most firmly against the national oppression of the Nepalis, as also of other nationalities.

The same principle, however, is also true for those areas where the Nepalis themselves constitute a majority. Here any attempt at oppressive, discriminative or assimilatory policies towards the other nationalities and the original inhabitants of these areas must meet with the most sharp and irreconcilable protest and opposition.

This is not a problem in our country alone. It is there in other countries oppressed by imperialism. In Turkey, for example, it is well-known that the Kurds are oppressed and are prevented from demanding their right to separation. But, on their part, the Kurdish Marxist-Leninists must be evaluated in respect of how ready they are also to criticise the joint Turkish-Kurdish policies of oppression and extermination towards the Armenians. The number of countries where national oppression exists interlocking on many levels, the big oppressing the small, the small those even smaller and so on - are many.

Emphasizing the great weight laid by Marx on this question, Lenin had written:

"...to brush aside the mass national movements once they have started and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to nationalistic prejudices, viz., recognising 'one's own as the model nation'..."

(Lenin, "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, Sel. Works in 12 vols, Moscow 1935, p. 276).

NEPAL - A NEO-COLONY OF INDIA

The Indian ruling classes' interest in Nepal is based on politico-strategic as well as economic considerations. The Indian bourgeoisie's hegemonistic interests in the sub-continent have become glaringly evident at the latest since the counter-revolutionary role played by it in the formation of Bangladesh and the annexation of Sikkim in 1975. Its neo-colonial policies in relation to smaller neighbouring countries, supported and abetted by the social-imperialistic Soviet Union in its own geo-political hegemonist interests, are a natural collary to the oppressive and exploitative policy towards various nations and nationalities already within the ambit of the Indian state.

Nepal, with its strategic location at India's Northern Gateway plays the role of a buffer state against Chinese influence in South Asia. The Himalayan mountains in Nepal are seen to be "our border". The "Tripartite Delhi Agreement" of 1950, concluded by the reactionary Nehru government, envisaged among other things a "common defence" for the two countries.

Since 1965, India has topped the list of major "aid" givers to Nepal, the others being the US, China and the USSR. A major portion of the Indian "aid", like that of the others, has been spent for building roadways and airports, which serve military and strategic interests. They also serve the "internal security" interests of the Nepalese ruling classes enabling a swift transport of government troops to "trouble spots".

Another large chunk of "aid" has been used to assist the fascist monarchy in power to create a better-equipped and better-trained army for internal repression. It has also been used to enlarge the ever inflating and non-productive bureaucracy and thus buy up a fairly large number of potentially restive young men by putting them on its payrolls. Indian "aid" and investment have in this way helped to maintain "political stability" in Nepal - earlier, to retain the corrupt government of the Nepalese Congress in 1960, a party of liberal feudal comprador and bureaucrat capitalists with a "parliamentary" mask; today, to uphold the fascist dictatorial monarchy of King Birendra with its partyless panchayati system.

The Indian bourgeoisie's desire to dominate the Nepalese market was given its first concrete shape in the terms of the 1950 Treaty, whereby the Indian ruling classes got a monopoly right over the Nepalese market. In the terms of this treaty Indian goods are given tariff advantages as compared to the goods of other countries; export duties are charged on products of Nepal's infant industry to render them non-competitive in relation to Indian goods; Nepal is denied the right to pursue her own trade policy and has had to form a common tariff policy, a kind of customs union with India vis a vis third countries. True to the framework of a neo-colonial exploitative order, labour and primary products from Nepal are exchanged for

finished manufactured goods from India. Nepal's trade deficit with India is on the increase.

India has been able to attain this monopoly position in Nepal's markets via treaties because Nepal is a landlocked country and is virtually exclusively dependent on India for trade and transit, there being no competing access to the sea other than through India.

Nepal's natural resources, like its forests and its rivers, with their tremendous hydro-electric potential, are exploited and monopolised by India. In the many river water projects undertaken, the major ones being the Kosi and the Gandak projects, where Nepal signed away the rights on these rivers, the larger share of the irrigation and power facilities has been usurped by India. The people displaced by these projects in Nepal have also not received their due share in terms of compensation and rehabilitation.

Nepalese labour is exploited and surplus value extracted by means of both direct foreign investment by Indian industrialists as well as by entering into joint ventures in Nepal either with the native Nepalese bourgeoisie or with foreign bourgeoisie. As a "least developed country" Nepal is not faced with quota restrictions in the Western markets in respect of a number of products. But, because of an almost non-existent internal bourgeoisie and small internal capital formation, Nepal is unable to utilise these quotas under the Generalised System of Preferences Scheme (GSP). The situation is taken advantage of by Indian industrialists to locate export-oriented units in Nepal and cater to the export markets in the USA, the EEC and in Japan. In this way, Nepal becomes part of India's export promotion strategy providing both markets for its capital goods as well as for getting hold of much needed foreign exchange to service its own debts and imports from the imperialist countries.

India also maintains a strong foothold in the field of education and culture. More than 90% of Nepal's experts in different fields have been trained in India. Nepal's only university, the Tribhuvan university has been set up with Indian "aid". Large numbers of advisors, trainers, demonstrators, planners, engineers, architects, teachers and professors from India are sent to the educational institutions in Nepal. There are thousands of students from Nepal studying in different institutions and universities of India. Hindi films, AIR's regional language broadcasts and Indian newspapers, Hindi and English dominate and contribute to a cultural imperialism.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MIGRATION

Migration from Nepal, particularly from the hill regions, took the shape of being a more or less steady process from the beginning of the last century. The intensified extraction of revenues, taxes and

forced labour from the peasantry in Nepal by the landed classes and the state in this period was directly correlated with the growing British economic and political expansion in the rest of the sub-continent. It was used to bear the military costs of expansion and of holding out against British expansionist efforts, as well as to fund the consumption of luxury goods introduced into the market by the British. Surpluses thus generated were by no means ploughed back into the development of agriculture - to improve irrigation facilities, farming techniques and tools, plant genetics etc. These feudal exploitative land and labour policies of the Rana regime in Nepal led to growing agrarian indebtedness and landlessness in the hill regions. This prompted outmigration to Sikkim, Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Darjeeling, Bhutan and Burma. Along with migrants from other regions like Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, these migrants from the hills of Nepal provided cheap labour for the tea-industry in Bengal and Assam and the coal-mining industry in Bihar and Bengal, owned and developed by the British. In some regions they participated in land reclamation and resettlement.

After the 1814-16 Anglo-Nepal War, with the active help and connivance of the later Rana rulers Gorkha regiments were set up in the British imperial army. Nepal denuded her rice fields and maize terraces, her high villages and mountain pastures to send forth her best as cannon fodder for the imperial aims of the British bourgeoisie. The resultant labour shortage, already acute in the hill regions, hindered further the development of the agrarian economy. Today, due to all these policies, outmigration has become an economic necessity for the survival of the hill peoples.

#### CONDITION OF NEPALI MIGRANT WORKERS IN INDIA

Today, eighty percent leave Nepal yearly in search of employment, mainly to India. This is encouraged by the open border policy as well as by the terms of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950. The vast majority return to Nepal, after some months or a few years, and most pay regular visits home. This seasonal or semi-permanent migration is mainly comprised of male workers, who leave their families behind. Women left behind have to carry on the back-breaking task of eking out something from the difficult hill terrain, getting fuelwood from increasingly denuded forests. Women are also in another way victims of this underdevelopment of Nepal's hill regions: increasing numbers starting from very tender ages are being sold to Indian brothels or even being sold on the international market by Indian brokers.

There are about 6 million people from Nepal in all parts of the country selling their sweat and blood for throwaway prices in low-skill menial jobs as watchmen, as dhaba and restaurant workers, domestic servants, construction and factory workers, in government service and as recruits in the army.

The 1950 Treaty of "Peace and Friendship" between the Governments of India and Nepal grants the nationals from Nepal in India "the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and privileges of a similar nature" (Art. 7, Treaty). The reality is often different from these guarantees on paper. The right to vote is not granted. Nepali workers in India have to face other forms of discrimination, too: In terms of social status and standing they are often derigrated and not treated at par with workers from different parts of India. They are chosen to do any extra unpaid or personal work for the bosses and are humiliated in subtle ways.

They often have no job security, no fixed hours of work, are liable to be fired at a moments notice without maybe even getting their pay of many months. A recent example of this was the deportation of over 1,000 Nepali nationals working as labourers in the coal mines of Jaintia hill district of Meghalaya. The "anti-foreigner" sentiments whipped up there caused another 6,000 Nepali labourers to leave on their own. Of those employed in the Indian army or the government service few attain high ranks or posts that pay better salaries and a pension on retirement. The efforts of the Nepali workers to fight for their rights is often met with brutal police repression. A recent example was the lathi charge by the police on Nepalis demonstrating against the farce of the May 12 Panchayati election.

#### JUST DEMAND FOR THE OWN STATE "GORKHALAND"

There are 6 to 8 million Nepalis settled since generations mainly in the North-Eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Darjeeling and Sikkim. The Indian government has granted only domicile status to these Nepalis. According to the 1950 Treaty between India and Nepal the status of these Nepalis is virtually that of statelessness, of being perpetual foreigners in this country.

These Nepalis have had to continually face a series of apartheid and genocide crimes at the hands of the Central and state governments of this country: Pogroms, deportations, police tortures, arrests, raids, killings as well as economic and cultural domination, exploitation and discrimination at the hands of other nationalities. For example, till date, the Nepali language has not been recognised in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution despite a long and protracted struggle. Voting rights have been denied to them in Assam and to some of them in Sikkim.

Darjeeling district, originally a territory of Sikkim, which came into the predatory hands of the British East India Co. around the mid of the last century, was taken over by the Indian government after so-called "independence". It was also forcibly integrated into the state of West Bengal against the wishes of the Nepalis who already for long had been agitating for a separate state within the Indian Union.

Rapacious exploitation of the resources of this region by the West Bengal government ( whether Congress I or "Left" Front led), by the local Bengali and the all-India bourgeoisie in collusion with imperialist interests, gross discrimination of the Nepalis, Lepchas, Bhutiyas and Tibetans in terms of educational facilities and language, job opportunities in both central and state government undertakings, rising unemployment due to the underdevelopment of the region etc have all led to a renewed demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland.

RULING CLASS INTEREST IN MIGRATION: SUPEREXPLOITATION AND PREPARATION FOR ANNEXATION

This kind of migration represents a transfer of productive labour power and its surplus value to the Indian economy at the cost of the domestic Nepalese economy which bears the cost of producing the migrant's labour power through his least productive boyhood and sustaining him after his retirement back to the source community.

For the Nepalese ruling classes the outmigration acts as a safety valve by solving temporarily and to some extent the employment problem of a potentially restive population. India, being an active initiator, benefitor and partner in the underdevelopment of the Nepalese economy is willing to use their human resources as a cheap source of labour power, as an ever-present and reserve source of cannon fodder in its wars of aggression against the neighbouring countries. The remittances made back home also serve to pay for the Indian goods on the Nepalese market. This is the modern day slave trade: human beings for manufactured goods. The migrants also have the potentiality of being used as a lever to maintain India's hegemonistic grip over the Nepalese economy by threatening to deport them whenever the Nepalese government and ruling classes show inclinations of trying to "diversify" their dependence relations.

The immigration of "foreigners" also serves ruling class interest in splitting the working peoples in this country along the lines of "sons of the soil" and "foreigners" and "outsiders", who are supposedly taking away jobs or land from the "sons of the soil", and must be driven away if the economic problems are to be solved.

On the other hand, the hegemonistic ambitions of the Indian bourgeoisie towards Nepal also motivate it to spread an "assimilatory" attitude towards the "Nepalis" who are then not seen to be in any way culturally, racially or religiously "different" from the "Indians". Indeed, they belong to the same "Indo-Aryan", or "Indo-Chinese" stock! This same propaganda is also being used by the "Marxist" West Bengal government in the case of the demand for Gorkhaland.

Such an attitude considers Nepal to be almost the "23rd" state of the Indian Union. It builds the ideological cornerstone for any future annexation of Nepalese territory if its present-day rulers do not play the game as India ( and behind it in this case, the Soviet Union) wishes. There is a sizeable section of "Indian" popu-

lation in the Tarai region that has migrated mainly from the adjacent states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which though it faces some discriminations in Nepal, is sought to be used by the Indian government in its plans of "swallowing" Nepal.

### ATTITUDE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The working class of India must consistently uphold the right of nations to self-determination and relentlessly expose the neo-colonial hold of the Indian ruling classes over the Nepalese economy and any attempt by them in the future to consolidate this hold by territorial annexation.

Nepalese and other nationalities living in the annexed hill territory of Darjeeling have the fundamental right to decide their own fate - whether they decide for a separate state within the Indian Union, or for separation. The reactionary attempts by the so-called "Marxist" government of West Bengal to retain the region within West Bengal by the force of arms must be firmly opposed. Any such attempt to forcibly "assimilate" the Nepalese and other nationalities, though it is being presented under "left" and "progressive" signboards must be exposed and denounced to be completely against the spirit and principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Till date, the specific problems of the Nepalese working peoples in India and the task of building a joint fighting front with them have been by and large ignored by all political parties, that is, even by the so-called "Communist", "Marxist" or "Marxist-Leninist" varieties. Indeed, the Nepalese of Darjeeling area are being exploited and their just demand for a separate state being ruthlessly crushed by the "Left" Front government in Bengal comprising the "C"PI and the "C"PM".

It is high time that revolutionaries, progressive and democratic forces from both countries overcome the existing gap between the struggles of the working peoples from both countries against the common enemy, the Indian ruling classes and their state; that they foil the divisive machinations of the Indian ruling classes and work towards establishing a revolutionary unity of the working peoples from Nepal and India.

To establish this unity, the fight of our brothers and sisters from Nepal, their struggle for equality in all areas, all their just demands must become our own demands. Such a support is a necessary pre-condition for establishing revolutionary solidarity and unity in the respective people's democratic revolution to be carried out in Nepal and India as the first step towards socialism and communism.

Long live proletarian internationalism, as it has emerged from the struggles of the working peoples from all over the world, and as it has been so brilliantly summed up and worked out by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

**REPUDIATION OF TENG**

**HSIAO - PING'S**

**"THREE WORLDS SCHEME"**

The revisionist "theory of the three worlds", first presented in a coherent form by Teng Hsiao-ping in his speech at the UNO in 1974, has not yet been fundamentally repudiated and broken with in all its manifestations by most of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" forces and organisations in India and internationally. There are "Marxist-Leninist" organisations here as well as in other countries which are parroting in full the line of the modern Chinese revisionists in this as in other questions. On the other hand, this theory continues to exert an influence even on the line and thinking of those who claim to have repudiated and broken away from it. We have in mind thereby the organisations in the "Revolutionary Internationalist Movement". To deal with this theory and point out its counter-revolutionary essence and also touch upon its manifestations in the lines of various so-called "Marxist-Leninist" organisations in India is thus not at all irrelevant even now.

1.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE "THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS" IN THE LINE OF  
THE C.P. OF CHINA

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Teng's 1974 "Speech at the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on the Problems of Raw Materials and Development" presented in the concentrated form of a theory what had already been sporadically appearing in the articles and documents of the C.P. of China and in the Chinese press. But it was only after 1976, after the revisionist coup in China led by Hua Kuo Feng, when Teng was rehabilitated, that his line was lifted into being the official line of the C.P. of China at its 11th Congress in 1977, and was foisted on to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world in a bid to sabotage them. This counter-revolutionary theory was then developed in an even more unabashedly explicit form and in greater detail in an article by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao", published in Peking Review No. 45/1977 under the title: "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism".

In these documents, without bringing forward any proofs whatsoever, the attempt is made to sell this revisionist theory to be the brainchild of Mao Tse-tung himself. This refrain is taken up by all the "three worldists" as a shield for their own counter-revolutionary aims. But even those who claim to repudiate this theory, while continuing to be influenced by it, like the Central Reorganisation Committee (CRC) in India, similarly proceed from "Mao's differentiation of the world into three", again without bringing forth any proof for this assumption. (See K. Venu, "Mao Tse-tung and 'Three World Theory'", Progress Publications, New Delhi, 1983.)

The fact of the matter, however, is that there does not exist any comprehensive document by Mao Tse-tung elaborating and propagating the "three world theory". On examining his various statements from 1949 to 1976 we find statements which are correct starting points and fundamentally contradict the "Three World Theory", but also statements which are starting points and stepping stones towards it, for example, in the obscuration of the terms "peoples" and "countries" or "states" in them. (x)

2.

CHIEF THESES OF THE "THREE WORLD THEORISTS" AND THEIR ANTI-MARXIST-LENINIST CHARACTER

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2.1.

Division of the World into Three

"The two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, constitute the first world. They have become the biggest international exploiters, oppressors and aggressors and the common enemies of the people of the world, and the rivalry between them is bound to lead to a new world war. The contention for world supremacy between the two hegemonist powers, and the

(x) As an example of a correct point of departure on this question we can cite from his essay "On New Democracy":

"In the international situation of today, the 'heroes' in the colonies and semi-colonies either line up on the imperialist front and become part of the forces of the world counter-revolution, or they line up on the anti-imperialist front and become part of the forces of world revolution. They must do one or the other, for there is n o t h i r d choice."

(Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy", 1940, SW II, p.356)

As an example for the violation of this correct Marxist-Leninist position we can cite the following lines from his writing "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People":

" Then there are the Asian and African c o u n t r i e s and all the peace-loving countries and peoples - we must strengthen and develop our solidarity with them."

( Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", 1957, "Volume V", p.421).

See also, "General Evaluation of the Teachings and the Work of Mao Tse-tung", Part I, Joint Statement of the Editorial Boards of Westberliner Kommunist, Gegen die Strömung and Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, Engl. ed., October 1984, pp. 100-120, for a more detailed exposition of Mao Tse-tung's positions in this question.

menace they pose to the people of all lands and the latter's resistance to them - this has become the central problem in present-day world politics.

The socialist countries, the mainstay of the international proletariat, and the oppressed nations, who are the worst exploited and oppressed and who account for the great majority of the population of the world, together form the third world. They stand in the forefront of the struggle against the two hegemonists and are the main force in the world-wide struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

The developed countries in between the two worlds constitute the second world. They oppress and exploit the oppressed nations and are at the same time controlled and bullied by the super-powers. They have a dual character and stand in contradiction with both the first and the third worlds. But they are still a force the third world can win over or unite with in the struggle against hegemonism."

("Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism", Peking Review No. 45/1977, p. 17).

This "division of the world into three" is regarded to be a strategic formulation", conforming to the "strategic requirements of the contemporary struggles of the international proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world and also of the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism." ("Political Report to the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China", Hua Kuo-feng, in: "The Eleventh National Congress of the C.P. of China, Documents", Peking, 1977, p.60).

This "three worlds scheme" is substantiated by referring to alleged "changes in the basic contradictions" in the present day world. (ibid., p.59).

In truth, however, there has been no fundamental "change in the basic contradictions" in the contemporary world. Today, as before, the same fundamental contradictions of the imperialist world system continue to operate as analysed by Lenin and Stalin: the contradiction between labour and capital, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and world imperialism, the contradiction between the various big imperialist powers, the contradiction between socialist countries and the countries of the imperialist world.

Each of these fundamental contradictions has its own specific significance and its own specific weight. The contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries and that between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples are d i r e c t driving forces of the world proletarian revolutionary process, whereas the contradictions between the imperialists is only an i n d i r e c t driving force and serves to facilitate the revolutionary process. Similarly, the contradiction between the socialist

and imperialist countries is an aid to the revolutionary forces in those countries where the proletarian revolution has not yet been successful in that it acts as a base and as a stimulus and by its very existence challenges the imperialist system.

It would be a grievous error to give these fundamental contradictions equal weightage or to even declare one of them to be the "principal contradiction", which has to be resolved first with all the forces at one's disposal, to then tackle the next and so on; or to even say that the other contradictions would perhaps take care of themselves upon the resolution of the principal one. Such conceptions are wrong because they mechanically separate the fundamental contradictions which mutually interpenetrate. In terms of political practice, the consequence of characterising one of them to be the main one is to condemn one section of the forces of the world proletarian revolution to wait till this principal contradiction is resolved, or to sabotage the revolution in both imperialist and dependent countries.

The revisionist theory of the division of the world into three leads to the de facto disappearance of the two antagonistic camps - the camps of revolution and counter-revolution - the most fundamental class contradiction of our era, as expressed in the definition of Leninism: the irreconcilable class struggle between the counter-revolutionary camp of world imperialism and its reactionary hangers-on on the one hand and forces of the world proletarian revolution on the other. In this theory, countries and nations are divided into groups on the basis of criteria which have nothing to do with class analysis, but are based on the respective development of the productive forces.

So long as we find ourselves in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, these fundamental contradictions cannot "change" in their essence, but can only be overcome, eliminated by means of the world-wide revolutionary struggle and the victory of communism. Whoever fails to propagate this propagates in fact that we are no longer in the same era, but in some other new one, that is, Leninism is no longer the Marxism of our era, but has to be replaced by something else.

By separating out two imperialist big powers from the rest, as allegedly being the only ones who are striving for hegemony on a world scale, the so-called superpowers, the SU and the US, the three world theorists also go against Lenin's characterisation of imperialism to be a world system of financial slavery established by the finance capital of the imperialist powers, above all, the big imperialist powers, over the rest of the world. Characteristic of imperialism is, among other things, the struggle of these big powers over the renewed division of the world which has already been divided, their rivalry in conquering markets and spheres of influence. Lenin emphasized as an essential and characteristic feature of imperialism, the striving for hegemony among the various

big imperialist powers, their mutual rivalry for spheres of influence.

By calling for the formation of the "broadest united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States" (in: "Eleventh National Congress of the C.P. of China, Documents" op.cit., p.64), it becomes very clear that it is not the entire world system of imperialism, that is, also the other imperialist powers, big and small, as well as their lackeys in the dependent countries, which is seen to be the enemy. Instead, on the one hand, some of the big imperialist powers along with the smaller ones are singled out as the "second world". They are supposed to have a "dual" character, that is, they are not unambiguously imperialist; they are considered to be "middle forces that can be won over and united". (ibid., p.60). Thus, enemies are suddenly transformed into allies, which not only must not be struggled against, but must even be supported.(x)

"We support the second world countries, such as the European countries and Japan, in their struggle against control, threat and bullying by the superpowers. We support their efforts to get united in the course of this struggle."  
(ibid., p. 62)

## 2.2.

### Rendering the Western Imperialists Harmless

"The Soviet Union and the United States are the source of a new world war, and Soviet social-imperialism in particular presents the greater danger. The current strategic situation in their contention is that Soviet social-imperialism is on the offensive and US imperialism on the defensive".  
(ibid., p. 57)

Such a statement strives to separate two essential aspects - the offensive and the defensive -, two sides of imperialist politics which belong together, which exist simultaneously in the politics of every imperialist power.

All the imperialist big powers, including the Soviet Union and

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(x) Lenin explained in a deep-going way the fundamental distinction between utilising the contradictions among imperialist countries and the support of such countries, and wrote warningly in regard to the foreign policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"Of course, to support one of these countries against the other would be a crime against communism."  
(Lenin, Coll. Works 31, p. 443)

the US, are simultaneously on the offensive and defensive in their struggle for power: they d e f e n d the spheres of influence, which they already possess, and they are offensive in relation to those areas of influence which they do not as yet possess and which they want to take out of the hold of their imperialist rivals. What is decisive is the fact that "defensive" is nothing positive or just, but like the offensive is carried out on the backs of the peoples and against them.

The notion of a "defensive imperialism" is nothing but a new edition of the Khrushchevian nonsense of an imperialism that has become "peaceful" and "reasonable". The peoples are deceived by means of such distinctions which conceal and deny the daily aggressions and massive preparations for war on the part of a l l the imperialist big powers, particularly also of US imperialism.

The 11th Congress of the C.P. of China also goes one step further ahead by saying that the "west" in general is interested in maintaining "peace". What they criticize is only the method by which a certain part of the West strives towards this noble aim:

"There is a trend towards appeasement among those people in the West who cherish the illusion that peace can be maintained through compromises and concessions, and some even want to follow in Chamberlain's footsteps and try to divert the peril of the new tsars towards the East in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others."  
(ibid., p. 58)

According to these conceptions of the C.P. of China, there exist no war-mongering powers in the West. Besides, by referring to Chamberlain, the present day international situation is compared with the situation immediately prior to the Second World War. But the fact is that the contemporary situation today differs in many essential respects from that on the eve of the Second World War. Drawing such parallels merely has the aim of justifying the social-chauvinist policy of the three world theorists of building a bloc with their own bourgeoisie and internationally fraternising with the US imperialists and the West European imperialists by means of the demagogic assertion that the Comintern and Stalin had followed the same policy before and during World War II.

Without going into this complex of questions in detail at this point, we would still like to unambiguously emphasize the following points:

1). The present day international situation cannot be compared with the situation before and not at all with the situation during World War II. Today the world is not faced with the situation where it is i m m e d i a t e l y confronted by one aggressive power or group of powers which are preparing for and carrying on World War, but there are t w o imperialist blocs as well as the fact that all the imperi-

alist big powers, including the West German, Japanese, English and French are becoming increasingly aggressive. This can be seen very clearly by the fact that all the imperialist big powers are feverishly arming themselves and their acts of aggression the world over are on the increase. More than ever before, they are involved in local imperialist wars as well as in the ideological, political, economic and military preparation for the outbreak of another world war.

2). The line and the policies of Stalin and the Comintern before the Second World War were - totally in opposition to the interpretation made of it by the social chauvinists and the slanders of the Trotskyites - fundamentally a policy of revolutionising and basing oneself on the working class and the peoples. They cannot be used as a model for a social chauvinist policy of basing oneself on the reactionary ruling classes and a politics of class reconciliation.

The background to all these absurd arguments is constituted by the demagogic absolutisation of the necessity of the struggle against Soviet social imperialism. It not only leads, as already shown, to an unabashed beautifying of the role of US imperialism and the rest of the imperialist big powers, but it renders difficult and also sabotages the effective struggle against Soviet social-imperialism by making it very easy for it to brand e v e r y struggle against Soviet social-imperialism to be "pro-American" and "pro-imperialist". It can and does drive into the arms of the Soviet Union those people who, very rightly, hate US imperialism and other Western imperialists and in no way wish to make common cause with them.

### 2.3.

#### The Thesis that the "Third World" is the "Main Force" is Revisionist

The 11th Congress of the C.P. of China says, as already quoted above:

"The third world countries suffer the worst oppression and hence put up the strongest resistance; they are the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."  
(ibid., p. 59)

This line of reasoning does not consider the fundamental distinction between the p e o p l e s of these oppressed countries and their ruling classes. To very generally talk of countries or "states" and not of the peoples is a line of class reconciliation and concealment of class antagonisms in these countries.

All the ruling classes in the countries dependent on imperialism are not only in reality n o forces of the struggle against imperialism, but are lackeys of imperialism, are counter-revolutionary forces which have to be eliminated by the revolution.

To represent the oppressed peoples of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries together with the ruling compradors and landlord

cliques to be one force, which together constitute the "main force against imperialism" means to deny the necessity of the new democratic revolution, to deny the necessity of people's war in these countries and put into one bracket both one's enemies as well as one's friends.

At the same time, the assertion "main force third world" stands against the teaching of the hegemony of the proletariat, characterised by Lenin to be the "chief thing in the doctrine of Marx" and as the "first and main 'pillar' of Marxist theory". (CW 18, p. 582 and CW 31, p. 348). This is not what is propagated by the three worldists who construe an ominous "third world" or "third force" as the "main army", or "main force" against imperialism. Such a line is directed against the proletarian character and the proletarian aim of the world revolution, namely, that in the centre of our struggle today stands the international working class, which alone can lead the majority of the exploited and the oppressed to victory.

#### 2.4.

#### Ignoring of the Agrarian Revolution

One very serious consequence of the "three worlds scheme" is that it leads to completely ignoring and doing away with the necessity of the agrarian revolution in the dependent and neo-colonial countries. This lacuna is also to be seen in the C.P. of China's polemics of 1963, although the propagation (and practice) of this had occupied significant space in Mao Tse-tung's own writings.

#### 2.5.

#### Fatalism in Relation to the Danger of a Third World War

About the danger of a third world war, emanating ostensibly solely from the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States, the 11th Congress says:

"As Chairman Mao taught us, ...war is inevitable - either a war between them or a revolution by the people, and there cannot be any lasting peace."

(ibid., p. 57)

Only superficially, this statement resembles Mao Tse-tung's statement about a world war:

"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

("Report to the Ninth National Congress of the C.P. of China", Peking Review No. 18/1969, p. 31)

Mao Tse-tung proceeds here from the fact that i n a n y

c a s e there will be revolution, whether there is world war or not. From this correct assertion, Hua Kuo-feng derives the opposition "either war or revolution"; which is something quite different from what Mao Tse-tung said. His clear statement that world war can also be p r e v e n t e d is completely blurred.

The 11th Congress does not at all propagate as a real possibility that the peoples rise in revolution, that the danger of a new world war and all imperialist wars can finally be banished completely by means of the victory of the world proletarian revolution. It is in fact helping to spread the fatalist illusion that it is not the imperialists who are "powerless and helpless" in view of the might of the people, but the people who are without any power and are helpless in the face of a new world war which they have to wait for without any revolutionary perspective and submit to it.

3.

### ON SOME PARALLELS BETWEEN KHRUSHCHEVITE MODERN REVISIONISM AND THE REVISIONISM OF THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE C.P. OF CHINA

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There may be differences in the f o r m of opportunism of the new leadership of the C.P. of China and the Khrushchevite revisionists, but a more c o m p r e h e n s i v e comparison of the two reveals essential parallels. Here we shall only point out those relating to the "three worlds theory", concocted by the modern Chinese revisionists.

- 1). In the same way as the Khrushchev-revisionists, who based their revisionist positions on the rejection of Stalin's definition of our era and termed it to be "outdated", the new Chinese leadership also bases its "division of the world into three" as corresponding to the 'contemporary' world and to be the "strategic concept upto the victory of communism". In this way, they, too, have thrown the Leninist definition of our era overboard.
- 2). The Khrushchev-revisionists propagated the "theory" of the "peaceful path" of seizing power in the capitalist countries and replaced the politics of the seizure of power by reforms. By demanding that the proletariat and bourgeoisie should "together" "defend" themselves from the "main danger", namely, Soviet social-imperialism, by alleging that every "disturbance" or "civil war" is supposedly instigated precisely by Soviet social-imperialism, the modern Chinese revisionists have joined hands with this thesis of the Khrushchev-revisionists.
- 3). The Khrushchev-revisionists support of this or that imperialist power, with the justification that such actions are a "utilisation of the contradictions between the imperialists", also belongs to the arsenal of the new leadership of the C.P. of China and their hangers-on.
- 4). In the question of the "countries of the third world" also the

new leadership of the C.P. of China has nothing really new to offer, but only parrots what the modern revisionists have been propagating since long about the "developing countries":

"In drawing up their programmes the Communist parties use as their guideline the fact that the revolutions that have triumphed in their countries are of a national-democratic character. Led by the national bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia, these revolutions that have triumphed in their countries are of a national-democratic character. Led by the national bourgeoisie and the national intelligentsia, these revolutions have dealt a blow at the imperialist system, liberated the given countries from colonial bondage and opened the road for anti-feudal, democratic reforms."

(Konstantin Zerodov: Leninism and Contemporary Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 320.)

"The achievement of political independence by former colonies in Asia and Africa and the established trend toward liberation from imperialist exploitation in Latin American countries has brought these countries' economic independence to the forefront. They face a difficult task, that of restructuring their colonial economies, overcoming many complications and obstacles, and, above all, considerably raising the productivity of labour and cultural standards, all of which must be achieved in an historically very short time. This can only be done through radical social and economic changes and an intensive growth of the productive forces.... The scientific and technological revolution is making new and increased demands on the productive forces."

(D. Dreyer, "Cultural Changes in Developing Countries", Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 7-8).

Like Teng Hsiao-ping, the modern revisionists also propagate that by and large the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have gained independence "from colonial bondage", that "national-democratic revolutions" have already triumphed there. In the same line as Teng Hsiao-ping, it is not recognized that these countries stand in neo-colonial dependence and that therefore there is the need for national-democratic revolutions in these countries. Like Teng, the modern revisionists, too, conclude from this distortion of the situation in these countries that one of the main tasks in such countries is the "development of productive forces", the "scientific and technological revolution". So, instead of armed struggle and political revolution we have here the propagation of "technological revolution" and raising productivity"!

The neo-colonialist phrases about "equitable economic relations" between developing countries and imperialist countries is also propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists:

"The foreign policy of the developing countries has become visibly more active. This is seen in many trends - the political

course of non-aligned movement, and the activity of the Organisation of African Unity and of the various economic associations formed by the developing countries. It is quite clear now that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve j u s t - that is, equal - economic relations." ("Report of the CC of the CPSU at the 25th Congress of the CPSU," Moscow, 1976, p. 16).

Not very surprisingly, these very phrases were used by Teng Hsiao-ping at his speech at the UNO in 1974 - the supposed "independence" of most of the states of the "third world", the task of "modernising industry and agriculture step by step" and the idea of making up for each others deficiencies through exchange of needed goods, indeed, even the nonsense that the poor and rich countries were supposedly "equal"!

4.

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA HAS NOT BROKEN WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF THE "THREE WORLD THEORY"

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The 7th Congress of the PLA signalled the begin of the open struggle against theses of the "Three World Theory". However, the PLA did not succeed in really making a break with opportunism in this area in a really deep-going and principled way. After the take-over of power by the Teng-Hua clique in China, the PLA, instead of deepening its struggle, begun in 1976 against the "three world theory" and linking it with their over-all struggle against modern revisionism and thereby also re-examining its own position so as to be able to break with all half-truths and half-measures, the PLA adhered to its mistakes and even systematized them further. In the last many years it can be seen that the PLA has broken with the "three world theory" only in questions of secondary importance, even though in words it has announced a struggle against it in its entirety.

The PLA and its main leaders have not broken with the most fundamental concept of the "three world" theoreticians, namely, with the concept of narrowing the target of the world proletarian revolution and the extension of the camp of the world proletarian revolution to include all kinds of bourgeois states, which are not defined more clearly and which have contradictions with the "superpowers".

In his book "Imperialism and the Revolution", E. Hoxha claims in words his allegiance to the Leninist class criteria, but in practice very strongly violates them. He rejects the Leninist principle, never to support one country of the imperialist camp against another and propagates more or less unconcealedly the support of those states, which, it does not matter with what motives, are struggling against the "superpowers".

"The division we communists make of the world today, on the basis of the Leninist class criterion, does not hinder us from fighting the superpowers and supporting all the peoples s t a t e s that are seeking liberation and have contradictions with the superpowers".  
 ("Imperialism and the Revolution", 1979, Tirana, p. 269).

Further on in this work he again says:

"The Albanian Party and people are...not against supporting even a b o u r g e o i s state, when they see that those who rule this state are progressive persons and fight in the interests of the liberation of their people from imperialist hegemony."  
 (p. 309)

The catastrophic political consequences of such revisionist deviations can be seen for example in the attitude of the PLA towards the counter-revolutionary Khomeini-regime.

After the heroic February-uprising of the Iranian masses in 1979, the reactionary Islam government under Khomeini's leadership was able to again establish a reactionary regime which is brutally suppressing and exploiting the working people, a regime which is carrying on the legacy of the Shah. That is why the revolution in Iran today must be carried out in an irreconcilable struggle against the Islamic rulers and all other reactionary "alternatives".

In many articles ( for example in the lead articles of Zeri i Popullit of 30.12.1979 and 2.10.1980), the "anti-imperialist" policy and attitude of the Khomeini regime towards US imperialism is supported! Similarly, in the war between Iran and Iraq, instead of exposing both sides to be leading an unjust war, Iran is most unjustifiably supported.

5.

OPPOSE THE ADHERENTS AS WELL AS THE PSEUDO-OPPONENTS OF THE "THREE WORLDS THEORY" IN INDIA

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In India, too, there are staunch adherents of Teng's line including the "three world theory" with all its counter-revolutionary political consequences.

The Satyanarain Singh group, that is, including the two factions it has broken into, the Sadhan Singh faction and the one led by Santosh Rana, takes the "Soviet Union as a greater danger to our people, both nationally and internationally and a greater enemy of the people". (See "Our Tasks in the Present Situation", Political Resolution of the PCC, CPI(ML), adopted on 30.1.1980, p. 13). On this basis it is proposed to "bring about an international united front against the

Soviet Union, by uniting all the forces that could be united, including the forces of the USA and the Second World countries and their allies in India".(ibid., p. 29).

Teng's treacherous and class collaborationist theory is also taken over by the Vinod Mishra group as their "guiding principle for the general line of the international communist movement":

"The three worlds theory propounded by Mao - which bases itself on the principal contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and asks the socialist countries and the international proletariat to side resolutely with the oppressed nations of the third world, to utilise the contradiction between the second and the first world and to concentrate their struggle against the two superpowers".

("Political Organisational Report" in: "Documents of the Third All India Congress of the CPI(ML)", December 26-30, 1982, Liberation Publications, p. 31).

This kind of a general line for the international communist movement enables them to render full support to "all the recent strides made by the Third World in fields of economic co-operation and international relations". Indian People's Front, the front organisation of the VM group, supports the Non-Aligned Movement and different forums of the developing countries "to whatever extent they reflect the aspirations of Third World and oppose superpower domination over the Third World". ("Report of the General Secretary to the Second National Conference of the Indian People's Front" held in Calcutta from Nov. 3 to 6, 1984, p. 18).

Apart from exposing these arch renegades, who openly propagate and practice this counter-revolutionary theory, it is also an essential task to show up here that even those who proclaim to have broken with the "three world theory" and repudiate it have not in actual fact done so in a complete way, in theory and in practice.

The "People's War" group, for example, continues to accept the division of the world into three "as a new situation that has developed after the second world war" ("Political Resolution", CC, CPI(ML)(PW), 1.5.84, p. 52). Among the superpowers, the Soviet Union is represented to be on the "offensive" as against the US, which is supposedly only on the "defensive"(p.60). In addition, it is propagated that only the "superpowers" are preparing for war. The fact that the other big imperialist powers are equally interested in war and are preparing for it to again redivide the world is ignored:

"Strive to avoid the outbreak of war, by fighting against the war hysteria and war preparations of both the superpowers which are the cause for a world war. As a part of this, specifically expose the aggressive action of the Soviet imperialist superpower masquerading under the garb of socialism, and at the same time take care not to give any room to slogans for an anti-

Soviet united front."  
(ibid.. p. 76)

In the "new situation" arising after World War II, the "governments" of the "third world" countries are also granted a place in the "world anti-imperialist front". (p.58).

In the case of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist) too, in spite of the denunciation of the "counter-revolutionary theory of the three worlds", elements of this theory continue to find a place in their articles and resolutions. The two "superpowers" continue to occupy a central place in the world imperialist system and are made into the "main target of all the anti-imperialist struggles" (K. Venu, "Mao Tse-tung and 'Three World Theory'", March 1983, Progress Publications, New Delhi, p. 33).

The division of the world into three is not rejected as being contrary to Marxist-Leninist terminology, as having no class-analytical basis and standing in contradiction to the division of the world into the two camps of revolution and counter-revolution. Instead, like the Teng-Hua revisionists, the division of the world into three is imputed to Mao Tse-tung and is justified as being "one aspect of the foreign policy of a socialist country" (ibid., p. 4). Along with this defence of the division of the world into three, the line of the C.P. of China before Mao's death is defended as a whole, particularly in respect of its foreign policy. A Chinese wall is construed between the "three worlds theory" as adopted at the 11th Congress of the C.P. of China and Teng's speech at the UNO in 1974, which is represented to be an attempt to misrepresent this differentiation of the three worlds and convert it into a strategy for world revolution, (ibid., p. 19) and the division of the world into three, supposedly undertaken by Mao Tse-tung and the Marxist-Leninist forces in the C.P. of China, for which the pamphlet offers no concrete proof. China's inclusion into the third world is also approved.(ibid., p. 19).

Out of the four fundamental contradictions, as put forward in the 25 Point Proposal of the C.P. of China of 1963, the principal contradiction today is considered to be the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. The proletariat of the imperialist countries is indeed condemned to the role of waiting "for the realization of liberation in these areas" which will start the process of breaking up the bedrock of imperialism. It seems "only then will the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of the imperialist countries move closer to their goal". (ibid., p. 7).

In this same pamphlet by K. Venu, though there are some passages stating the contrary ( see pp. 22, 23), it is conceded that some countries ( which are not named) gained "political independence" after World War II (p. 11). These countries have contradictions with and oppose imperialism. It is the duty of the proletariat of these countries to support such struggles. As an example, the so-called

struggle of the third world countries for the 280 miles zone is declared to be a component part of the revolutionary struggle ( see pp. 15-16). According to us, support for these kinds of struggles by reactionary governments constitutes a blurring of their comprador character. Generally, it is so that such acts are meant to utilize the rivalry between the various imperialists to enhance the importance and position of these comprador governments and classes and are certainly not carried out in the interest of the people. To be sure, such actions on the part of the ruling comprador classes can be produced because of the pressure of the large-scale people's movements in these countries and the entire atmosphere there and in each case must be subjected to close analysis, b u t what must be underscored is that they leave untouched the nerve-centre of the imperialist system of dependency and more often than not are nothing but nationalist demagogy.

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Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!  
Proletarier aller Länder und unterdrückte Völker vereinigt Euch!

# Rote Fahne

ZENTRALORGAN DER MARXISTISCH-LENINISTISCHEN PARTEI ÖSTERREICH

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**CRITICISM OF**  
**DENG HSIAO-PINGS**  
**"THREE WORLDS" PATTERN**

Joint Statement of the editorial staffs of

**ROTE FAHNE** (Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria)

**WESTBERLINER KOMMUNIST** (Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party in West-Berlin)

**GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG** (Marxist-Leninist Organ for West-Germany)

"CRITICISM OF DENG HSIAO-PING'S "THREE WORLDS" PATTERN", a Joint Statement by the Editorial Staffs of Rote Fahne, Westberliner Kommunist and Gegen die Strömung was first published in 1977. (Engl. ed. No. 165, Rote Fahne).

It marked for the three organisations the beginning of a thorough-going self-criticism of their own past line in which various elements of the "Three Worlds Theory" had been uncritically taken over, though more extreme social-chauvinist manifestations of it had been repudiated.(x)

Underlying this self-criticism, as a necessary accompaniment of the criticism of Teng's line, was the idea of one's responsibility for one's own line: Marxist-Leninists of every country themselves carry the full responsibility for their line; this is a principle of Marxism-Leninism and is an expression of their responsibility towards the working class and the working masses.

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(x) See: "The Three Worlds Pattern in the Line of Gegen die Strömung From 1974-76, A Self-Criticism", Gegen die Strömung No. 26, Nov. 1981; also "Make a Break With Errors and Inconsequences, Self Criticism of the C.C. of the MLPA", Rote Fahne No. 201, 1982. And "The Influence of the Three Worlds Pattern On Our Line in the Years 1975/76, Self-Criticism of the Westberliner Kommunist", WBK No. 26, April 1982.

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PREFACE BY THE AUTHORS
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The editorial staffs of ROTE FAHNE (Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria), of WESTBERLINER KOMMUNIST (Organ for the Building of the Marxist-Leninist Party in West-Berlin) and of GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG (Marxist-Leninist Organ for West Germany) have developed during the last years -- as their agreement in the ideological and political field became clear -- an increasingly close collaboration in these fields. At this, the struggle against the international appearances of social chauvinism had a particularly large part.

The article presented here is o n e result of this collaboration, but it is only the first publication of a series of articles intended to e l a b o r a t e the questions dealt with here to advance the struggle against all old and new manifestations and variations of modern revisionism.

Right from the beginning we must stress that with the following criticism of the "three worlds" pattern we cannot simply pass to the order of the day.

All three sides taking part in this article have been waging for some years a difficult and severe struggle according to their forces and in compliance with their capabilities against the various manifestations of social chauvinism. From the beginning, we have refused to present Soviet social imperialism as the "principal enemy of the world", as the "principal danger to Europe" or as the "principal enemy for our own revolution". Instead of that, we have emphasized that under our present circumstances the imperialist bourgeoisie of our own country, which holds the state apparatus in its hands, is the principal enemy.

We have struggled against the pretended task of "supporting the positive elements of European unification", we have denounced the "opposition against the superpowers by the countries of the Second World" as imperialist rivalry with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. We have vigorously struggled against the "defense of the motherland" in a possible third world war, we have denounced the underestimation of U.S. imperialism, its characterizing as merely "defensive" and "descending". We have made clear that the compromises in the foreign policy of socialist states do n o t require a n y compromises by the proletariat of the capitalist countries in its struggle against its enemies, that the foreign policy of peaceful co-existence by a socialist country can never serve as a guideline for the class struggle of the proletariat of the capitalist countries etc.

Against the immense mass of social chauvinist theses and theories that are pouring down on a large scale on the marxists-leninists and are set in a good tune to each other we have struggled according to our capabilities at a time when others who are now posing as "critics of the theory of the three worlds" did not only refuse to fight against all these theses, but openly and unrestrainedly pursued their policy of "defense of the motherland" and of chauvinism, and who sought to get rid of all those opposing them with typically revisionist methods such as boycotting, slandering and thug tactics.

All this is not forgotten and is not bound to be forgotten, and anyone cherishing the truth may check the facts.

However, in spite of this struggle this is less than ever the time for complacent reflections.

All three sides participating on this article have struggled against the theory and practice of social chauvinism, indeed, but waged it as a struggle against the extreme representatives of the "three worlds" pattern in their respective field of work and have not realized that this pattern is fundamentally and altogether incompatible with marxism-leninism, regardless if bashfully presented as an "illustration" or unabashedly as a new "theory". In the works of the joint editors aimed against various consequences of the "three worlds" pattern, too, the matter was not explored sufficiently enough, the roots of the deviations were not investigated profoundly. Thus, not only the division in "three worlds" was greatly accepted, but also several false conceptions originating from it subject to criticism in the joint article presented here. The criticism of Deng Hsiao-ping and his pattern of the three worlds put forward here is to that extent also an expression of auto-critical investigations.

It is up to each one of the sides cooperating on this present work to state the errors committed, to lay open their roots and to draw from that the concrete conclusions for their own further activity. Now already can be said unanimously however, that the main source of the arisen errors lies in a default of study and comprehension and in in consequence of application of the theory of marxism-leninism. A second important source of errors, though, also lies in the mistaken comprehension of solidarity with the CP of China and with the international communist movement. This caused the propagation of documents of other parties including their errors, minimalization of contradictions becoming visible here and there, or disavowal of them, even doing some straightening-out interpretation from case to case for the sake of a misunderstood unity of the marxist-leninist world movement, reconciling the incompatible, and patching up contradictions.

The three cooperating sides take the viewpoint that the measure for judging their own lines cannot be the comparison to the revisionism and opportunism of those parties and organizations that propagate social chauvinism, that did so yesterday and may do so again as early as tomorrow, those in face of whom we have been right and still are. Our measure for the judgement of our own lines can only be the theory of marxism-leninism, which is complete in itself, and the requirement of its consequent application. Therefore, all three sides participating in this and the following articles emphasize that at the same time as the criticism of Deng Hsiao-ping a thorough process of a u t o - c r i t i c i s m must be initiated, without of which the logical continuation and intensification of the struggle against modern revisionism on the international level as well as in the own field would be impossible.

Of course, such a profound autocriticism cannot be presented ready-made and right away as the well-reasoned clarifying debate within the marxist-leninist world movement and in our own ranks is just at its beginning.

It is fully natural that at first the controversy over the s u b s t a n c e of Deng Hsiao-ping's l i n e stands in the foreground, but this means in no way that the responsibility for the own errors is to lay upon Deng Hsiao-ping or any other propagandists of the "three worlds" pattern. Just the same, the three cooperating sides decline to minimize their own responsibility with the catch-phrase of having been too "devout to authorities".

All these argumentations would only lead to denying the necessity of the exact analysis of one's own line and one's own errors.

Therefore, we emphasize once again that the marxist-leninists of every country themselves carry the full responsibility for what they do and say, and that therefore the question of earnest a u t o c r i t i c i s m as an expression of responsibility to the working class and the labouring masses and as a fundamental principle of marxism-leninism has first-rate importance.

- "Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for
- it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thorough-
- ly discussing the means of correcting it - that is the ear-
- mark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform
- its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the
- class, and then the masses." (Lenin quoted in: Stalin,
- Foundations of Leninism. From: Stalin, Problems of Leninism,
- p.25, Moscow 1947, in English)

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INTRODUCTION
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The following criticism has been worked upon for a time. During this work, at a time as Deng Hsiao-ping was cast from office and honour, the question arose: Why occupy oneself with a document almost four years old whose author seemed to lack any real political importance any more? Is this hitting the bag and meaning the donkey? Does this mean trying to avoid the real target? Why is not an article or a speech by Hua Kuo-feng on the international situation being criticized, respectively a characteristic document of other nowadays propagandists of the "three worlds" pattern?

Our answer to this question has been and goes on to be:

Firstly: The speech of Deng Hsiao-ping is such a central document because in it is presented in a concentrated way and spread out flatly what could be found as it appeared by chance or sporadically in articles and documents of the CP of China and what not only is the prevailing line in the CP of China today, but is also issued massively through the central organs of such parties as the PCMLF (France), PCMLB (Belgium), the CPA/ML (Australia), the CWP/ML (Norway), the CPS (Sweden) and others.

Secondly, characteristic at this is the fact that the nowadays followers of the "three worlds" pattern have not produced a single really new argument in favor of this pattern, but all to the contrary ever again go back to the argumentation of Deng Hsiao-ping of 1974 and are loyal to this speech. Without exaggeration, we may say that this speech factually is a programmatic document for them.

Thirdly, we have always held the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to make it clear right from the beginning that those are in the wrong and fundamentally offend against the theoretical basis of marxism-leninism, that is dialectical materialism, for whom all problems begin not before September 1976, after the death of comrade Mao tsetung, while pretendedly everything was "just all-right" before. The analysis of Deng Hsiao-ping's 1974(!) speech proves the contrary.

However, those propagating that before Mao Tse-tung's death everything was "just all-right" juggle also with the terms "illustration of the three worlds", "theory of the three worlds" and "strategical concept of the three worlds" in order to make their rotten thesis appear trustworthy and claim that the mistake started just when there no longer was spoken of the "illustration" but of the "theory" respectively of the "strategical concept" of the "three worlds".

Here it becomes clear that their idea that until September everything was all-right particularly shows the attitude that:

"Everything has been all-right with us", so talking of the "illustration of the three worlds" was no mistake as it was propagated already before September 1976. According to the revisionist motto: "The party, the party is always right" there is no attempt to get at the bottom of the matter, to detect the roots of the errors and lay them open.

But without exposing the errors profoundly one cannot really struggle against them. Whether "illustration", "theory" or "strategical concept", the pattern of the "three worlds" was false from the outset and merely was propagated ever more massive in the course of time. Therefore, the attempt to fabricate essential differences between these terms is an attempt to mask one's own errors. With such a "differentiation" one not only is incapable of analyzing one's own mistakes but without fail one will reach the sloping level of shady compromises.

Out of all these reasons, it seemed us right and it still seems us right today to begin the criticism of the pattern of the "three worlds" with the criticism of Deng Hsiao-ping's speech of 1974.

Now the importance of the speech by Deng Hsiao-ping has been proven also insofar as he has become fully "rehabilitated" in the mean time, which is not so much a rehabilitation of his person but much more a solidification of the revisionist line represented by him.

Thus, our opinion has been confirmed that Deng Hsiao-ping is to an extensive degree the father of that form of revisionist ideology which is causing such heavy damage in the international communist movement of today.

The struggle against this revisionist ideology is not primarily a question of individuals, they even interest the marxist-leninists only insofar as all as they are carriers, representatives and leaders of the revisionist line. It is above all a question of the defense of the marxist-leninist principles - against everybody regardless of the "authority" and former "merits" he may have had !

The 7th Party Congress of the brave Party of Albania standing out like a rock has played a very large and encouraging role in the struggle against the falsification of marxism-leninism that various marxist-leninist parties and forces have been waging for a long time against social chauvinism.

The criticism of the "three worlds" pattern by the 7th Congress of the PLA has dealt painful blows against the arrogance of the social chauvinists, initiated the marxist-leninist offensive and forced the followers of the "three worlds" pattern in a certain way in the defensive.

The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania did not at all draw a line not to be transgressed in the struggle against social chauvinism, like some opportunists create the impression, but much to the contrary, it has only initiated the struggle on a wide front, a struggle the PLA has carried on with such a programmatic document as the Zeri i Popullit article "Theory and Practice of the Revolution" (see Rote Fahne issue no.164 of the MLPÖ, July 1977 in German) and will continue to carry on in a manifold way.

||The nowadays struggle against the "three worlds pattern" is  
 ||a continuation of the struggle between marxism and revisionism,  
 ||a struggle being above all a continuation of the struggle of  
 ||the marxists-leninists against Chrushtchev revisionism.

The history of this struggle teaches that not "tactics" nor at all what some people understand by it are decisive about it, but above all firmness in principles and irreconciliability are decisive. This struggle of the marxist-leninists will not only be directed against against the open representatives of the "theory of the three worlds", but also against those who take a conciliating attitude in this struggle because according to the logics of things, the struggle against open opportunism has to be linked to the struggle against conciliationism as both nurture and strengthen each other.

In the struggle against modern revisionism one has to get at the basis of the matter, elaborate the central problems as extensively as possible in order not to make concessions again to a new form of revisionism tomorrow or even propagate it oneself.

It is in the very struggle against Deng Hsiao-ping's theses, who propagates an extremely right-opportunist, defeatist course, that exists the danger of remaining too much on the surface in criticism, of putting off some extreme formulations as absurd with a motion of the hand, or even of meeting his false line with a seemingly inverse conception which, however, likewise cannot support itself by the firm foundation of marxism-leninism.

In our opinion, it is the duty of all marxists-leninists to go deeper in the struggle against every new manifestation of revisionism and anti-marxism, to acquaint themselves once again with the crucial questions of the history of the struggle between marxism and revisionism, also to reflect a u t o c r i t i c a l l y upon their own contribution to this struggle in order to weapon themselves for the further struggle against revisionism to the maximum degree.

In this continuation of the struggle against modern revisionism under the present circumstances a lot of marxist-leninist arguments exposing Chrushtchev at that time today strike Deng Hsiao-ping's revisionism.

But it would be a much too simplifying conception to intend to struggle against Deng Hsiao-ping's line merely with the documents originating in the struggle against Chrushtchev revisionism - and not only because Deng's revisionism differs in some aspects from Chrushtchev's revisionism.

The problem rests deeper.

Apart from the declaration and manifesto approved 1957 and 1960 in Bucarest and Moskow which contain central theses of Chrushtchev revisionism, such fundamental documents as the nine commentaries of the "Polemic on the General Line" and the "Proposition for the General Line" published by the CP of China, which in 1963-64 were strong weapons for the marxists-leninists of all countries in the struggle against Chrushtchev revisionism and actually dealt heavy blows in many important questions to Chrushtchev revisionism, were themselves not free from fundamental errors.

Through studying these documents anew with the problems of class struggle on the ideological and political field in mind it is proven that these documents -- implied by the time, owing to illusions about modern revisionism and a couple of serious mistakes of the marxist-leninists at that time -- many important questions were not elaborated p r o f o u n d l y enough.

Indeed, onsets for present mistakes of right opportunism and social chauvinism, as they are represented extremely in Deng Hsiao-ping's line, have already been laid out in these documents and will continue to originate from them in new forms if there is not clarification established here by marxism-leninism and with marxist-leninist methods.

The 1966 events in Indonesia and the excellent and exemplary auto-criticism of the CP of Indonesia (I) show three basic errors of the above-mentioned documents, all three directly linked to the line of Deng Hsiao-ping of today and therefore to be mentioned here briefly.

In these documents, for instance, in the situation after World War II the possibility of t w o roads, one peaceful and one violent, was emphasized, the peaceful road pretendedly getting the more realistical, the more the violent road is prepared.

In these documents the problem of a profound a g r a r i a n r e v o l u t i o n is not tackled concerning the question of revolution in the non-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that still writhe under the yoke of imperialism, of the compradore bourgeoisie and the landlording class.

Further, concerning the problem of in which way to link the struggle against the interior reactionaries with the struggle against US-Imperialism, the struggle against the exterior

enemy, against U.S. imperialism is emphasized as of priority in a one-sided way.

Going still a step further, Deng Hsiao-ping has laid down for all countries the struggle against "the superpowers, particularly social imperialism" as the principal task so that all interior contradictions are to subordinate themselves to the struggle against the "exterior enemy". Thus, class struggle, not to speak of civil war and people's war in the areas still dominated by imperialism, are wiped from the table.

Deng Hsiao-ping's line did not fall from heaven. It has its history and connecting links of various kinds. A result from these considerations is that the study of all of the documents considered as footings in the struggle against modern revisionism after 1956 -- and a c r i t i c a l study, that is -- must be one of the predominant tasks on the ideological front as all these documents doubtlessly have had a very large influence on our marxist-leninist cadres.

The outgrowth of all these problems touched in the introduction is:

|| It is more important than ever to study the basic writings  
 || of MARX, ENGELS, LENIN and STALIN on every problem we meet.  
 || Their writings, although they were written decades ago, often  
 || are more topical and fitting also in the struggle against  
 || revisionism under the present conditions than anything we  
 || are able to write today.

I. THE REVISIONISTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SPECULATING WITH  
"NEW CONDITIONS"

The Chrushtchev revisionists did not launch their attacks against the marxist-leninist principles boldly and not without maneuvering. In order to be able to go on passing for "marxists", they initiated a furious struggle supposedly against "dogmatism", against the "personality cult" etc. But their principal maneuver intended to give them trustworthiness consisted of the speculation with the c h a n g e s in the world after World War II, their waving of the "new conditions" flag.

In the supposed "struggle against dogmatism" the modern revisionists were not at all really bent upon struggling against the lack of application of marxist-leninist principles or against the declaring as absolute of secondary guidelines, but they were bent just and only upon struggling against the generally valid truths and basic principles of marxism-leninism. It was exactly the same with their supposed "struggle against the personality cult". It was not at all aimed against shady glorifications of Stalin and meaningless cajolery, but the struggle against the "personality cult" actually was an attack on Stalin and his marxist-leninist work which so splendidly defended and enriched marxism-leninism in the struggle against all opportunists from Trotsky to Bukharin to Tito.

Just as little, the revisionists of back then and the today revisionists of all shades were bent upon really applying the marxist-leninist basic theses to the new conditions; however, they intend exactly by referring to the new phenomena to revise the basic principles of the era of imperialism and proletarian world revolution, of the era of the world-historical mission of the proletariat as the hegemon of all exploited and oppressed, of the era of world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism.

The revisionists of a l l shades have to falsify in this or that way the n a t u r e of this era, cast aside the revolutionary guiding principles of Leninism concluded from the analysis of this era and declare them "outdated".

After Chrushtchev revisionism, o n e variety of the revision of leninism as the marxism of our era has been the attempt to abuse "Mao Tse-tung Thought as the third era-making stage of marxism" for this invented "wholly new era". Such attempts were visible particularly sharply with the revisionist Lin Piao who was permanently wording the phrase of the "wholly new era" (?).

Another variety we encounter today.

The thesis of the "three worlds", too, unmistakably refers above all to the "new conditions" and the "great changes" and carefully avoids an analysis of the present era and the basic tasks deriving from it.

Deng Hsiao-ping substantiated why there now must be spoken of "three worlds" in the speech at the U.N. General Assembly of 1974, which is being criticized in the following, in this manner:

"Looking at the changes in the international relations, there are today in the world three sections, three worlds."

(Peking Review no.15 of 1974, p.8, in German. These and all subsequent emphasize-ments are by us - editors' note.)

This means that according to Deng Hsiao-ping everybody who as to speak wants to be up to date and who is not weeping for the times gone by has to base upon these "three worlds".

Before we deal more closely with the "changes" Deng Hsiao-ping gives as a reason for his "three worlds", it is necessary in our opinion to call some basic theses of marxism-leninism to memory which are in vain searched for in Deng Hsiao-ping's elaborations.

2. THE PRESENT WORLD IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CAMP OF REVOLUTION AND THE CAMP OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Marx and Engels on Class Struggle and the Division of Society into two Camps

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Of fundamental importance for marxism-leninism is the thesis summarized in the Communist Manifesto:

- "The history of all societies so far is the history of
- class struggles."
- (Communist Manifesto, p.42, in German.)

This history of class struggles is implied by the development of the economical base. The world-historical process of economic development and the history of class struggles resting on it has reached a level in the era of capitalism which Engels characterized on underscoring the general basic idea of the "Manifesto" as follows: that

- "this struggle, however, has now reached a level where the
- exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) no longer
- can liberate itself from the class that exploits and
- oppresses it (the bourgeoisie) without simultaneously
- liberating the entire society forever from exploitation,
- oppression and class struggles."
- (Quoted after: "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism"
- by Stalin, in: "History of the CPSU(B) - Brief Study Course",
- p.161, in German), (Engels' Preface to the Communist
- Manifesto, 1883)

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have further indicated in the Communist Manifesto that the key to analyze even difficult problems rests in the understanding of the class antagonism. This class antagonism, which the reactionaries of all countries and their parrots always seek to conceal, continues getting sharper:

- "The entire society is more and more divided into two big
- camps of adversaries, into two big classes directly con-
- fronting each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat."
- (Manifesto of the Communist Party, page 43, in German.)

### The Struggle Between Two Camps in the Era of Imperialism

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In the era of imperialism, the proletarian world revolution has become a question of "immediate practice" because of the economic development on the world scale. (Stalin, On the Foundations of Leninism, Peking, 1965, p.4, in German.)

In our present era, the era of imperialism, it is fact that

- "we must speak of the existence of objective conditions
- for the revolution in the entire system of world imperial-
- ist economy as an integral unit; ... b e c a u s e t h e
- system as a whole is already ripe for revolution."
- (Stalin, op.cit., p.31, Moscow 1947, in English)

In the era of imperialism, the most basic class antagonism analyzed by Marx and Engels is not at all "outdated", but it is confirmed in every way: The process of the division of society into these two camps (proletariat and bourgeoisie) that started during the era of "ascending" capitalism in Europe in particular has in the era of moribund capitalism, when the question of proletarian revolution became an immediate practical question, expanded to the imperialist camp of counter-revolution and the camp of proletarian world revolution.

While the imperialists of all countries, the compradore bourgeoisie and feudal lords, the reactionaries of all countries gather in the camp of c o u n t e r - r e v o l u t i o n, in the camp of proletarian world revolution do not only the international proletariat and, naturally, since the victory of the Socialist October Revolution the countries of socialism unite, but also more and more under the hegemony of the proletariat - its allies:

The middle strata, especially the labouring rural masses in the capitalist countries and the revolutionary national liberation movements in the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. These forces today are turning more and more into a reserve of the proletarian world revolution, into its most reliable ally, even into a part of it.

Between these two great camps, whose enormous struggle - a struggle between barbarous capitalism and liberating socialism -, will occupy the entire present era up to the victory of the proletarian world revolution, up to establishing communism, there is no "third camp", no "third world" and no "third way".

3. SINCE THE SOCIALIST OCTOBER REVOLUTION, LENIN AND STALIN HAVE PROPAGATED THE EXISTENCE OF TWO WORLDS: THE OLD CAPITALIST WORLD AND THE NEW SOCIALIST WORLD

On defining leninism as "marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution", comrade Stalin started from the two fundamental great forces of this era that are entangled in an irreconcilable class struggle with each other: world-imperialism on one side and the forces of proletarian world revolution on the other.

The contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, the class struggle between these two forces, that is the starting point for every marxist-leninist analysis and every correct determination of the significance of all basic contradictions in the world (3).

With the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, this deep contradiction within the capitalist-imperialist world was lifted to a new level, now it displayed itself already also through the existence of the first great socialist state. Now there existed not only two camps in the world diametrically confronting each other, but evidently the world itself was torn in two basically different, antagonistic worlds; the capitalist-imperialist world, where the proletariat continued to be exploited and oppressed, on one side - and the new socialist world now already existing in the form of the first socialist state, where the proletariat dominated, exerted its dictatorship and constructed its new social order (4).

Lenin therefore said after the victory of the socialist October revolution:

- "Unfortunately, however, there are two worlds in the
- world today: the old one - capitalism, which is caught
- in a dead-end street and will never give in, and the ris-
- ing new world, which still is very weak, but will be-
- come strong and large, because it is invincible."
- (Lenin Works vol. 33, p. 132, in German - also see Lenin
- Works vol. 36, p. 528, in German)

This statement by Lenin that there are two worlds has belonged to the ABC of marxism-leninism ever since. Whether the fact of the existence of these two worlds is acknowledged or not is, strictly speaking, equivalent to the question whether

the world-historical importance of the October revolution is acknowledged as the first great victory in the enormous struggling between imperialism and proletarian world revolution or not. Stalin wrote about this ten years after the victory of the October revolution in the article "The International Character of the October Revolution":

- "The October revolution is not merely a revolution within
- national limits. It is, primarily, a revolution of an
- international, world order; for it signifies a radical
- turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the
- old, capitalist, world to the new, Socialist, world."
- (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, p.198, Moscow 1947, in Eng-
- lish.)

As we have said, all this are f o u n d a m e n t s of marxism-leninism. As an old revisionist like Deng Hsiao-ping nevertheless succeeded and still succeeds to confuse even revolutionary communist forces with a pattern of suddenly "t h r e e worlds", even to draw them off the revolutionary road altogether, it evidently is not at all enough just to call in mind these basic perceptions, but it is necessary to reveal as exact and detailed as possible what demagogical possibilities, what actually existing new problems Deng Hsiao-ping takes advantage of in order to cause confusion, and with what fraudulent methods he utilizes this confusion for his counter-revolutionary purposes.

#### 4. THE TRICK OF HOW THE SOCIALIST CAMP "DISAPPEARS"

To make his "t h r e e worlds" - the "superpowers", the other developed countries and the economically underdeveloped countries - come into being and appear trustworthy, Deng Hsiao-ping had to surmount a great obstacle: Simply the basic statements by Lenin and Stalin on the t w o worlds irreconcilably confronting each other in our time.

In order to circumnavigate this difficult cliff, Deng Hsiao-ping employs the demagogical method of speculating with an actually existing new manifestation, namely the degeneration of several socialist countries including the Soviet Union herself. Let us see how he reasons on this:

"Caused by the appearance of social imperialism, the socialist camp, which used to exist for some time after World War II, has ceased to exist."  
(Peking Review, *ibid.*, p.8)

Right enough, it cannot be denied that there no longer exists a socialist Soviet Union today and that almost all socialist countries that came into being after World War II today no longer are socialist. But did the socialist camp really cease

to exist back then? Are there because of this no socialist countries at all any more, no camp of proletarian world revolution by far larger than some socialist countries? It is plain to see that it is n o t s o !

We have reached here one of the decisive points which Deng Hsiao-ping seeks to obscure by reaching for an old trick of the demagogues and helpmates of the class enemy: the trick with the "double meaning".

As is known every term has its history of development, may have different meanings at different times or may indicate something general and something particular at the same time. Deng Hsiao-ping exploits this by using in his reasoning one and the same term unnoticedly in a d i f f e r e n t sense in order to come to a conclusion which seems logical but in truth twists the facts.

Not expressed openly to the end, but implied in its contents, Deng Hsiao-ping's basic reasoning and that of his followers goes like this: For a time a socialist camp representing the world of socialism existed, but today t h i s (!) socialist camp no longer exists - "therefore" one no longer has to divide the world into a socialist and a capitalist world, in short, t h e socialist camp has simply disappeared !

The inventors and followers of the "three worlds" pattern find support for this manipulation in the circumstance that the term of the "socialist camp" has a m u l t i p l e meaning:

I. Basically it comprises all forces of the camp of socialism, that is, all forces of the proletarian world revolution. Accordingly, Stalin wrote in his article called "Two Camps" (Works, vol.4) at a time when a s i n g l e socialist country existed:

- "The world has become divided decisively and irrevocably
- into t w o c a m p s : Into the camp of imperialism and
- the camp of socialism."
- (Stalin, Works, vol.4, p.205, in German)

In 1925, Stalin said about these two camps:

- "Who-whom? -- that's the crucial point ... Because the
- world has become divided into two camps -- into the camp
- of capitalism with the Anglo-American capital at its head,
- and the camp of socialism with the Soviet Union at its
- head."
- (Stalin, Works, vol.7, p.81, in German, "On the Results of
- the Works of the 24th Conference of the CPR(B), May 1925)

Take notice that Stalin said this immediately after the socialist October revolution, that is, b e f o r e World War II and b e f o r e the existence of those thirteen socialist states often being designated as the "socialist camp" in the narrower meaning of the term in the post-war years. Therefore it is quite evident that Stalin employs the term in the same sense as

Lenin does: As a termwise summing-up of all forces of the proletarian world revolution comprising at that time the Soviet Union at its head, but furthermore also a l l revolutionary forces of the proletariat of all countries waging the struggle in this or that stage of the road to socialism.

Of course, in the course of development the concret forms and the composition of the socialist camp have changed, new socialist countries have come into being and existing ones were also lost through bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. But even through the degeneration of the Soviet Union herself and of other former socialist countries, the socialist camp has not at all disappeared. To make it disappear, the imperialists would have to destroy the world proletariat. But it is completely out of question that this is impossible.

2. The classic representatives of marxism-leninism have employed the term of the "socialist camp" on and off also in the narrower sense of the word, that is, indicating with it socialism already existing as a new social order which has comprised a larger or smaller number of socialist countries depending on the historical circumstances. This was at first the only socialist country, the socialist Soviet Union, this was after 1949 thirteen countries of socialism. At that time after World War II, it became common usage to give just the concrete manifestation of the socialist world existing then, namely these thirteen countries, the designation of "socialist camp".

But even then did the great world-historical camp of socialism, of the proletarian world revolution comprise in the original sense a l l forces of the revolutionary world proletariat, a l l peoples struggling for their liberation from imperialism, exploitation and oppression which are not only objectively, but through the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat led by its marxist-leninist party also subjectively standing up in revolution more and more for the cause of world communism.

Returning now to Deng Hsiao-ping's speculation with a really existing manifestation, we see how he exploits for his trick with the double meaning the fact that the socialist camp of the years after 1949 - the socialist camp in the narrow sense of the word common then - no longer exists due to the treason of the modern revisionists.

Deng Hsiao-ping and his like argue with the degeneration of some formerly socialist countries - but they simply ignore the fact that just not all of these countries took such a road of development: After 1956, countries such as the great socialist China with comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head and the brave socialist Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha withstood the inner and outer pressure of imperialism and revisionism, which meant a historical victory for the entire

socialist camp. This proves quite clearly that even when the term of the "socialist camp" is confined merely to the really existing socialist countries, it is evil demagogy and a counter-revolutionary lie to pretend that the socialist camp, respectively the world of socialism, has ceased to exist.

Such a viewpoint, if it originates in China, aims concretely against the Socialist People's Republic of Albania - this must be said frankly. For from the theses that a socialist camp no longer exists results unequivocally that no special relations are necessary with the SPR of Albania. In this way, it is not surprising that Deng Hsiao-ping presents just like Chrushtchev also the old theses denying proletarian internationalism and mutual brotherly assistance:

"We advocate that the political and economic relations between the states have to rest without exception on the five principles... of peaceful coexistence."  
(Peking Review, op.cit., p.12, lower half of right column, in German)

Here it becomes clear that Deng Hsiao-ping just ignores with his trick the existence of a socialist country existing elsewhere, that is Albania, as not suitable to his design.

But not only that. Speculating with the phenomenon of the degeneration of some formerly socialist countries and taking it as a pretext, Deng Hsiao-ping and his followers altogether deny the existence of a socialist camp in the extensive sense of the word, that is, as the camp of the proletarian world revolution. With this, it becomes perfectly clear that with their three worlds pattern these people even have given up the most fundamental aspect, the class standpoint, as they conceal and deny the deepest division of the present world, the one between the camp of the proletarian world revolution and the camp of worldwide counter-revolution, the global class struggle between these two camps and focal points of force.

Let us sum up:

Deng Hsiao-ping wants to attain through his first big trick that the marxists-leninists stop recognizing the camp of the proletarian world revolution and making it the fundamental starting point of their strategy; he wants to coax them into denying real socialism that exists already.

V. THE PATTERN OF THE "THREE WORLDS" ALSO MAKES THE IMPERIALIST CAMP "DISAPPEAR"

Among those intending to "criticise", that is, fundamentally r e - v i s e leninism as marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it is common to d i v e r t above all from the basic and class contradiction of this era and to obscure the fact of the two camps irreconcilably confronting each other. We have already seen how Deng Hsiao-ping made disappear the forces of the proletarian world revolution, the camp of socialism, that stand on one side of the barricade, consequently, he does the same to the other side by also denying the existence of the imperialist camp.

No marxist-leninist would refuse to acknowledge that in the present international situation the rivalry between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism is o n e striking characteristic. Deng Hsiao-ping refers to this fact, but claims:

"...their rivalry...is extensively comprehensive, permanent and absolute."

(op.cit., p.9, top of right column, in German.)

At the same time, Deng Hsiao-ping takes up the circumstance that "in the West", that is, in Western Europe, the imperialists are entering increased rivalry with U.S. imperialism. From this spring-board, he stars off to his big demagogic break-neck leap:

"Owing to the laws of unequal development in capitalism, also (+) the imperialist bloc of the West deteriorates..."

(op.cit., p.8, bottom of right column, in German)

This demagogic masterpiece unites even several daring tricks. Firstly, under hand the two camps turn into two b l o c s , that is, the general term of "camp" is put on a par with the term of "bloc" w i c h is something fully different and indicates something special. That is a bold swindle. Secondly, in this way, the wholly natural existence of contradictions in an imperialist bloc factually is falsely presented as a "disintegration"(!) of the global front of imperialism. Thirdly, for such an indeed extremely primitive and clumsy fraud, a very essential perception by L e n i n on imperia-

(+) This "also" refers to Deng Hsiao-ping's claim shortly before that the socialist c a m p had already disappeared! The reader now expects from Deng Hsiao-ping that "also" the imperialist c a m p disappears as the reciprocal pole of the socialist camp.

But Deng Hsiao-ping doesn't fulfill this expectation, but speaks more cautiously of the "imperialist bloc of the west", that is, of a certain imperialist coalition instead of speaking of the imperialist camp, although he seeks primarily to claim a "disintegration" of the imperialist camp in general.

lism is insolently abused, namely the law of unequal development of capitalism, as if this law would render impossible the existence of an imperialist camp, of a global front of imperialism. If one were to follow Deng Hsiao-ping's argumentation, it would result that there actually never could have existed an imperialist camp, because the law of unequal development has been in effect for a long time, especially since the beginning of the era of imperialism.

The claim by Deng Hsiao-ping and his followers that the imperialist rivalry is "absolute" and the imperialist global camp in a state of disintegration naturally has far-reaching consequences and because of this it is also necessary to deal more closely with this matter.

#### Two Tendencies Under Imperialism: Alliance of All Imperialists and Rivalry Among Them

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As long as there are imperialists, neither collaboration nor rivalry among them ever stops. Both tendencies really exist permanently, not only subsequently, but parallel to each other and simultaneously, at which just the tendency changes that is predominant in a certain moment and relating to a certain question.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists in spite of their being in a state of war with Hitlerite Germany nevertheless have settled large commercial transactions with the German monopolies at the same time (for example, General Motors), and even during the acts of war they collaborated with the German imperialists against the Soviet Union of Stalin and against the revolution of the peoples, for the struggle against world revolution is an unconditional feature of imperialism. On the other side, no matter how close an alliance of the imperialists among each other may be, it remains just the same that the concealed rivalry ( becoming visible here and there ever again ) between them never stops, even when all seems peaceful and unanimous, for also the struggle for hegemony is an essential feature of imperialism, and indivisibly linked to it. To tear apart this interrelation between collaboration and rivalry in imperialism and to declare as absolute one of these features at the expense of the other is a flagrant backing-off from marxism-leninism.

The law of unequal development under imperialism adds decisively, of course, to the rivalry of the imperialist powers, fuels it by causing evernew contradictions between the given conditions of partitioning and the changed relations of power and consequently leading to imperialist war. This law is also extremely important because it leads to the possibility that a most weakened link in the chain of the imperialist world system may break and opens the possibility of the victory of revolution and the construction of socialism in one country. But in spite of this immense importance, this law does not express the only and not the alone effective tendency of imperialism. Leninism, basing on the struggle of the world proletariat against world imperialism, analyses in this complex of questions the taking-effect of two kinds of tendencies :

- "There are two tendencies: one making an alliance of all imperialists inevitable, the other, confronting one imperialism to the other two tendencies of which none rests on a firm base."
- (Lenin, Works, vol. 27, p. 363, in German, "Report on Foreign Policy")

The Thesis of "Absolute" Rivalry Denies The Possibility of  
Collaboration of The Imperialists Against The Revolution

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Deng Hsiao-ping uses the thesis that the rivalry of the imperialists is "absolute" (+) not only in order to deny, respectively to declare impossible the existence of a camp of world imperialism, but even goes as far as to call e v e r y collaboration of the imperialists among themselves (at which he practically understands by imperialists no more but the "superpowers") a mere maneuver, as deceit, that is, as a stage-play that is not to be taken overly seriously. So he says about the treaties between the "superpowers" :

"Both may reach certain agreements, but these agreements are mere pretence, nothing else but lies and frauds."  
(Peking Review, op. cit., p. 9, centre of right column, in German)

Reality, however, looks quite different. The common struggle of the imperialists for the preservation of their order of exploitation, their collaboration against revolution is not at all just "pretence", but for the revolutionary peoples and forces bloody reality! (++)

It is enough to name a single example: Is the collaboration of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism in the bloody suppression of the Palestinian revolution (see the latest events in Libanon) perhaps a "mere pretence" and "nothing else but lies and frauds"? Is it not much more a proof of the fact that rivalry regardless of its intensity does not keep the imperialists of various kinds from going together very extensively and very effectively when they aim at the revolutionary social or national liberation movement, at the revolutionary forces ?

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(+) The thesis that "rivalry is absolute" leads among the followers of Deng Hsiao-ping also to the immediate political conclusion that World War III is "inevitable", that it "must" happen. On this fallacy see Chapter 9.

(++) Again Deng Hsiao-ping operates here with a manipulation typical of him. He refers to the well-known fact that the imperialists, of course, never are open and honest in their agreements, have all kinds of ulterior motives and secret plans, permanently seek to cheat each other and above all are ready at any time to throw aside any agreement as a scrap of paper when required by their interests. Basing on this, Deng Hsiao-ping "concludes", however, that the imperialist treaties, as they are, are "mere pretence" and therefore void of the slightest importance.

Struggling Against Kautsky's Theory of "Ultra-Imperialism" Lenin Did Not at All Ignore the Collaboration of The Imperialists against The Revolution

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It could be claimed that the formula "rivalry is absolute" is a way of summing up in brief the arguments Lenin raised against Kautsky's theses on "ultra-imperialism". But this is not true already because Lenin never took imperialist alliances for "mere pretence" or for not really substantial, not even alliances of all imperialists. Lenin just emphasized that

- "...such alliances...would be s h o r t - l i v e d , that
- they would (not) rule out tensions, conflicts and struggle
- in any and all kinds of forms."
- (Lenin, Works, vol. 22, p. 300, in German, "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism")

Lenin further emphasizes that such alliances "n e c e s s a r i l y " are "just 'respites' between wars". (ibid., p. 301) He unequivocally explained the impossibility of a new, ultra-imperialist era - and that not only owing to the law of unequal economic development in capitalism, but just owing to the aggravation of all contradictions of imperialism on account of the maturing world revolution:

- "It is beyond all doubt that the development is heading in
- the direction of a single world trust devouring all enterprises and all states without exception. But this development
- is going on under such circumstances, in such a speed, under
- such contradictions, conflicts and perturbations - not at all
- just economic, but also political, national etc. ones - that
- necessarily imperialism must without fail burst apart before
- a single world trust, an 'ultra-imperialist' world unification
- of the national finance capitals can take place, that capitalism will shift into its c o n t r a r y ."
- (Lenin, Works, vol. 22, p. 106, in German, "Preface to Bukharin's
- Brochure 'World Economy and Imperialism'", underlined stresses
- made by the author)

It is contradictorial to every logic and nothing but clumsy demagoguery to conclude from the marxist-leninist perception that imperialist c o l l a b o r a t i o n cannot be absolute, as Kautsky's speculations presumed, that therefore the r i v a l r y of the imperialists is a b s o l u t e (5), that they never and nowhere are able to agree upon themselves, that their collaboration is nothing but deceit and pretence, thus not to be taken seriously.

Marx strikingly described the relation of collaboration and rivalry in capitalism, and the law of unequal development in imperialism does not change a thing about that:

- "Like the bourgeois class of one country is united and fraternizes against the proletarians of this same country in spite
- of the competition and struggle of the members of the bourgeoisie among themselves, the bourgeois of all countries are
- united and fraternize against the proletarians of all coun-

- tries in spite of their struggle and competition on the
- world market against each other."
- (Marx, Engels, Works, vol. 4, p. 416, in German, "Speech on Poland")

To Exploit Contradictions Between the Imperialists Never Means to Rely Upon These Contradictions And to Support One Side or The Other in The Struggle Between The Rivalling Imperialists

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Lenin says that both tendencies have no firm base: the imperialists will never be able to erect a permanent alliance, never a super-imperialism, but the revolutionaries also always have to calculate that the imperialists unite against the revolution.

Because the contradictions between the imperialists among themselves just are not absolute but there is collaboration between them as well as rivalry, these contradictions cannot be made the fundament of the revolutionary strategy, but their exploitation always supplies a conditional, secondary, limited resource of assistance and Stalin counts the possibility of exploiting these contradictions expressis verbis among the "indirect reserves" of the revolution.

(See "On the Foundations of Leninism", Chapter VII, p. 71, Moscow 1947, in English)

The thesis that the imperialist rivalry is "absolute" serves for the obscurification and denial of exactly this fact. With this thesis the revolutionaries are advised to rely on the actually existing contradictions. As the imperialists pretendedly are not really able to reach an understanding and to unite - not even against the revolution - what, then, is there to happen anyway. Having declared the "exploitation of imperialist contradictions" in fact the decisive basis of the revolutionary strategy, it is only an small step to get involved in these contradictions by way of taking sides in the imperialist rivalries, that is taking one side or the other - the pretendedly "less dangerous" one - in the struggle of the rivalling imperialists.

With this the exploitation of the imperialist contradictions by the proletariat completely turns into exploiting and utilizing the proletariat for the struggle of the rivalling imperialists.

In the era of imperialism, at the same time representing the era of the proletarian world revolution, it is of great importance for the proletarian revolutionaries to take a marxist-leninist attitude on the question of exploiting the contradictions. It is decisive for this to always bear in mind that:

Firstly: The law of unequal development of the capitalist countries in imperialism weaken the enemy, but it does not alter the character of the imperialist countries and in no way makes friends out of enemies.

Secondly: The antagonisms between the imperialists can be taken advantage of for the revolution if at the same time every

illusion about the character of these contradictions is fought against and if the contradictions are clearly recognized and treated as contradictions in the camp of the enemies.

Concretely results from this that:

- a) The proletariat can have no interest in the strengthening of any imperialist, not even when this strengthening of one imperialist happens at the expense of certain others. Taking advantage of contradictions between the imperialists, therefore, may never mean in any way to take sides for one or the other imperialists and to support them against their rivals, not even if the imperialist group concerned may appear smaller, weaker or less dangerous at the moment.
- b) We have to be watchful all the time and ask ourselves: Who takes advantage of whom or what? History tells of many examples where the ruling classes of a country or of several countries knew how to exploit one or the other movement originally aiming at social or national liberation for themselves, for their own reactionary purposes without that those who were taken advantage of became aware of this. The danger of not taking advantage but being taken advantage of instead always exists, especially when this danger is underestimated or denied.
- c) In order to be able to really take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialists for one's own revolutionary cause and not to be taken advantage of oneself, the orientation at using the contradictions between the imperialists has to be intensification of own struggle, the better and more effective mobilization of one's own forces, and the perspective of getting a step ahead in the struggle against all enemies, in the struggle for the great goal of destroying world imperialism never must be let out of sight, so that both imperialists, respectively imperialist groupings, that are in struggle with each other lose in the end, and only the proletarian world revolution wins.
- d) It is completely erroneous to overestimate or even declare "absolute" the contradictions between the imperialists so that the revolutionaries could count on them as a firm and permanent assistance. True is the contrary. Used correctly, the contradictions between the imperialists may even become in certain situations a factor of utmost importance for the revolution, but they are so by no means always and in all circumstances. These contradictions, therefore, are never to be relied upon, but only one's own forces, the forces of revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The imperialists may fight each other to the finish, even bear down upon each other in fierce wars and tear each other to pieces, but in the same moment they may unite against the threat of revolution in spite of this - even right in the middle of imperialist war. To rule out this possibility means to lead the forces of revolution into disaster and must cause them defeats that are not to compensate.

Let us sum up:

The marxists-leninists understand that a camp of world imperialism exists.

There are contradictions within this camp whose concrete manifestations, by the way, are continuously changing and express themselves in ever-new coalitions of these imperialist against those ones, at which the imperialists collaborate against the revolution in spite of their rivalry.

This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the contradiction between the world revolution of the proletariat on one side and the camp of world imperialism on the other side is in terms of classes the deepest contradiction of our era, a contradiction which finds its solution not until world imperialism dies.

Deng Hsiao-ping's speculation with the contradictions within the Western bloc as well as with the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists is deeply hostile to marxism-leninism. It is a speculation with the law of unequal development in capitalism which he eclectically separates from the basic tendency of unification of all imperialists against the proletarian world revolution in order to arrive at his "three worlds" by way of making the imperialist camp vanish.

#### 6. THE SO-CALLED "FIRST" AND "SECOND" WORLDS FRAUD

Can "First World" and "Superpower" Be Defined?  
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Deng Hsiao-ping underwent the complicated effort to deny the division of the world in a camp of imperialism and a camp of struggle against imperialism in order to proclaim on his part and aiming against marxism-leninism the "three worlds". Let us begin with analyzing what is called "First", respectively "Second World".

Deng Hsiao-ping attempts to give the appearance of a definition and writes:

"What is a superpower? A superpower is an imperialist country that proceeds against other countries everywhere by means of aggression, intervention, control, subversion and plundering and and that seeks hegemony over the world."

(Peking Review, op. cit., p. 13, centre of right column, in German)

Prominent about this "definition" right away is that it does not speak of the s p e c i f i c s of a superpower at all, but just counts up attributes all imperialist great powers have in common. According to this definition, Japanese imperialism, French, English and not as last West German imperialism also would be "superpowers", - for they commit aggressions directly or indirectly and plunder other countries wherever they can, and they as great imperialist powers all strive for world hegemony.

These great imperialist powers, however, are unmistakably counted among the "Second World" by Deng Hsiao-ping. There is but one solution to this riddle! Deng Hsiao-ping wants to say with this "definition" that there are in the present world no more than two great imperialist powers: just the "First World", the two "superpowers". And exactly this is fundamentally wrong!

It would be naïve to deny any interrelation between the concept of the "three worlds" and the thesis and term of "superpowers", "First World" and not wanting to see it.

The indication of "superpowers" has supplied from the outset the possibility for the opportunists of various shadings to divert particularly from the other great imperialist powers, actually not to denounce them any more as imperialist rivals of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, for what can such "small and medium-size countries" do against a super power?(6)

For the marxists-leninists who always undertake a precise analysis also of the differences of various imperialist powers it is essential that imperialism means a system of great imperialist powers which have divided the world among themselves.

In the present world, such great imperialist powers not only are U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, even when they actually play a leading role and are the largest exploiters and oppressors in the present world.

There also exist other great imperialist powers.

Thus, the French and English imperialists have their place in this system which they try to expand step by step while fiercely struggling against other imperialist rivals.

It is in particular, however, such great imperialist powers as the Japanese and West German imperialisms that have to be mentioned and as the big losers in World War II have become at present more fiercely than ever a real threat and immediate enemies of the peoples of the world and struggle vehemently with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

The thesis about a "First World", about a world of "superpowers" presents U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism as overwhelming and out of reach and denies the really existing danger that for the peoples comes from the other great imperialist powers.

#### Whitewashing the Other Great Imperialist Powers

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In the estimation of the countries of the so-called "Second World" merely the following is regarded as the "negative side":

"Some of them still maintain at present colonialist relations of various kinds with the countries of the Third World, and a country like Portugal continues even to exert a barbarous colonial rule. Such a situation must be done away with."

(Peking Review, op. cit., p. 9, centre of left column, in German)

It is true that France and England for instance still have colonial relations with other countries in various forms, but is this the crucial point?

Here the demagogical method of spreading half-truths and presenting exceptions as the typical becomes clear to see.

In truth, the exploitation and oppression of other peoples by the great imperialist powers of Western Europe like France, England and West Germany, respectively Japanese imperialism that are all put in the "Second World" pot doesn't consist at all mainly of colonialism, but of neocolonialism!

By presenting just Portugal as a typical example of a so-called "Second World" country, the countries really concerned in the main, that is, West Germany, France, England, Japan, are swept under the carpet. Obviously, Deng Hsiao-ping intends to hint with this "typical" example that the "Second World" countries, although they still have some imperialist tendencies of their own, mainly and principally, however, are oppressed and dependent countries. Why else should he pick just Portugal as an exemplary case that is a semi-colony of U.S. imperialism, of West German imperialism, militarism and revanchism as well as of other European imperialists?

No matter how you turn and twist it, this whole characterizing of the problems of the "Second World" amounts to an obscuration of the real role of European imperialists as great imperialist powers, to the protection of such sanguinary imperialists as the West German, Japanese, English, French etc. ones.

Deng Hsiao-ping, however, goes even further at this:

"These countries desire to a various degree to get rid of the enslavement or control by the superpowers..."

(Peking Review, op. cit., bottom of left column, in German)

The imperialist rivalry of the above mentioned great imperialist powers with the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists is described in the sweetest language, is de facto presented as a "liberation struggle" that - as is further said - has "an important influence on the development of the international situation" (ibid. p. 10, centre of left column, in German)

In no way is this "struggle" denounced as imperialist rivalry, but much to the contrary it is featured as something positive worth supporting so that the followers of the "three worlds theory" consequently also demand the "strengthening and not the weakening of Europe", that is, of the European imperialists.

It makes no difference to these people that this "struggle" of the great imperialist powers of Western Europe and Japan is waged not for the benefit, but at the expense of the peoples. They care just as little about the fact that this "struggle" is just a struggle to decide which great imperialist power obtains more opportunities to exploit and oppress the peoples.

Following the motto: Everything weakening the "First World" is good, no matter if imperialism or marxism, if black or white cat, - the standpoint of leninism is trampled upon which requires that it

- "(is) not the matter of the socialists to assist the younger
- and stronger robber in plundering the older robbers that
- have had their fill. The socialists have to take advantage
- of the struggle between the robbers to do away with them
- together."
- (Lenin, Works, vol.2I, p.304, in German, "Socialism and
- War")

Deng Hsiao-ping is acting exactly as socialists should not act, and he can support himself at this with a notorious exemplar: Chrushtchev!

Already Chrushtchev Supported Minor Imperialists Against the Largest Imperialism

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In a somewhat superficial view of the history of the struggle against Chrushtchev revisionism it may seem as if the crime and the treachery of the Chrushtchev revisionists only consisted of having capitulated to U.S. imperialism, respectively to sabotage the struggles against U.S. imperialism. In truth, Chrushtchev revisionism has been a capitulation to world imperialism having sabotaged the struggles of all peoples against every imperialism.

At this, Chrushtchev even employed the method of putting U.S. imperialism as absolute, presenting it as the "one and only enemy" against which every force had to be supported, no matter if imperialist or anti-imperialist. So Chrushtchev unconcealedly took the side of France in the Algerian national liberation war under the pretext that primarily the French "resistance", meaning her imperialist rivalry, against U.S. imperialism had to be supported and openly declared: "We do not want a weakening of France, we want a strengthening of the Greatness of France." ("Le Figaro", March 19, 1958, quoted in: The Supporters of Neo-Colonialism, Fourth Commentary of the "Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", p.222, in German)

This example makes it quite clear that putting an imperialist, the strongest great power as absolute and supporting the weaker one against the other according to the motto "no matter if the cat is black or white" is not at all an invention of Deng Hsiao-ping, but stands in the direct tradition of Chrushtchev revisionism.

The Practical Relevance of the Thesis About the "Superpowers as Principal Enemies of the Proletarian World Revolution"

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The thesis of the "three worlds" implies in every way a wrong concentration on the "superpowers", on the "First World", that is, on U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism (independent here from the fact that in mean time today there is assumed only one "superpower", Soviet social imperialism). Actually, the era of imperialism and proletarian world revolution is re-interpreted as an "era of the superpowers and the struggle against the superpowers."

And it is here that a whole series of distortions start that carry each for itself fundamental deviations from marxism-leninism.

By putting both "superpowers" as absolutely principal enemies of the peoples, at the same time the "united front of all with whom unity against the superpowers is possible" is preached by the followers of the three worlds theory. The decisive question in this falsified presentation of the "principal enemies", of their special role and the conception of the "united front" resulting from this is: What does this intend, which aim and which program is pursued here?

Our stand on this question is:

As the proletarian world revolution has to be carried out by the proletariat of each country with its own strategy as an independent revolution, it is wrong in any case to speak of one or two imperialist powers as principal enemies of the proletarian world revolution, meant to be principal enemies for all countries of the world at the same time!

Regarding the proletarian world revolution, there is only one united front: The proletariat of all countries with the oppressed peoples, the united front of all the oppressed and exploited under the leadership of the world proletariat and its communist parties with the aim of overthrowing world imperialism and all reactionaries.

This great unity of the forces of the world revolution is not to be and will not be accomplished by proposing to all peoples of the world - taken according to their size or statistically by their average - to view one and the same imperialism as their principal enemy, or even by concluding from this that an alliance has to be formed with other imperialists and reactionaries that are not so large against exactly this "principal enemy".

This united front, this world front against imperialism grows and gets stronger only when all peoples of the world comprehend and struggle against world imperialism as a whole, as

a homogeneous enemy, and determine one principal enemy according to the conditions of their country as the strategy of their revolution and fight against it. For the proletarian world revolution is not a centralized action or even a "parallel act", but it is the breaking of the weakest links in the chain of world imperialism in the various countries.

The thesis of the "superpowers" or the "First World" as "principal enemies of the peoples" (7) carries disastrous consequences from the viewpoint of singling out the enemies of the proletarian world revolution in particular for all those peoples for whom one or both of the "superpowers" really are not the principal enemies, but their own imperialist bourgeoisie or the interior reactionaries, at which the struggle against this interior principal enemy always and in every country has to be linked, of course, to the struggle against world imperialism!

From the viewpoint of the practical consequences, from the viewpoint of the question of what practical relevance for the r e - v o l u t i o n in every country the thesis "principal enemy First World" has, in our opinion there is no advantage to find. Much more, practice has proven that this thesis has assisted the social chauvinist distortions of the revolutionary strategy in many countries.

|| In the capitalist countries where the imperialist bourgeoisie is in power and exerts its dictatorship, the proletarian revolution is on the agenda; its preparation and realization is the actual principal problem. This proletarian revolution is aimed in every single one of these countries primarily against her own imperialist bourgeoisie which is in possession of the state power; it is the principal enemy of the proletarian revolution!

At the same time, the proletarian revolution is aimed at world imperialism, against all attempts of the other imperialists to choke proletarian revolution to death.

The followers of this world-outlook attempt to sabotage this historical task which has suffered a heavy blow by the treachery of the modern revisionists, but is more necessary than ever; they do this through preaching class reconciliation with the imperialist bourgeoisie under the pretext of struggling against the danger of war, "for national independence and state sovereignty" according to the motto: Both together against the superpowers, primarily social imperialism! This extreme opportunism, this social chauvinism will have to be unconditionally eradicated by the root by the marxists-leninists of every country in order to further build, strengthen and fortify their marxist-leninist party that leads the proletarian revolution in these countries to its victory!

7. THE SO-CALLED "THIRD" WORLD FRAUD
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Obscuration of Neo-Colonialism  
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Under the new conditions Deng Hsiao-ping speculates with, there are besides the pretended disappearance of the socialist camp and disintegration of the imperialist bloc also a further phenomenon that emerged after World War II and even more in the last two decades ever the more distinctly: The replacement of colonialism as well as the more and more refined disguise even of neo-colonialism:

"numerous states of Asia, Afrika and Latin America have attained independence..."  
(Peking Review, op.cit., p.8, centre of right column, in German)

So Deng Hsiao-ping unconcealedly declares numerous states of these regions to be independent from imperialism.

The truth, however, is that formally, indeed, countries of these regions have been declared "independent" that in reality these countries go on being exploited by imperialism, that compradore and landlord regimes exist that go on exploiting and oppressing the peoples.

Lenin urgently and far-sightedly demanded already at that time when open colonialism was still predominant in these regions:

- "In regard to the more backward states and nations where
- feudal or patriarchal or patriarchal-rural conditions prevail, there must especially be kept in mind... the necessity to unflinchingly reveal and denounce among the
- broadest masses of the labourers of all, but in particular of the backward countries the fraud the imperialist
- countries are systematically committing by creating seemingly politically independent states that are,
- however, economically, financially and militarily completely dependent from them."
- (Lenin, Works, vol.31, p.137/138, in German, Draft Theses
- on the National and Colonial Question)

Deng Hsiao-ping makes exactly this fraud by declaring:

"The developing countries suffered (!) over a long time under the oppression and exploitation by colonialism and imperialism. After attaining political independence, they all face the historical task of eliminating the remaining forces of colonialism, developing the national economics and consolidating national independence."

(Peking Review, op.cit., p.9, centre of left column, in German)

Deng Hsiao-ping talks about the suffering of the peoples in the past tense, as if there were no much suffering any more today. He puts the forces of imperialism as something overcome in the main, as to say as leftover still having to be eliminated; national independence not having to be attained through real struggle because it formally exists. Rather it pretendedly is realized already and just has to be "defended".

It is only logical that there is no need to struggle to attain what you already possess. To indicate the phenomenon of formal independence w i t h o u t emphasizing that there is neither economic nor political and military independence from imperialism for the overwhelming majority of these states but bestial fascist regimes sustained by imperialism and fighting with all means against the communists and revolutionaries, that, therefore, formally granted independence is just one of the great deception tactics of the imperialists (whether U.S. imperialists, social imperialists, the Japanese, West German or other imperialists) - that is revisionism à la Chrushtchev in the service of world imperialism.

What does Deng Hsiao-ping need such a fraud for? He needs it to prove his pretendedly all-new conditions, a wholly new situation from which arise also wholly new conclusions. He needs this fraud in order to pose the so-called "3rd World" as a homogeneous entirety and as a homogeneous anti-imperialist force, to make the so-called "3rd World" the great opponent of the "1st World", make it the principal revolutionary force in the present world.

#### The Tasks of the Peoples in the Semi-colonial and Semi-Feudal Countries

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The actual tasks of the revolution in many countries labeled "3rd World" by Deng Hsiao-ping are determined by the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nature of many of these countries. If these countries have such a nature, the anti-feudal struggles have to be linked to the anti-imperialist struggles with this or the other emphasis according to the conditions. For feudalism is the principal support of imperialism in these countries and imperialism the principal support of feudalism. In these two struggles, the peasantry plays a very important role as the national question is, as Stalin teaches, in essence a question of the peasantry.

Antifeudal and national liberation wars of the present time, however, differ from such revolutions of the pre-imperialist times. Their essential particularity today is the possibility and necessity of the leading role of the proletariat. It guarantees that these revolutions do not end with the dictatorship of the compradore bourgeoisie resp. of the other imperial-

ists backing it, but result in a form of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants supplying prerequisites for the continuation of the revolution and its progression to socialist revolution.

This teaching of Lenin and Stalin excellently applied and further developed by Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese revolution is more topical than ever today as fierce struggles are breaking out in these countries - spontaneously as well as under the leadership of the marxist-leninist line, the realization of the hegemony of the proletariat in the new-democratic revolution.

In those countries, though, that have enforced their independence through revolutionary war n o t under the leadership of the proletariat the precious fruits of struggle are sure to get lost and do get lost in a more or less long process as the forces of the compradore bourgeoisie become the master of such a situation and sell the country out anew to this or that imperialism, foster themselves as servants of imperialism.

A renewed revolutionary war in such countries becomes inevitable. It is essential exactly in these countries, too, not to close one's eyes to the danger and the reality of neo-colonialism, but to the contrary to warn of it and to struggle against it untiringly.

Conquest of One's Own Disadvantages By Use of the Advantages of Other Countries?

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In such a situation, Deng Hsiao-ping declared that the peoples of these countries were facing a very o t h e r task.

He explained about this:

"If a developing country takes the course of independence and self-support and reliance on the own forces according to its circumstances and conditions (!) and gives un - tiring effort, it is indeed capable of attaining a level in the modernization of industry and agriculture a step by step (!) which our predecessors (?) have never known." (Peking Review, *ibid.*, p.II/I2, in German)

One has to deal somewhat longer with these views:

According to his thesis about a homogeneous "3rd World", this course is possible for all "developing countries" merely modified by the "according circumstances and conditions". Therefore, this course obviously is propagated also and exactly for those countries that are exposed to neo-colonialism.

Deng Hsiao-ping bluntly declares that the development of the productive forces - for the modernization of industry and agriculture naturally is nothing else - can be attained without

new-democratic revolution through peaceful evolution, respectively as he expresses himself in the jargon of reformism and revisionism: "step by step".

At the same time, he draws an image of the future and exuberantly praises the perspectives of this course: "to reach a level which our predecessors have never known" (ibid.)

While Deng Hsiao-ping's "predecessors" (if he doesn't mean his intellectual fathers) had to take up such an "outfashioned weapon" as the people's war, for him today in the new times where there pretendedly exists something as a "Third World" independent from imperialism a completely different method is at hand, a completely new course pretendedly being so much more advantageous that our predecessors would grow pale with envy! In this sense, Deng Hsiao-ping recommends to the "Third World":

"conquer the own disadvantages by use of the advantages of other countries."

(ibid., p.12, bottom of left column, in German)

This obviously is just a new variety of Chrushtchev's phrase, who - likewise at the U.N. - propagated the same course. Dazzled by the level of the productive forces of the developed countries and in praise of them, Chrushtchev, Deng Hsiao-ping and their followers understand by the "own disadvantages" of the countries concerned just the lower level of the productive forces. Such "minor details" as the exploitation and oppression of the popular masses have no importance in their thoughts.

What is called "dialogue" among the followers of the "theory of the three worlds" was called by Chrushtchev "peaceful coexistence" by the employment of which pretendedly "a more rapid growth" could be "brought about for the national economy" and through which "the productive forces" would "be raised". (Chrushtchev at the U.N., quoted after the "Polemic", p.242-243, in German)

So Deng Hsiao-ping openly propagates penetration by the foreign imperialists and letting them penetrate in order to "raise the productive forces" in the so-called "Third World". (At this, it is first of all a second-rate question here that Deng Hsiao-ping obviously has more sympathy for U.S. imperialism than for Soviet social imperialism and especially invites the neo-colonialism of the various European imperialists.)

The Rotten Dream of a "Dictatorship of the National Bourgeoisie"

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Deng Hsiao-ping uses the great slogan of "self-reliance on the own forces", but the question arises of who is to rely on the own forces?

In the marxist-leninist view, the people of every country is meant by this. According to Deng Hsiao-ping, however, who of course cannot claim directly that the peoples have the power

in these countries, there is obviously talk only of the ruling class which in his view defends the nation so "bravely" against imperialism. According to this, in Deng Hsiao-ping's view it is not the compradore bourgeoisie in alliance with the feudal lords that has the power in these countries as these forces, as is well known, are in the service of imperialism and betray the national interests.

Deng Hsiao-ping and his followers act as if the "national bourgeoisie" were in power there. But that is not true as the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal lords have the power in these countries.

The communists of every country never must put demagogy as truth. This is also good especially for the demagogy the ruling compradore cliques pursue that are basically just making use of the contradictions between great imperialist powers in order to obtain some more pay for their executioning and deceptive services.

The thesis of the followers of the three worlds pattern of a pretended "dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie" in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries is not new. This is a matter of an anti-marxist conception that Mao Tse-tung has refuted unequivocally a long time ago with principled arguments basing on the weakness and the wavering of the national bourgeoisie:

- "But exactly because imperialism is heading for its death
- it is just the more dependent on the colonies and semi-
- colonies to prolong its life, it may allow just the less
- that a colony or semi-colony puts up some capitalist
- society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."
- (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, vol.II, p.413/414, in German)
- 
- "Their attempt ( of the national bourgeoisie - editors'
- note) of creating a state under the rule of the national
- bourgeoisie is fully impossible to realize because the
- present world situation is characterized by the final
- struggle between the two great forces, the revolution and
- counter-revolution."
- (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, vol.I, p.II, in German)

The Obscuration of the Contradictions Between the Countries of the So-called "Third World"

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Deng further claims:

"Differences between us developing countries can and should be solved through consultations of the parties concerned."  
(Peking Review, ibid., p.12, centre of right column)

As he anyhow denies the existence of imperialists in his "Third World" it is also clear that he denies that the ruling compradore cliques of these countries are entangled also in the rivalry of

the various imperialists by the directives of their masters so that the phrase that all contradictions within the "3rd World" are resolvable through peaceful and friendly talks is just another aspect of the denial of imperialist supremacy in these regions where in reality also martial conflicts constantly happen which often express the imperialist rivalry of various countries.

Reality is that countries of the "3rd World" attack other countries in the service of their imperialist masters, like Indonesia did the people of East Timor, like Syria in Lebanon, or India which annexed Sikkim.

Should the Lebanese people affected by the Syrian invasion, should the Palestinian fighters put their hands in their laps and lay their trust upon the results of so-called "consultations"? Should the people of East Timor quit the people's war against Indonesia as it is "just" a question of contradictions between countries of the "3rd World"?

The followers of the "3 worlds" pattern demand this, but the peoples concerned will not fall into this revisionist trap.

These examples demonstrate the capitulationist nature of Deng Hsiao-ping's line in the question of the pretended "unity" of the "3rd World" countries. (8)

8. THE SLOGAN "STATES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLES WANT REVOLUTION" IS A SLOGAN OF CLASS RECONCILIATION

A highlight of Deng Hsiao-ping's article is the propagation of the slogan "states want independence, nations want liberation, peoples want revolution - this is the irresistible tide of history" (ibid., p.13)

This slogan, which also existed before the declaration of the "three worlds" pattern, has become in the mean time a central slogan of opportunism. For it contains as to speak "something for everybody", and this has always been very important for the opportunists.

This slogan doesn't even stand up to a brief class analysis. Its second part, for instance: "nations want liberation", puts aside exactly decisive questions, them being: Is it an oppressed nation that is at question wanting to liberate herself from world imperialism, or is it an oppressing nation wanting to liberate herself from the pressure of other, larger oppressing nations in order to be able to plunder other nations better? And: Which class forces really represent the nations?

These questions are obscured.

The class-unspecific nature of this slogan becomes especially clear when the matter is about an imperialist country of the so-called "Second World" where the imperialist bourgeoisie poses as representative of the 'national interests'.

Let us take as example the question of the German nation. A 'national movement' of the West German imperialists for the re-unification of Germany, which naturally is to be accomplished "better today than tomorrow", is nothing but a manoeuvre of the West German imperialists to achieve that West German imperialism may exploit and oppress other peoples again as an All-German imperialism in 'old glamour and grandesse' like in Hitler's time.

The slogan "nations want liberation" is very useful for the West German imperialists because it unconditionally supports every re-unification of Germany. The practical application of this slogan means in the view of its advocates that every re-unification of Germany no matter who performs it and what shape it has would be "no threat at all for the peoples of Europe." (Quoted after Peking Review no.8 of 1976, p.3, in German)

Here is demonstrated to what reactionary nonsense the slogan "nations want liberation" leads which disregards every class criterion and does not treat the question of national liberation as a question that is subordinated to the proletarian world revolution.

The first part of the above formula: "states want independence" possibly is even more scandalous. It contains not the slightest touch of a class standpoint, resp. of a revolutionary attitude as with s t a t e s obviously according to the ABC of marxism we deal with the ruling classes of a country and with nobody else.

The "independence aspirations" of the ruling exploiting classes in the countries of the world imperialist system are a great demagogical fraud, resp. nothing but the rivalry of various imperialist states disguised by melodious words, as every imperialism seeks to exploit and oppress the proletariat and the peoples as 'independent' from other imperialists as possible.

The third part of the slogan: "peoples want revolution" does sound quite revolutionary, but it is completely depreciated by the anti-marxist phrases preceding it. It is nothing but a revolutionary show-off to hide revisionist plunder.

The entire slogan taken together therefore is useless, misleading and detrimental, it is a slogan of class reconciliation, with which is attempted to throw the interests of the ruling exploiting classes and the revolution of the peoples into one pot and declare them t o g e t h e r an "irresistible tide".

### Equal Rights for the Oppressors and the Oppressed?

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The anti-marxist conceptions the above analyzed slogan bases upon is made clear by Deng Hsiao-ping with the following words:

"We advocate that all states, whether large or small, poor or rich, should have equal rights and that the international economic matters should be settled by all countries of the world together, but should not be monopolized by one or both of the superpowers.

We support the full right of the developing countries which enclose the overwhelming majority of the world population to be a c o - d e t e r m i n a n t in all international decisions that concern trade, currency, navigation etc."

(ibid., left column on page 13, in German)

This sounds very nice, and in this or a similar fashion the speeches and editorials of all kind of bourgeois politicians and priests spread the word daily. Only the disfigurement is, how could the oppressor and the oppressed have equal rights? How could the exploiter let the exploited co-decide over the exploiters' order?

The poor man and the king have the same right to sleep under the bridge - they have equal rights. The poor man may 'co-decide' which ruling clique is to rob him!

That is the typical hypocritical propaganda of the bourgeoisie, of the exploiters, of which every half-way bright person is sick and tired of. And Deng Hsiao-ping wants to palm off exactly such a crap upon the peoples and the marxists-leninists.

In the great world-wide struggle between revolution and counter-revolution the question forcibly arises: Who whom? This is a struggle of life or death for the world-wide destruction of all enemies of the peoples, and not a struggle for "equal rights" and "co-determination".

Already Lenin denounced the thesis about the "equal rights" of the nation as a Philistine opportunist utopy:

because this demand

- "does not consider class struggle and its intensification
- under the regime of democracy, (it) believes in 'peaceful
- capitalism'. Same is the utopy of the peaceful unification
- of nations with equal rights under imperialism that mis-
- leads the people and which is defended by the Kautskyans.
- As a counterbalance to this Philistine opportunist utopy,
- the programm of Social Democracy has to emphasize as the
- fundamental, essential and inevitable in imperialism the

- division of the nations in oppressed and oppressing ones."
- (Socialist Revolution and the Right to Self-Determination
- of the Nations, Lenin, works vol.22, p.148-149, in German,
- resp.: Lenin, On the National and Colonial Question, Three
- Articles, Peking 1974, p.7-8, in German)

9. DECLARING THE THREAT OF WAR AS ABSOLUTE LEADS TO THE  
PROPAGANDA OF THE INEVITABILITY OF A NEW WORLD WAR

In 1974 still, Deng Hsiao-ping declared in relation to the threat of a world war:

"Either a fight of the hyenas happens between them (USA and Soviet Union - editors' note), or the peoples rise to revolution."

(ibid., p.9, right column, in German)

Althoug. still relatively cautious compared to the later remarks, it already was wrong nevertheless. In a superficial consideration, it still resembles the well-known statement of comrade Mao Tse-tung:

"Concerning the question of a world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that war causes revolution, the other is that revolution prevents war."

(Quoted after: 9th Congress of the CP of China, p.94, in German)

Viewed closer, however, this assessment of Mao Tse-tung comes to be grossly distorted by Deng Hsiao-ping, and this in an counter-revolutionary way.

Mao Tse-tung as a great marxist-leninist naturally bases on the fact that revolution will arrive anyway, no matter if there will be a world war or not. Deng Hsiao-ping, however, makes the possibility of revolution in the case that the "fight of hyenas" happens simply disappear.

At any rate, the acknowledgement of the possibility that world war may be prevented was still to be found in Deng Hsiao-ping's positions in the year 1974. But this was obviously nothing but lip service as the cat was not be let out of the bag completely yet. This has happened in the mean time. In the later speeches and articles of the followers of the "three worlds" pattern e.g. in the Peking Review is already stated that:

"The continuation of this rivalry (of the superpowers - editors's note) one day m u s t necessarily lead to a new world war. This is independent from human willpower."

(See, for instance, Peking Review no.19 of 1976, p.12; no.42 of 1976, p.13, in German)

By this formula, the perspective of revolution is liquidated completely. While comrade Mao Tse-tung spoke of two possibilities both containing the perspective of revolution, Deng Hsiao-ping still mentioned in 1974 for one case the revolution, but now revolution is cast aside completely, for now the "struggle of the hyenas" no more is a mere possibility but what "must" happen is world war, no matter what the humans, the peoples may do.

At this, the speculation is used that as long as imperialism exists, wars among the imperialists are inevitable, indeed. This is in conformity with a law that exists objectively and independent from human will in imperialism.

But Deng Hsiao-ping does not repeat this leninist perception but claims something quite different.

Firstly, he denies that through the conscious struggle of the peoples the performance of this regular law indeed cannot be suspended within the imperialist system, imperialism itself, however, can surely be destroyed, and by this, of course, imperialist wars no longer are possible!

Secondly, he obviously confuses the question of imperialist wars in general with the question of a very particular, concrete war, that is World War III.

As is well known, comrade Stalin treated this question at length in his article "Economic Problems..." in 1952 and made clear that the peoples surely are able to prevent a particular concrete war, namely World War III, resp. any particular imperialist war, even have the duty in their own interest to do their utmost and to struggle resolutely to make use of this possibility in its full range.

But there is no need to elaborate this second aspect any further in order to disprove Deng Hsiao-ping as already the first aspect is treated in a fundamentally wrong way by Deng Hsiao-ping.

As the above mentioned regular law is valid only in imperialism which is exactly that stage of history where the conscious activity of the peoples destroys all regular laws of capitalism through class struggle and revolution, where capitalism itself is destroyed, it is pure fatalism to preach that "independent from human will"... and it consists a unmistakable negation of revolution!

Our present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution just no longer is an era where the peoples have to regard the regular laws of capitalism and imperialism as "independent from their will". As this system is ready for revolution world wide, there only remains one seemingly "insurmountable obstacle", that is the ruling exploiting classes

- "which is to be cleared out of the way only through the
- c o n s c i o u s activity of the new classes, through
- violent actions of these classes, through revolution...
- 
- The elementary process of development gives way to the
- conscious activity of the people, peaceful development
- to violent upheaval, evolution to r e v o l u t i o n."
- (Stalin, On Dialectical and Historical Materialism. In:
- History of the CPSU(B), Short Study Course, p.163-164,
- in German)

IO. THE PATTERN OF THE "THREE WORLDS" IS AIMED AGAINST THE  
WORLD-HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE PROLETARIAT

The Character of World Revolution is Proletarian

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As Deng Hsiao-ping claims, the countries of the so-called "Third World", the "develo\_ping countries" are

"the revolutionary driving force that turns the wheel of world history." (ibid., right column of p.9, in German)

Above, we have seen that Deng Hsiao-ping made the camp of the proletarian world revolution disappear. Here we now see that he even goes as far as casting c l a s s s t r u g g l e overboard.

History is a history of class struggles; this famous sentence of the Communist Manifesto expresses one of the most fundamental perceptions of marxism-leninism and historical materialism. As long as classes exist, only class struggle can be the driving force of history.

In the present era of world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the driving force of world history is the proletarian world revolution.

Stalin unmistakably stated in "On the Foundations of Leninism":

- "The era of world revolution has begun. Principal forces
- of revolution: The dictatorship of the proletariat in one
- country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in
- a l l countries."
- (Stalin, On the Foundations of Leninism, Chapter on Stra-
- tegy and Tactics, p.94, Peking edition in German)

Only the international proletariat including the proletariat of the socialist countries ( at that time, 1924, only the socialist Soviet Union) is capable of uniting all exploited and oppressed

people and of leading them to victory.

All this is denied by the representatives of the three world pattern through their casting-aside of class struggle, of the revolutionary proletarian world movement and the proletarian world revolution and through simply declaring the countries of the so-called "Third World" the driving force of world history.

In this proletarian world revolution, in this camp of socialism many problems are awaiting their solution. Various revolutionary currents flow together in it.

The two great components of the proletarian world revolution, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the revolutionary national liberation movements are not able to attain a real victory in any country in our era apart from each other.

Therefore, for the successful struggle of these two forces their unification in o n e front against world imperialism is decisive, at which the peoples of each country can attain their liberation only through their own struggle and their own blood, for liberty is not served as a gift to any people or presented on a tray.

Though the European chauvinist claim has to be rejected as much as ever that the proletariat of Europe should show the way as a "saviour" to the oppressed peoples, should "lead" their revolutions or even "liberate" these peoples, there must be no impermissible simplifications in such a necessary polemic against modern revisionism and its followers.

The question of the principal force of the proletarian world revolution is not a question of the numerical participation of this or that force. The question of the principal force basically has to be understood as the question of the character of the world revolution.

The main feature of the world revolution, however, is that it is a socialist revolution, and therefore according to its n a t u r e the driving force of world history as well as the momentum in each country is the international proletariat, resp. the proletariat in each country that is to lead the respective revolutions in each country to their victories under the direction of its marxist-leninist parties until finally socialism and communism has gained victory the world over.

All these questions do not have a secondary importance but concern a vital question of marxism-leninism.

Lenin teaches:

- "The most important about Marx' teachings is the clarifica-
- tion of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the

- creator of the socialist society."
- (Lenin, The Historical Destiny of Karl Marx`Teachings,
- Coll.Works, vol.IB, p.576, in German)

And:

- "Which is the first and most important `fundamental prin-
- ciple of the marxist theory? That the only class of modern
- society is revolutionary up to the end and therefore ad-
- vancing in every revolution is the proletariat."
- (Lenin, Historical Aspects of the Question of Dictatorship.
- Coll.Works, vol.31, p.340, in German)

Even if the followers of the three worlds pattern pretend merely to give answer to a presently topical question, the claim that the so-called "Third World" is the driving force of world history (resp. the driving force in the struggle against imperialism) is wrong from the offset as it negates the essential, the class antagonism, and makes no difference between the forces of world imperialism in these countries, the compradores and landlord classes on one side, and the revolutionary peoples on the other."(+)

Independent from the circumstance whether one or the other component within the proletarian world revolution uniting different forces becomes prominent in a particular historical phase, it principally is a betrayal of marxism-leninism in the question of the driving force of world history not to base on the world-historical mission of the proletariat as the grave-digger of the capitalist world system and as the constructor of the world-wide socialist and communist social order.

The Hegemony of the Proletariat Has to Be Obtained By Fighting Also In The Oppressed Countries

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Mao Tse-tung expressed the unconditional necessity of the hegemony of the proletariat in each country with the following words:

- "The entire history of revolution proves that the revolution
- is doomed if not led by the working class, but that it is
- victorious under the leadership of the proletariat.
- In the age of imperialism, no other class is capable of

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(+) The question whether it is correct that the revolutionary popular masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the "principal force" in the struggle against imperialism ( a question not mentioned here by Deng Hsiao-ping) is to be dealt with in one of the further articles planned in connection with the question of the designation of a "focal point of world revolution".

- leading a genuine revolution to its victory in any country."
- (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, vol.4, p.449, German ed.)

The question of the possibility of the hegemony of the proletariat and its realization is a decisive question exactly in the dependent and oppressed countries.

The communists of all countries must support only those national movements which are truly revolutionary and aiming against imperialism, which do not obstruct the development of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat of the country concerned, but in which the hegemony of the proletariat is a real possibility or even already reality.

Lenin unmistakably demanded that

- "we as communists must and will support the bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries o n l y w h e n
- these movements are truly revolutionary, when their representatives do not hinder us in educating and organizing the
- peasantry and the broad masses of the exploited in a revolutionary spirit."
- (Lenin, Three Articles on the National and Colonial Question, Report of the Commission for the National and Colonial Question of July 26th, Peking edition in German, p.36, 1974)

It is beyond doubt that the global and generalizing presentation of the so-called "Third World" as "driving force of world history" doesn't contain a single grain of what Lenin demands of the communists of all countries.

It is all too obvious that such a presentation is directly aimed a g a i n s t this teaching of Lenin's and immediately sabotages also the hegemony of the proletariat in the dependent and oppressed countries.

<p>II. THE PATTERN OF THE "THREE WORLDS" BASES ON THE "THEORY" OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES</p>
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The entire conception of the "three worlds" that calls the so-called "Third World" the driving force of world history is aimed in all its components against the world-historical mission of the proletariat in our present era.

But when Deng Hsiao-ping does not let himself be guided by a proletarian class viewpoint and not by the theory of marxism-leninism on the historical mission of the proletariat, still the question remains: On which foundation does the pattern of the "three worlds" really base itself on, then?

Obviously, this pattern does not care a bit about the prevailing relations of production in the different countries as the socialist countries in the so-called "Third World" are simply counted among to all other "developing countries", and as it is expressed emphasized that China is a country of the "Third World".

Also the question resulting from the relations of production, the question for the respectively ruling political system, for the class contents of the respective states, does not mean a thing to the followers of this pattern. The socialist China of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the fascist Shah regime are, as is permanently emphasized, "both countries of the Third World."

Even the objection that the division of the world into three worlds is made according to the question of oppressing or oppressed? is easy to disprove: The representatives of this pattern do not make a division w i t h i n the imperialist world camp which they consider to having ceased to exist, but they include also the socialist countries into their division. A socialist country, however, is neither oppressing nor oppressed.

There remains a single criterion that holds true in its essence and throws a characteristic light on the way of thinking of the inventors of the three worlds thesis: The level of the p r o - d u c t i v e f o r c e s !

Out of the "superpowers" with the most extensive productive forces and with the largest military machinery on the basis of the most modern technology they fashion the "First World".

Out of the developed countries (referring to the level of the productive forces) they fashion the "Second World".

And out of the "developing countries" (characterized primarily by a low level of the productive forces, according to Deng Hsiao-ping, and having to develop them above all other tasks) they fashion the "Third World".

Instead of footing on the proletarian class point of view, the "three worlds" pattern, therefore, foots on the rotten framework of the theory of the productive forces. This is fully logical as the revisionist falsifications of the marxist-leninist teachings on the world-historical role of the proletariat altogether amount to d i s r e g a r d i n g the role and capabilities of the revolutionary consciousness, of the subjective factor, of the political goals of the proletariat and the class struggle and to emphasizing at best the e c o n o m i c function of the proletariat as a "main productive force" of society. They consider the science of marxism-leninism not primarily as the science of the revolution of the proletariat but just as a science of production.

In this respect, too, Deng Hsiao-ping has notorious fathers:

From Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin and Chrushtchev to Liu Shao-Chi and Lin Biao, these traitors of marxism-leninism altogether have referred to this reactionary junk.

12. THERE IS NO WAY OF DRAWING SUPPORT FROM ONE REVISIONISM IN ORDER TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OTHER

The followers of the "three worlds" pattern like to pose as great "anti-revisionists" because they are incessantly babbling about struggling against "soviet revisionism", against "social imperialism". But in reality their "anti-revisionism" is nothing more than a t r i c k e r y inspired by nationalist and chauvinist motives, not basing on the task of defending the purity of marxism-leninism and, therefore, doesn't unmask the Soviet social imperialists because of their flagrant betrayal of the principles of marxism-leninism, but just denounces the present imperialist nature of the Soviet Union, backs off from the i d e o l o g i - c a l struggle against modern revisionism, allies with every reactionary in the struggle against Soviet social imperialism. In this way, also this necessary struggle is to be discredited more easily by the Soviet revisionists and their followers.

The followers of the three worlds pattern even go so far that they fraternize ideologically with the arch-revisionism of Tito and the revisionism of the CP of Romania against Soviet social imperialism, quote their revisionist central organs as if these revisionists were defenders of marxism-leninism, although these revisionists are keeping a certain distance to Soviet social imperialism just because they let themselves be bought by the American and West European imperialists.

There is no way of allying oneself with Tito against Breshnev and of arguing with Carrillo against Soviet revisionism, there is no way of taking sides as a marxist-leninist in the quarrel of the revisionist cliques or even of supporting one against the others !

All these revisionist cliques are incorrigible traitors of the revolution to be done away with only by the revolution of the peoples.

||The marxists-leninists must struggle against a l l varieties  
||of revisionism that nourish and support each other in order  
||to universally defend the immortal teachings of marxism-  
||leninism.

13. THE "THREE WORLDS" PATTERN MUST BE DESTROYED RADICALLY  
IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS !

By fashioning "three worlds", at which, without saying it, the "First World" represents the enemy, the "Second World" largely an ally, and the "Third World" the driving force of world history, Deng Hsiao-ping has not only cast aside the marxist-leninist division of the world in revolution and counter-revolution - proletarian world revolution on one side, the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other - but he has set up an a l t e r n a - t i v e c o n c e p t:

The pattern of the "three worlds"!

This "three worlds" pattern must be rejected unconditionally, no matter if presented as an illustration, thesis, concept, strategy or theory.

For in the ideological view the entire pattern of the "three worlds" is from the outset and from front to end, from the first moment and in any respect an attack aiming a g a i n s t marxism-leninism.

This pattern has served and continues to serve to water down and to deny the present era as the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution as the era of the triumph of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution of each country and the triumph of socialism and communism over the capitalist social order. Class struggle as the driving force is denied on a world-wide scale and for every single country.

In the political view, the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution are completely distorted and falsified.

The enemies just are not only the so-called "superpowers", that is, not only U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism and even less a so-called "First World".

The contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution goes right through all regions and countries of the world and even the so-called "First World" is not uniformly counter-revolutionary, but the proletariat of the USA and the Soviet Union inevitably

will rise sooner or later to revolution together with the mass of the labourers of their countries and in alliance with the world proletariat.

The same is true for the so-called "Second World", whose ruling class just is not "ambiguous", but counts uniformly to world imperialism. Only the proletariat and the revolutionary popular masses of these countries have the task and the opportunity same as the proletariat and the popular masses of all capitalist countries of linking the struggle for the proletarian revolution against their 'own' bourgeoisie with the struggle against world imperialism.

Also the so-called "Third World" (+) is fundamentally divided in itself. Its ruling classes -- with the exception of the socialist countries which are paradoxically counted likewise among the "Third World", which makes it even more extremely clear how un-specific in class terms this design is -- serve imperialism, while the p e o p l e s of these countries struggle against exactly these ruling classes and their imperialist superiors. (An exception may occur only in the temporary phase when these peoples have just obtained their independence through revolutionary people's war while the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat has not been decided yet between proletariat and bourgeoisie).

The pattern of the "three worlds", therefore, denies all c l a s s contradictions: On a world-wide scale, the contradiction between proletarian world revolution and imperialist-reactionary counter-revolution, in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie, in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples on one side and the imperialists, compradore cliques and feudal lords on the other, as well as the contradiction between the countries of the imperialist sphere and the socialist countries.

The s i n g l e contradiction that the followers of the "three worlds" pattern acknowledge and treat as absolute is the contradiction b e t w e e n imperialist countries, at which they distort and reduce to the contradiction between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism even this contradiction.

All these ideological and political falsifications of marxism-leninism and of the present proportions of forces is borne with

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(+) How absurd the whole schematism with the three worlds is becomes clear also by posing the question: Which countries do really belong to the "Second World", and which to the "Third World"? Portugal for instance, counted to the "Second World" by Deng Hsiao-ping, could she not be counted to the "Third World"? etc. etc. It becomes plain that scholasticism is in full bloom here.

manifold practical counter-revolutionary consequences.

If the proletariat of the capitalist countries took up the "three worlds" pattern", this would be a betrayal of the cause of the proletarian revolution, the sliding off to a policy of allying oneself with one's 'own' bourgeoisie under the pretext of struggling for the "preserving and safeguarding the independence of the country against the superpowers", that means capitulation to one's 'own' imperialist bourgeoisie.

For the peoples of the oppressed countries with semi-feudal and semi-colonial structures, the acceptance of the "three worlds" pattern leads to the support of the reactionary classes of these countries and their imperialist superiors, even to the immediate propagandizing of neo-colonialism for the "development of the country"!

For the peoples of the socialist countries, the acceptance of the "three worlds" pattern would mean, respectively, means:

Betrayal of the proletarian internationalism, refusal of the task of understanding one's own country as a base and back-country for the revolution of the countries not yet liberated and of acting accordingly.

Turning away from the solidarious support of other socialist countries, propagation of neo-colonialism for other countries but also for one's own country under the pretext of having to make sure of the 'assistance' of the other great imperialist powers, even of U.S. imperialism, "in the struggle against the superpowers, especially Soviet social imperialism", denial of the fierce class struggle between the socialist and the capitalist way under the pretext of the "danger of war" which pretendedly no longer is to be struggled against in a revolutionary way, but through unity of proletariat and bourgeoisie, obscuration of the class antagonism and of class struggle in socialism, in short: Revisionist degeneration on the whole line.

Following the "three worlds" pattern for the peoples of the world actually U.S. imperialism, the West German, Japanese, English and French imperialists, the atrocious reactionaries of all countries from the Shah to Mobuto, from Pinochet to Marcos, from Suharto to Banzer, all cliques of the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal lords sitting on the peoples' necks in the service of imperialism no longer are denounced. Even worse, all these counter-revolutionary forces are even supported, if this pattern is followed.

For practice demonstrates that not a single one of the cliques of the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal lords is denounced by the followers of the "three worlds" pattern, but they all have been glorified and whoever struggles against them has been slandered as "assistants to Soviet social imperialism."

In Europe, a sharp example of the counter-revolutionary consequences of the "three worlds" pattern is the partisanship of its

followers for the NATO, the open support of the EC, the support of the armament of the West German imperialists, militarists and revanchists, as well as of other great imperialist powers, even the advocating of the continued presence of U.S. troops and U.S. bases in Western Europe -- all this under the demagogical motto that the Soviet social imperialism constitutes the "principal danger in Europe", the "principal enemy in the world", against which all forces should be united.

Furthermore, it is just a logical reverse side of this attitude towards world imperialism and all reactionaries that the followers of the "three worlds" pattern restrain from propagating the countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat and especially hush up the grand role of socialist Albania in the present world. They even belittle her (+) by putting her on the same level as revisionist countries like Yugoslavia or countries like the Iran and name her in the same breath.

Finally, the policy of the propagandists of the "three worlds" pattern has disastrous effects also in the question of the struggle against the preparations of a new imperialist world war.

Instead of advancing and supporting the struggle of the peoples against the preparation of a third world war, instead of raising the fighting spirit and the verve of the popular masses, they sabotage this great task, not only declare such a struggle as illusionary and impossible, but even as demagogical and obstructive, as a third world war is "absolutely inevitable".

|| The c o n c l u s i o n from all these facts is compelling  
|| and irrefutable: The "three worlds" pattern and the policy  
|| resulting from it must be rejected.

|| The marxists-leninists must struggle resolutely against this  
|| pattern and destroy it at all costs if they want to be able  
|| to meet their historic tasks.

LET US DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM

STRUGGLING FOR THE CAUSE OF THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION !

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(+) In some cases, the followers of the "three worlds" pattern have already taken to insulting socialist Albania and are sure to proceed on this noxious path.

## NOTES

(I) page 38: ON THE SELF-CRITICISM OF THE CP OF INDONESIA

The Central Committee of the CP of Indonesia criticise after the great defeat in 1966 in its self-criticism ideologically, but not by name, the positions of the "Polemic on the General Line", respectively positions more or less common in the entire marxist-leninist world movement.

Firstly: With the slogan "spearhead against the principal enemy" not the inner reaction, but the foreign enemy, imperialism, is primarily struggled against. The thesis of "subordination of class interest to the national interest" is a conclusion of this and was taken over schematically from the CP of China who spread this slogan at the time of the attack of the Japanese imperialists (see on this: "The CP of Indonesia Purges Itself and Enforces Its Strength In The Struggle Against Modern Revisionism", p.72, edition in German, 1973)

It was clear that such an erroneous analysis was sure to impede the development of the agrarian revolution, even to prevent it, whereas the self-criticism of the CC of the CP of Indonesia emphasized:

"As the coming revolution has the character of an agrarian revolution, the armed people's war is essentially the armed struggle of the peasant masses for an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat." (ibid., p.53)

Secondly: Under the aspect of "subordinating everything to national resistance" also the question of state power was seen in a class-unspecific way: inasfar as the state is defending itself against foreign imperialists, it has positive "aspects friendly the people", in other respects perhaps also negative features which are to be repressed, though.

Such a vulgar dialecticism leads to the "theory of the two aspects":

"According to this 'theory of the two aspects' it would have taken a miracle in Indonesia of such a manner that the state would have ceased to be an instrument in the hands of the exploiting classes for the oppression of other classes and that instead so to say both classes - the exploiting and the exploited ones - would make use of it." (p.28)

"Thus the whole fabrication of a pretended repression of the 'anti-popular aspect' and the enforcement of the 'aspect in the state is friendly to the people' was a castle in the air doomed for breakdown right from the onset." (ibid., p.30)

Thirdly: From this results a shrouded propagation of the "peaceful way" :

"In order to show that the way to take was not the opportunist 'peaceful way', the party leadership incessantly talked about the two possibilities - that is, the possibility of the 'peaceful' and of the non-peaceful way. They added that the party had better be prepared for the possibility of the non-peaceful way in order to get closer to the possibility of the 'peaceful way'. Such explanations proved the ambiguity in relation to the way the party was to take. That way, the hope for a 'peaceful way' got implanted in the minds of the party members, of the working class and the labouring masses which in reality did not exist at all." (ibid., p.55)

Contrary to this, the "Self-Criticism" emphasized:

"The people is to gain state power o n l y through the way of armed revolution under the leadership of the working class and its party." (ibid., p.31)

(2) page 40: ON LIN BIAO'S RIGHT OPPORTUNISM

Which right-opportunist consequences this leads to is illustrated by Lin Biao's attempt to make a particular phase of the Chinese revolution within the new-democratic stage, namely during the national resistance war against Japan, the pattern for all peoples of the world, even for the course of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

After calling "the former policy of the Japanese imperialists that aimed at subjecting China" the "s a m e" as "the policy of the U.S. imperialists who seek world hegemony" he also concludes that the policy of the "peoples the world over" should be "t h e s a m e" as the policy of the Chinese people at that time. (This consisted, as is well known, of temporarily subordinating the class interests to the well-understood national interests.)

According to the writing "Long Live the Victory in the People's War", which is "leftist" really only by its title, the peoples of the whole world therefore, were to give up class struggle against the inner reaction, the class enemy in their own country, respectively, to put it in second place: "No people or country... can do other than to aim the spearhead of its struggle against U.S. imperialism." (All quotes are from "Long Live the Victory in The People's War", Peking, 1965, p.58-59, in German)

The task of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries, therefore, has gone over, neither is in any semi-feudal and semi-colonial country the agrarian revolution in the first place any more; even the struggle of a whole number of colonially oppressed

peoples of the French, English and other empires was no longer existent... Those were just some consequences from Lin Biao's denial of the fact that we are living in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian world revolution and that the marxism of this era, leninism, retains its validity.

(See also note I on the self-criticism of the CP of Indonesia)

### (3) ON THE FOUR BASIC CONTRADICTIONS

In this context we would like to point to the fact that it is not enough to speak merely of the four most important or most basic contradictions in the world and to base on them.

Many errors have resulted from declaring one of these four contradictions the "principal contradiction" and from putting it as absolute. Other errors result from regarding and treating such a contradiction as the one of the imperialists among each others in relation to the strategy of the revolution as e q u a l to the classwise contradictions between proletariat and bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries, of the oppressed peoples and the imperialists as well as to the contradiction between capitalist countries and socialist countries.

Therefore, we emphasize here that the antagonism expressed in the definition of leninism between world imperialism and its reactionary followers on one side and the forces of the proletarian world revolution on the other is the actual base the marxists-leninists have to foot on in the analysis of the importance of each one of the four basic contradictions of the present world for the world revolution and the revolution in their countries and determine the principal contradiction and the principal link in the chain according to the conditions of their countries for the given stage of revolution.

This really means nothing else but always basing on the c l a s s s t a n d p o i n t. (In one of the next articles, this complex of questions is to be detailed further.)

### (4) ON THE TERMS "SOCIALIST CAMP" AND "SOCIALIST WORLD"

The classic representatives of marxism-leninism and the communist world movement have used the term "socialist camp" as well as the term "socialist world" at different times and on different occasions more or less extensively.

In all of these cases, the respective concrete context makes it plain to the marxists-leninists what is talked about, the socialist countries or the forces of the proletarian world revolution altogether, of which the socialist countries are merely an important part.

The problem about these terms really does start when the opportunists put a concrete meaning of such terms as absolute in order to distort and revise marxism-leninism with reference to the classical representatives.

In this way, Chrushtchev and Breshnev have abused as great power chauvinists some quotations of Lenin on the importance of the "socialist world" and the "socialist camp" in a twofold way: Firstly, inasfar as the Soviet Union has in the mean time become a great imperialist power and is socialist only by her name, but then also in the meaning of putting the socialist countries as absolute and of boundlessly undervaluing the revolutionary working class of the capitalist countries and of the revolutionary peoples of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

For his part, Deng Hsiao-ping supposedly criticizes as a propagandist and activist of the revisionist degeneration of an economically relatively backward country like China this Soviet revisionist absolute-making declaration in an "anti-revisionist" way just to conclude the other way round from the degeneration of some socialist countries that the socialist camp altogether has disappeared, that the socialist world no longer exists, etc.

(5) page 51: ON THE THESIS THAT RIVALRY IS "ABSOLUTE"

As all simple formulas, the short formula of Deng Hsiao-ping, too, has a strong attractive momentum, especially as its followers always will attempt to become "philosophical" when they are stepped upon their toes politically and to claim that this formula is in accordance with the law of the "unity of the contradictions", at which the collaboration is to correspond with "unity" (being just relative), and rivalry with the "contradiction" (being just absolute).

In reality, the complex of "collaboration and rivalry among the imperialists" is not to clarify in an isolated consideration. Much more, this complex taken to a whole is itself just one side in a considerably larger complex, that is, a side of the contradiction between proletarian world revolution and imperialist-reactionary counter-revolution, a contradiction that divides the entire world into the two great camps.

Considering the relation of these two great forces whose struggle of life or death is the decisive point of the present world, it becomes clear that the question of rivalry and collaboration between the imperialists is subordinated to the regular laws of the gigantic class struggle in our era and in the end is basically determined by it.

Moreover, it has to be called to memory that the term "absolute" means something else in the philosophical usage than in the political usage where it is taken for "without exemption", just and only" etc.

(6) page 55: STALIN AGAINST PUTTING U.S. IMPERIALISM AS ABSOLUTE

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In 1952, Stalin already struggled against the thesis that U.S. imperialism supposedly is an imperialism out of reach and not contestable by other imperialist powers. He criticized those people who do not see "the forces at work down below" and showed that caused by the law of unequal development of the imperialist countries in imperialism also wars between the countries that were still very weakened at that time, like England, France, West Germany and Japan, and U.S. imperialism (having a much larger distance to these countries at that time than today) are possible. (See "Economic Problems...", Peking edition, p.37-39, in German).

Today, 25 years after this analysis of Stalin, this forecast of Stalin increasingly proves itself as true and at the same time helps to understand theoretically how fundamentally wrong and anti-marxist it is to single out the "superpowers" from the world camp of imperialism as imperialist powers out of reach for attacks in all questions and in every case or even to put them as the "single enemy".

(7) page 59: ON THE QUESTION OF THE PRINCIPAL ENEMY AND THE PRINCIPAL WARMONGERS

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This complex question of a world-wide principal enemy becomes even more complicated by the circumstance that the question of the tasks of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples not only (even though mainly) can be raised in regard to the preparation and carrying out of the proletarian world revolution, but that actually the danger of new imperialist wars, especially the danger of an imperialist third world war, is threatening and that there must be struggled against it.

The relation of the struggle for the maintenance of the "given peace" to the struggle for the revolution has always constituted an object of struggle between marxism-leninism and revisionism.

Therefore, it is not surprising that also Deng Hsiao-ping refers to this in order to divert from the questions of revolution with a kind of war hysteria.

Concerning the great task of struggling for world peace, it is essential to subordinate it to the question of the proletarian world revolution, especially to understand the strengthening of the forces of revolution as the greatest contribution in the struggle for the prevention of certain imperialist wars.

On top of this and in this context it may be correct ( and does constitute a great task especially for the socialist countries) to follow a policy of isolating primarily the principal warmongers

(today probably above all the leaders of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism).

At this, however, it is impermissible in any way to present as "peace-loving" or even to support the imperialist machinations of those imperialist countries which are not yet interested in the breaking-out of an imperialist war at the given moment out of their own imperialist motives and which therefore consent at certain points with this or that measure of the foreign policy of a socialist state.

(8) page 65: ON THE PROBLEM OF THE STRATEGIC FOCAL POINT OF EUROPE

Doubtlessly the belief that there does no longer exist, as it were, any imperialism, at best still "remnants", within the so-called "Third World" has sponsored the thesis that Deng Hsiao-ping as well propagated in his speech in 1974 of the "strategic focal point of Europe". For if the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists have as good as no influence any more in the "Third World" because the countries there are independent anyhow, obviously there no longer is any area besides Europe they can compete for. A further consequence of this doubttable thesis which will have to be subject of more extensive argumentation is the claim that an imperialist war between great imperialist powers could break out only in Europe, but not in other regions of the world.

However, experience proves that locally limited wars between imperialists and their respective tools in seemingly "not so important countries" can and do constitute the begin and the preparation of world-wide imperialist wars.

Support the  
Striking Textile  
Workers in Delhi

## "NEW TEXTILE POLICY" - AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

The new textile policy of the comprador Rajiv Gandhi government is making its impact on the entire textile industry in the country. True to their character of dependence on foreign capital and technology, the big textile mill owners are actively collaborating with the imperialists' drive to make India the dumping grounds for their obsolete technology.

The new textile policy aids the mill owners and imperialists to carry out this plan: it provides the factory owners credit at low rates of interest to enable them to import machinery; it lowers duties for the import of machinery, synthetic fibres and yarn. It removes all restrictions on production capacity in the mill sector. At the same time it does away with subventions in the handloom and powerloom sectors, in which 10 million and 1 million workers are engaged in respectively. For the working class this means MASS UNEMPLOYMENT:

- in the handloom and powerloom sectors because these will no longer be able to compete with the mill sector.
- large scale retrenchments due to mechanisation and rationalisation in the big textile mills.

The government's permission to close down "sick" mills will throw another few millions into the streets. The logic of capitalism will ensure that the limited capital for "modernisation" will be cornered by the few big mill owners rendering many more mills than already sick.

### DELHI TEXTILE WORKERS ON STRIKE

After Bombay, Ahmedabad and other textile centres in the country the textile workers in Delhi, too, are up in arms against the effects of the new textile policy. Since the 28th of May 20,000 workers from the five textile mills in the city have entered into an indefinite strike.

They are protesting against the closure of the Delhi Cloth Mills. Owned by the monopoly house of Sriram, this mill has for long, in complicity with the DDA ( Delhi "Development" Authority), been threatening closure. The Srirams want to cash in on skyrocketing real estate values, which will be enhanced in this area by DDA's plans to build a flyover here making it a particularly well-connected and well-situated area. Developing a commercial and flatted factories complex here which can then be rented out at exorbitant rates will enable the Srirams to net in substantial profits. They are also planning to open a new factory in the vicinity of Ghaziabad with new imported machinery and a reduced workforce from presently 7000 to about 1900.

They are protesting against the closure of the weaving section and some other sections in the Birla mills because of the management's intention to introduce new machinery. They are fighting for the reinstatement of the victimised workers- of those workers who have been thrown out because they are a thorn in the side of the manage-

ment due to their active participation in union activities, and of those who are thrown out to replace them with younger and fitter ones. The workers now clearly see through the farce of the government instituted labour courts where cases of dismissal and harassment take years to process and the decisions of which are ignored with impunity by the management.

The workers are also fighting for a wage hike, for house rent allowance or allotment of a quarter from the mill, an interim relief of Rs 100 per month, for 90 to 100% neutralisation of the dearness allowance, for the rescinding of the new textile policy.

### EXPOSE THE CLASS COLLABORATIONIST FACE OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERS

The strike is being led by a Joint Sangharsh Committee of 6 unions having affiliations across all the bourgeois parties from the Congress I to the revisionist CPI and CPM. This unification on a common platform is of course due to the pressure exerted by the workers. On the face of it the 12 point charter of demand put forward by the Committee contains all the just economic and other demands of the workers.

● But the reformist character of the trade union leaders stands out in bold relief first of all in the illusions they create about the nature of the government. The government is represented as standing above classes, as being class neutral. It is appealed to intervene on behalf of the workers against the management and is urged to take over the mills. Nationalisation is the panacea. But let us have a look at the Ayudhaya mills which have already been "nationalised" since 1974 and are being run by the government owned National Textile Corporation.

As the workers themselves describe it: No differently from the other mills it is run on the basis of exploiting the workers and maximising profits, of importing machinery and laying off workers. More than in other factories a corrupt management has created a small, priveleged, highly paid and largely unproductive section of technical and officer staff on the back of the working class: Starting initially with a pay difference of only about Rs 100 between the two sections, according to revised pay scales of 1980 that of the technical and officer class climbed up to between Rs 2000 and 4000, whereas that of the workers, clerical and watch and ward staff remained stagnant at between Rs 300 and Rs 900 a month. In other respects, too, such as the lack of housing facilities, the living and working conditions of these workers is in no way different or better from those of the workers in the other "privately" owned mills.

Thus the demand for nationalisation proves to be a big DECEPTION on the part of the trade union bosses leading the fighting workers astray

● The class collaborationist face of the trade union leaders will be revealed even more clearly in the days to come: They will fall in line with the mill owners' drive to reduce the demands to more or less the question of linking wage hike with productivity. There may also be

a few concessions in the question of interim relief, neutralisation of dearness allowance etc. But these will not commensurate with the rising inflationary trend and will not be able to stop a further downward slide in the living and working conditions of the majority of the workers.

As has already happened in many industrial sectors including in the textile sector, the leaders of the central trade unions will agree that a small section of the workers is paid slightly higher wages linked to their much higher productivity due to the new machines. This means on the one hand: a three to four fold increase in the work load of these workers. On the other hand it means the retrenchment of another immeasurably larger section of workers, as well as the continuation of a large number as badli or casual workers.  
(x)

● The trade union leaders have not only connived at this split of the workers into the organised permanent and the casual workers, but also have made no efforts to forge solidarity between the different exploited sections of the mill employees - for example between the clerical, watch and ward staff and the workers. They have not made any earnest efforts at joint actions between the textile workers of textile mills in different parts of the country as well as support actions by workers from other industrial sectors. There have been no attempts to take up the problems of the handloom and powerloom workers who are the worst affected by the New Textile Policy.

Also affected by the "new textile policy" are the millions of cotton growing farmers. The total fibre flexibility granted by the government means increased import of synthetic fibres and a depressed market for cotton. The cotton farmers, who are already super-exploited by imperialist agencies and monopoly trading and manufacturing units, came out strongly against the new textile policy by demonstrating and making bonfires of synthetic clothes at over 200 places. That they would come together in a joint fighting front with the textile workers and other affected sections would strengthen their fight against the pro-imperialist policies of the Rajiv Government.

Of course, the broad masses of the people, who, in spite of all these years of increasing mechanisation of this vital industry have not had the benefit of cheaper and better quality cloth really suited to the climatic conditions of this country, have not at all been addressed.

Forging unity and solidarity between the various sections of

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(x) The casual workers form about fifty percent or more of the workers. They work either in the mills themselves or are engaged by thekedars (contractors). Certain operations like thread cutting, stitching seams and finish folding etc are being increasingly transferred to contractors, who work with a smaller number of workers (often with women workers). These workers are excluded from the purview of the factory act and are thus disadvantaged in many ways: they are engaged only when there is work and often spend transport

( Footnote contd. on the next page) 89

the working class should actually be one of the most important tasks of the trade unions, if they are really interested in increasing the fighting force of the workers. This unity is essential for exerting the necessary pressure by means of mass strikes etc which can really compel the bourgeoisie to make concessions.

That "our" trade union leaders are not at all striving towards this shows that objectively they are agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class. Their task is to hinder the fight of the working class and divert it into channels that are not dangerous for the bourgeoisie.

THE WORKING CLASS HAS NOTHING TO LOSE BUT ITS CHAINS  
AND A WORLD TO WIN

The workers on strike must realise that the deepening imperialist penetration, the search for markets by the imperialists in collaboration with the local ruling classes can lead only to an intensification of the process of rationalisation and mechanisation. It can lead only to a worsening of their situation - UNLESS they begin a really consequent fight against the WHOLE SYSTEM OF DEPENDENT CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT.

The workers must realise that such a consequent fight cannot be waged together with the traitorous trade union leaders, but only in opposition to their politics of class collaboration, reformism and creation of illusions about the nature of the state and government.

It can only be waged if the workers do not allow themselves to be split and oppose this very old and well-tested method of the ruling classes to weaken and demoralise them.

It can only be waged by relying on their own strength and building their own independent fighting unity against the trade union leaders and their collaboration with the mill owners and the government.

In the case of all militant struggles for partial gains within

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(Footnote contd. from the last page)

fare to the place of work for nothing. They may be asked to do any kind of work, like sweeping etc. They do not get double, but only single overtime pay. Because in this way they are rarely engaged for 20 days continuously they lose their entitlement of earned leave. Women workers in the cutting threads and the seam stitching sections of the Swatantra Bharat Mills are paid at piece rate which is fixed according to a certain quota. If they do not manage to cover the quota they are not paid at all, and if they exceed the quota they are not paid for the excess amount.

individual factories they must remember that these partial successes and gains can often be wiped out by an intensified onslaught of the ruling classes and an intensified exploitation and oppression. That is why it is necessary to tackle the problem at its roots and make the entire system of imperialist domination with its local lackeys the main target.

Only when the working class begins such a struggle for the overthrow of the entire reactionary system it can become a strong support for the struggles of the rest of the exploited and oppressed masses - in their struggles against the black laws and suppression of democratic rights, in support of the struggles of the peasant and landless masses, the suppression of the minorities and so on.

In this struggle for the overthrow of the system, the working class is the decisive force. Contrary to assertions, it is still true what Marx had worked out: independent of the respective condition of the working class movement, or the level of working class consciousness, it remains, objectively speaking, the grave digger of the world imperialist system.

Every confrontation of the workers with the ruling classes has within it the possibility of bringing them to the recognition that this entire system of imperialist domination is through and through rotten and needs to be smashed and replaced by a new world of new democracy, socialism and communism.

But this realisation will not develop spontaneously in the course of the struggles of the working class. It is the task of the COMMUNISTS to carry into the working class movement the necessary clarity about the rôle and future prospects of the working class and organise the most advanced from them in the COMMUNIST PARTY to lead this struggle.

The revisionist parties of "C"FI and "C"PM" have long since shown their traitorous face and their incapability to fulfill this task. The foremost task before the working class becomes therefore the building of this revolutionary communist party.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"  
(Marx/Engels: "Manifesto of the Communist Party").

# **The Proletarian Women's Movement - Issues**

"There has not been in the history of mankind a single great movement of the oppressed in which women toilers have not participated. Women toilers, the most oppressed of all the oppressed, have never kept away from the high road of the emancipation movement, and never could have done so. As is known, the movement for the emancipation of the slaves brought to the front hundreds of thousands of great women martyrs and heroines. In the ranks of the fighters for the emancipation of the serfs there were tens of thousands of women toilers. It is not surprising that the revolutionary working-class movement, the mightiest of all the emancipation movements of the oppressed masses, has rallied millions of women toilers to its banner.

International Women's Day is a token of the invincibility of the working class movement for emancipation and a harbinger of its great future."

( J.V. Stalin, "International Women's Day", Works 7, p.48)

## Preface

Even a cursory glance at the facts relating to the status of women in India shows that in the almost forty years since so-called "independence" the economic, social and political status of women in India has touched a hitherto unsurpassed nadir.

The late 60's and early 70's saw the rise and development of a women's movement in India. This was a period in which women from all oppressed and exploited classes, castes, nationalities and minority communities threw themselves into militant action because they acutely felt the effects of the first all-round economic and political crisis caused by the neo-colonial path of development pursued by the ruling classes since "independence".

In the course of the Naxalbari Movement rural and tribal women participated actively along with their men in the agrarian struggles of West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. Countless martyrs were delivered to the revolutionary cause. In the 1974 Railway Workers' strike the workers' wives, mothers and daughters rendered heroic support despite inhuman beatings and mass rapes. Inflation and steep price rise for reasons of debt servicing to international monetary agencies brought thousands of housewives to the streets in Bombay and other cities in the early seventies.

Terrified by these stirrings, the ruling classes, imperialism and social imperialism launched a massive ideological offensive in the nascent women's movement to divert it from the revolutionary path of joining hands with the oppressed and exploited men to violently overthrow their real enemy - the reactionary Indian state.

Trends alien to women's true liberation are trying to assert themselves: on one end of the spectrum lie the ideas of bourgeois feminism: these try to isolate the struggles of women for liberation from their joint struggles with the oppressed and exploited men by making men the source of women's oppression, by making the contradiction between men and women the main contradiction. Their failure to take up the class question as the central one results in their diverting and limiting the struggle for women's liberation to legalism and reformism. In this they are one with the revisionist leaders of "C"PI and "C"PM", diverse equally revisionist so-called "Marxist-Leninist" organisations, and other bourgeois reformist organisations.

At this juncture, theoretical clarity on the question of women's emancipation, the drawing of clear lines of demarcation between the bourgeois and proletarian women's movement becomes essential. In this context, the speech published below is relevant and useful in that it clearly draws the battle lines between the two.

We hope that it will stimulate discussion on the issues in the women's emancipation movement, in the particular context of India also. We invite our readers to send their comments and views, on this article and on the issue in general.

Editors, Under the Banner.

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The above is the translation of a speech delivered on the 10th of March, 1979, on the occasion of International Women's Day at Rüsselsheim in West Germany at a function organised by ATIF and ATIF (organisations of workers and students from Turkey in West Germany).

It was published as a brochure by Kote Fahne, Central Organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, May 1984. It was also published in Kote Fahne No. 185.

THE PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT--ISSUES

NO VICTORY IN REVOLUTION WITHOUT THE STRUGGLE OF WORKING WOMEN!  
NO LIBERATION OF WOMEN WITHOUT VICTORY IN REVOLUTION!

Although women constitute less than half the participants of this meeting, we working women are nevertheless one half of the people --"half of heaven" as Mao Tse-tung once said. And we ask you: Is it possible that the revolution against imperialism and feudalism in any country will be made by only one half of the people? Could we call such a revolution really a people's revolution? Certainly not. All revolutions hitherto have proved that no victorious revolution, indeed not even a mass revolutionary uprising has taken place without the participation of women. Conversely, the emancipation of women will not be possible without a revolution. With these two statements our aims are delineated as also the path by which we are to achieve this goal.

Today when we speak here on the occasion of International Women's Day, we are not concerned with our private personal problems as women, but with the political and social problems of working women in all countries. It is important to stress this because the Women's Movement across the world is split into two--the bourgeois women's movement (also called the feminist movement) and the proletarian women's movement, that is to say the revolutionary women's movement.

The proletarian Women's Movement is aware of the private problems of working women and is committed to solving these problems for and through the revolution, whereas the bourgeois women's movement holds women back from the class struggle as they immerse themselves completely in their narrow and limited world of personal problems. There is an irreconcilable antagonism between these two movements--in their attitude towards the bourgeois system, towards its economy and its state. Women's emancipation by means of a couple of reforms or through the revolution--this is the question that divides the two movements.

The bourgeois Women's Movement restricts its attack to fighting the privileges and power of the man in the family, in the state and in society and abandons the struggle against class slavery. Indeed it puts it aside as being secondary, even unnecessary. Its main demands remain within the parameters of a bourgeois society.

The kind of ideas this ideology gives rise to is illustrated by the views held by an American advocate of women's rights--S. Firestone. She is of the opinion that both the world wars were a fortunate occurrence because at last their arch rivals, the men, were fight-

ing on the front, thereby finally allowing women the opportunity to hold positions of responsibility in the government and in the economy--mark you, in a bourgeois state with a capitalist economy which exists only to exploit and yoke the broad masses, men as well as women. It does not seem to disturb this "women's" suffragette in the least that during both the world wars women worked in factories manufacturing grenades and not knowing how they would satisfy their children's hunger. No! We have n o t h i n g i n c o m m o n with a movement that aims at allowing the people to be bled white not only by the men but beyond that also by a handful of women.

One expression of the bourgeois feminist movement nowadays is that it often does not allow men into its meetings, bookshops etc. The counter-revolutionary consequences of such a trend are evident in the fact that a Ms. Demirel, a Ms. Schmidt and a Ms. Carter are amongst its sympathisers, whereas its doors remain closed to an Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. Now, we are a million times closer to an Ibrahim Kaypakkaya rather than a Ms. Demirel, a Ms. Schmidt and a Ms. Carter.

For the revolutionary proletarian women's movement, it does not suffice to merely fight the sore of feudalism and capitalism which directly affect women such as--unequal wages, the double burden of a career and housework, inadequate training and therefore poor chances of procuring jobs, against such evils as prostitution and rape.

It does not satisfy us if we are as exploited and oppressed as our male workers, peasants and salaried employees. We do not wish to be only a little less exploited and oppressed--we wish not to be exploited or oppressed at all! That is why our struggle is first and foremost a class struggle for the ultimate destruction of imperialism, feudalism and reactionary tendencies of every sort.

Clara Zetkin, the founder of the International Women's Day (March 8) and pioneer of the proletarian women's movement, formulated its characteristics very clearly over fifty years ago:

"A clear recognition of the absolute necessity of a common organisation and of a common struggle of the proletariat without discriminating between sexes, acknowledging women equal rights and equal responsibilities as fighters in the class struggle; the absolutely proletarian, international character of the movement, free from bourgeois-feminist influences; the firm goal: a socialist society."

The reasons why o v e r a n d a b o v e t h i s separate arrangements were and are needed for organising and training working women is best explained by the specific historical and social position of the woman. Everywhere in this imperialist dominated world the working woman is exploited and oppressed far more than her male counterpart. Her enslavement and subordination surpass that of a male worker or peasant.

• In semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, for eg. Turkey, the woman is especially bound to the house, particularly in rural areas.

Women here are not merely slaves of the landlords, but also of their fathers and later their husbands and mothers-in-law. They are not allowed to choose their own husbands. The choice is made by the father who sells his daughter to the son-in-law's family. When men speak, women must remain silent. They may not leave the house without prior permission of their men-folk. The husband may beat up his wife without any fear of reprimand and may throw her out at his will but his wife is not allowed to leave him.

Illiteracy is still widespread in these countries and the percentage of illiterate women is higher than that of men.

The subjugation of women is expressed in an ancient Islamic rite in which the men proclaim in prayer, "I thank you, oh lord, that I am man and not woman," whereas the women say, "I thank you, oh lord, that you have allowed me to live as a woman and not as a beast."

Women in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries are the most gravely oppressed of the oppressed.

●However, in the highly industrialised, imperialist countries too, like West Germany, the working woman is in no way free although the fetters are looser and not so obvious as in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries.

Women are in general worse paid than men. In times of acute unemployment, it has been the practice to deny them the right to work and to direct them towards their "natural" and "fulfilling" function of mother and housewife. Should she be employed, then the entire burden of housework, the children's upbringing is hers to carry in addition to her career.

It is the common belief in these countries that a woman must be pretty and soft--that women are stupid while men are clever and strong.

The aim and hope of the proletarian Women's Movement is seen in socialism, where for the first time the foundations for the complete emancipation and genuine equality of the woman will be established. In socialist Albania, (x), which ten years ago was as backward as Turkey, women and men share equal rights.

Schools and universities are open to the women who are paid as much as the men for the same work in social production. The state and its people ensure that the employment of a woman does not culminate in a double burden for her by arranging creches, kindergartens, canteens and laundries. Women work here completely free from oppression, regardless of the area of work. There are women who head factories and universities. Here, in socialism, the woman gets an opportunity to realise and develop her potential in a useful way.

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(x) In the last four years Albania has increasingly taken the revisionist path. See Rote Fahne 202: 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: A Milestone of Revisionist Degeneration.

However, this does not mean that this status fell straight into their laps nor does it in any way signify that the Albanian women live and work in equality in all areas. For example, only 30% of the party members are women. This in itself is a great achievement, but it is still not half. Why is this so?

Granted that the political and economic requirements for the complete emancipation of women have been fulfilled but laws unwritten, sentiments and traditions of a people cannot be changed overnight. They will not change on their own but only through a long and hard struggle.

But only in socialism is there even a p o s s i b i l i t y of s u c c e s s in this struggle. And it will meet with success only very gradually. Karl Marx once said that the victory of a revolution can be measured by the degree of emancipation of the women.

Comrades,

Revolution is not only a struggle against the class enemy but also a bitter struggle against its ideology as well, against the old and wrong ideas in one's own mind. It is, therefore, not all too astonishing that not only reactionaries but some of our own comrades also have outmoded ideas regarding women. However, this does not excuse the comrades in the least--quite to the contrary. We shall fight most vigorously against these views, because they hold us back from political work, from our common goal--to be free from feudalism and imperialism, to live free from oppression and free from reactionary and enslaving ideologies.

Comrades, it is also your task to sharply criticise and eradicate such backward attitudes in your own selves and in your comrades. The following are some methods employed to keep progressive women away from the political struggle or at least to restrict their participation in it. In future such attitudes will be fought against.

- Some comrades often mouth bourgeois and feudal prejudices. They have on hand such s a y i n g s as: "Long hair, small brain" or "Keep your dough-covered hands off politics--that is for the men!"

Such sayings show that comrades are not aware of the harm done by bourgeois and feudal ideologies. Even if they claim to be revolutionaries, they prove by such sayings that they have not yet completely grasped class-consciousness.

- Other facts also go to show that some comrades have not yet completely freed themselves of feudal ideology. If, for example, both husband and wife are revolutionaries, both politically active, it is very often particularly the man who is put under pressure by relatives who are still feudal-minded by questions such as--What is your wife up to? Why is she not at home?etc. Some comrades allow themselves to be taken in by such interrogation and feudal relations win the upper hand. The opinions of feudal-minded relatives count more than those of the revolutionary wife.

● But there are also more indirect methods to hinder our political work. As an example--the husband participates in a demonstration without informing his wife. Should she later reproach him with not telling her as she would also have liked to take part, this brings forth the reaction from her oh! so revolutionary husband, "How come! Don't you already have enough to do at home?"

● Or while studying revolutionary texts:  
Due to the fact that ignorance is still bliss and therefore a virtue in a woman and the fact that we women are considered dull and stupid from childhood and therefore not provided a satisfactory education, we progressive women often encounter more difficulties in understanding revolutionary texts than our male comrades. When we go to them with our difficulties, they often refuse to help us.

We feel that by such methods they are laying obstacles in our way, to be able to participate equally in political struggle. Yes, there are comrades who use the above methods and simultaneously militantly demand women's emancipation. But in reality they do not want the emancipation of their own wife, their own sister.

● Lastly, we would like to recount another reactionary view. It is not a common one, but among us there are some men who call themselves revolutionary, but who say, "The politics of the ATIF and ATÖF are all very well but what they do in the women's question is awful. They give the women too much freedom making them very bold."

Comrades,

We do not wish to lament here about the oppressed conditions of some of our comrades. There are always two parties involved in oppression --the one who oppresses and the one who allows himself to be oppressed.

In the struggle for our c o m m o n g o a l there have emerged separate tasks for the revolutionary men and for the revolutionary women:

The male "half of heaven" must fight and give up its a r r o - g a n c e in the face of women.

The women's "half of heaven" must fight its l a c k o f s e l f - c o n f i d e n c e , its diffidence and passivity especially in political work.

Only then will we revolutionary men and women be able to conquer the "whole of heaven" and be victorious in the common struggle ...

**CRITICISMS OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST  
MOVEMENT**

SOME FUNDAMENTAL CRITICISMS OF THE MARCH 1984 "DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT"

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The "Revolutionary Internationalist Movement", forged at the Second International Conference of the so-called Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations in March, 1984, (x) has as its self-proclaimed aim that of drawing a clear line of demarcation between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the various existing revisionist tendencies. It aims at beginning the process of rebuilding the International Communist Movement since the setbacks it has received due to the repeated restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries by evaluating this experiences and formulating a general line as well as strategy and tactics for the international proletariat. ( See "A World to Win", No. 2, May 1982, p. 1).

On the one hand, we strongly oppose narrow nationalist thinking, widespread among many so-called "Marxist-Leninist" groups and forces here. For them to strive towards the international unity of the proletariat, even and particularly in this or that organisational form, is not an urgent duty and task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists, if proletarian internationalism is not to remain something to which only lip-service is paid.

But in our opinion this particular attempt to further the process of the reunification of the Marxist-Leninists of the world, based as it is on the two opportunist ideological pillars of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the "theory of the superpowers", is based on feet of clay and from the very beginning contains within itself the seeds of disintegration and new and similar catastrophes as in the past.

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(x) Participatory organisations and parties of the RIM are: Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist); Ceylon Communist Party; Communist Collective of Agit/Prop(Italy); Communist Committee of Trento(Italy); Communist Party of Bangladesh(Marxist-Leninist) (BSD) (ML); Communist Party of Columbia(Marxist-Leninist); Mao Tse-tung Regional Committee; Communist Party of Peru; Communist Party of Turkey(Marxist-Leninist); Haitian International Revolutionary Group; Nepal Communist Party(Mashal); New Zealand Red Flag Group, Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups(Britain); Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist(Italy); Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla(PBSP)(Bangladesh); Revolutionary Communist Group of Columbia; Revolutionary Communist Party, India; Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; Revolutionary Communist Union(Dominican Republic); Union of Iranian Communists(Sarbedaran); Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India.

Preparatory to the formation of this new Internationalist Movement there took place in Autumn 1980 the First International Meeting  
(Footnote contd. on next page)

To be sure, it is possible today to unite on the basis of defending "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the line of the C.P. of China before Mao's death. It is possible to oppose the Teng-Hua revisionists and the Brezhnev-revisionists, to reject the reconciliation with the one or the other "superpower", to stand up against the worst counter-revolutionary consequences of the "theory of the three worlds." But this is not enough and does not constitute a real break with revisionism. Such a unity does not tackle the problems and issues involved at the r o o t s. To draw the line of demarcation here means, in reality, to continue as if nothing had happened. It means, not being in agreement with the catastrophic consequences of the development of opportunism, but not to come to terms with its o r i g i n s, to leave them untouched.

What is needed today is that the Marxist-Leninists, in the spirit of thorough-going criticism and self-criticism, in the spirit of publicly uncovering and not hushing up mistakes, conscientiously analyse the entire theory and practice before and after Stalin's death ON THE BASIS OF THE DEFENCE OF THE CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM - MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN. Only in this way and through this kind of a work can the ideological influence of modern revisionism be wiped out among the ranks of the revolutionaries. A principled unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the world cannot be envisaged in the absence of such a struggle against all forms of revisionism and opportunism.

#### 1. ON THE METHOD OF CALLING THE CONFERENCE AND ARRIVING AT THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES

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The Marxist-Leninist method very clearly distinguishes between ideological and organisational questions. While organisational matters must be kept strictly secret, fundamental ideological questions can and must be debated and settled OPENLY AND PUBLICLY before the revolutionary workers and the world revolutionary and communist movement. This is a principle of the revolutionary MASSLINE, a principle against BUREAUCRATISM and ARROGANCE, a principle of educating the masses.

It is all the more strange that this principle is violated by parties and organisations which in their publications very loudly declaim their allegiance to the Cultural Revolution, but still reject or do not practice one of its most fundamental lessons, namely, the OPEN AND PUBLIC DEBATE BEFORE EVERYONE, a lesson which is fully conso-

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of the "Marxist-Leninist" Parties which issued a Joint Communiqué signed by 13 organisations. Between this "Communiqué" and the signing of the 1984 "Declaration", there have been a number of additions and drop outs of groups and organisations, which is nowhere explained.

nant with the teachings and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The principle of the revolutionary massline, namely, to publicly debate the fundamental ideological and political issues confronting all Marxist-Leninists, has been violated from the very start by the members of the RIM, that is, right from the time of preparing for the First International Meeting. The RCP/USA and RCP/Chile (the latter no longer existent), which played a leading role in its organisation come in for special criticism.

The method adopted while preparing the First Conference was that of diplomats taking decisions behind closed doors. The questions of conception, participants, the structure and methods of democratically conducting the debate at the conference were not openly discussed. Some Marxist-Leninist forces (with whom in part fraternal relations existed), who held differing opinions and from whom a principled criticism could be expected, were excluded.(x). Ideological documents were kept secret and at the end of the conference a "Joint Communiqué" was issued which represented so to say the lowest common denominator of agreement among the signatories. The discussions, differences and criticisms at the Conference in relation to the "Draft" document prepared by the RCP/USA and the RCP/Chile were not revealed. (xx). No light was shed on the course of the debate at the conference. Positions were changed without accounting for them. It was not clarified why somebody was invited and for what reasons somebody was left out, who participated in the conference and who for what reasons preferred not to sign the "communiqué".

The public debate over the fundamental ideological issues, public criticism and self-criticism were missing at the Second Conference, too. Again there were changes in positions in relation to the "Draft" document and the 1980 "Communiqué" without accounting for them. In the course of our criticisms of the Declaration we shall show up these changes to some extent. We think that documents of each party should be made available to all parties for discussion and consultation to be carried out in their ranks. The debate should be conducted openly so that it is possible for the revolutionary members and sympathizers to participate in it and they are not dished out accomplished results.

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(x) For example, the three organisations Gegen die Strömung, Westberliner Kommunist and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria were n o t allowed to participate, without giving any cogent reasons. Also their criticism of the line of the preparatory document as well as of the method of preparing for this conference, which was distributed to the participating organisations at the conference ( See "Position from GDS, WBK and MLPO to the Participants of the Conference Organised by the RCP-USA and the RCP-Chile, Rote Fahne, September 1982) as well as the Open Letter of the three organisations to the RCP Chile and the 12 organisations on their Joint Communiqué of Autumn 1980 ( in WBK No. 23, June 1981), have to date not been responded to by any of the participating organisations of the RIM.

(xx) For Footnote see next page!

## 2. ON THE ANTI-LENINIST CONSTRUCTION OF 'MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT'

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It is clear that there were/are differences among the various organisations on the question of how to define "Mao Tse-tung Thought". But it is characteristic of the method adopted at these conferences that positions on this were altered without documenting the debate on this issue and giving a clear picture of the reasons behind adopting particular positions. We consider such a method to be fundamentally in contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist method of criticism and self-criticism.

Though in the latest version to date, in the 84 "Declaration", "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is not defined as the Marxism-Leninism of a new era, as was the case at the IX National Congress of the C.P. of China, and though it reiterates that we are still living in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, and emphasizes that the fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated and remain the theoretical basis of our thinking ("Declaration", p. 15), these cosmetic additions do not nullify the fact that still "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is defined as "a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism"(ibid.). This means for its contrahents ( which is also shown in the publications of many of these individual organisations) that Leninism has not validated itself even under the conditions of one and the same era and must be considered to be outdated in many essential respects. It is not taken to be an adequate weapon or guide to action for our revolutionary struggle today.

The further development of Marxism into Leninism was inseparably connected with capitalism entering into the stage of monopoly capitalism, with the begin of a new era, namely, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. This kind of a further epochal development of Leninism, as it represented in relation to Marxism, is not possible under the conditions of one and the same era.

The position, as expressed in the "Declaration", is in this sense a serious deviation from Marxism-Leninism and does not take note of the fact that the defence of Leninism as "the Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution"(Stalin) remains one of the most basic dividing lines from modern revisionism, whether this manifests itself in the garb of the Khrushchev-revisionists and talks about the "creative further development of Leninism", or whether it houses itself under the signboard of being a further "new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism".

Besides, in such an approach, the question of Mao Tse-tung is presented in essence to be the question of the recognition of "Mao

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(x) See "Draft" document of the RCP/USA and RCP/Chile; "Joint Communiqué" of Autumn 1980 in: AWTW, No. 2, May 1982, p. 31; "Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement", March 1984, pp. 14-15; and also "Liberation", Organ of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist), No. 11/12, 1980, p. 12 ff.

Tse-tung Thought". It is not at all approached as the question and necessity of a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's work. To regard Mao Tse-tung's work as a further stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute the evaluation of Mao Tse-tung with the attitude towards "Mao Tse-tung Thought" implies a dislocation and diffusion of the line of demarcation. It renders impossible a really Marxist-Leninist analysis of his work. There is in the Declaration no trace of any attempt to make a critical appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's work. There is mention of negative aspects and views of the C.P. of China in Mao's lifetime, but there is no attempt to analyse Mao's role in these. (x).

### 3. ON THE QUESTION OF THE DEFENCE OF COMRADE STALIN

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For the members of the RIM there is no question of really defending the "sword" of Stalin as a great proletarian leader. In the "Declaration" are to be read the usual slanders against him: "Stalin had a fair amount of metaphysics in him..."; he "denied in theory the emergence of a new bourgeoisie from within the socialist society itself..."; he concluded that "there was no longer a contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production under socialism..." (p. 17).

While analysing the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat under Stalin in the Soviet Union, a clear line of demarcation is not drawn between the Soviet Union under Stalin and after the total take-over of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists. ( pp. 18-21, Declaration). It is pointed out here that revisionist influences, tendencies and erroneous views developed in the world communist movement and in the C.P.S.U.(B) in Stalin's time itself. In fact, his "theoretical and political errors" are made one of the causes, part of the "serious weaknesses and shortcomings" of this period.(p. 17).

We do not think it wrong to point out that revisionist tendencies existed at the time of Stalin. In fact, they must be analysed. But it is wrong to say that these originated from him. In fact, he was the most staunch opponent of these revisionist deviations and stood at the head of the struggle against them. The most crucial point is: in Stalin's lifetime the struggle against modern revisionism in all its manifestations was carried out under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist general line. Precisely this made it possible to overcome the most serious difficulties and deviations. But after Stalin's death, after the r e v i s i o n of the Marxist-Leninist general line, with the revisionist line of the 20th Congress, revisionism could spread unhindered and copiously grow.

Studying Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"

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(x) We have presented in some detail our position on the evaluation of Mao Tse-tung in Issue No. 3 of "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", pp. 5-30.

and "Problems of Linguistics" and the documents of the struggle of the CC of the C.P.S.U.(B) under Stalin's leadership against Titoite revisionism should be enough to convince anybody that Stalin waged an exemplary struggle both within the CPSU(B) as well as within the international communist movement. In our view, one of the major drawbacks in the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism has been the fact that the Marxist-Leninist forces have not deeply evaluated this struggle by Stalin and have not carried it forward in a consequent way.

The failure to grasp in its entirety the import and consequences of the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists is closely linked with the fact that this fundamental question is approached from the standpoint of the historical "advances" represented by the so-called "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as "the theoretical concentration of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution over the last several decades" ( p. 31, "Communique", op. cit).

In sum, in spite of a few words claiming the contrary, Stalin is not really defended to be a great leader of the world proletariat, and as a classic of Marxism-Leninism. His basic teachings, his theory and practice of building and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in bringing the international communist movement giant strides forward are not offensively defended against all attacks and slanders of the modern revisionists and their hangers-on. Attempts are made to replace important teachings of Stalin by those of Mao Tse-tung, or by the construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought". It is not realized, while examining the historical experiences of the world proletariat, that studying Comrade Stalin's work is also one of the decisive pre-requisites to be able to take really deep-going positions on the questions of revolution.

#### 4. INSUFFICIENT UNCOVERING OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVISIONISM IN THE C.P. OF CHINA IN MAO'S LIFETIME

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Not really defending Stalin and his basic teachings, blurring the fact that the 20th Congress represented a qualitative caesura in the rise of modern revisionism is closely linked with the lack of understanding of and insufficient attempt to uncover the development of revisionism in the C.P. of China in Mao's lifetime.

In the "Declaration", in contrast to the "Communique", the documents of the "Polemics" of the C.P. of China of 1963 are now found to hold some erroneous views. (p. 22). Not mentioned among the errors, however, is that the "Proposal" speaks of the possibility of preparing for both the peaceful as well as the non-peaceful path. Instead, it is made out that it gives a clear-cut orientation towards the necessity of armed revolution. (p. 22). The criticism of the Indonesian Communist Party in this question is still factually ignored. The fact that the "Proposal" also ignores the question of the necessity of the agrarian revolution is also not mentioned.

Precisely those views of the C.P. of China before Mao's death that were wrong are upheld. This can be shown up, for instance, in two important questions:

It is propagated that class struggle is directed against the bourgeoisie, as if the bourgeoisie as a class continues to exist up to communism. That the bourgeoisie as a class is eliminated already before communism by establishing socialist relations of production in the concerned socialist country is thus denied. ( See p. 30, "Joint Communique", op. cit.).

Another wrong thesis that is upheld is that the Communist Party must always be the "arena" of the "struggle between two lines". ("Declaration", p. 28). Of course, a second wrong line can come up in the Party, for example, the Trotskyist line in the C.P.S.U.(B). However, this is in no case a "must", a law. The struggle between two lines in the Party is a certain sharpened form of the inner-Party struggle which is going on all the time. It must not always and at all times assume this form. A second wrong line in the Party must not be tolerated in the Party, but must be liquidated as soon as possible.

## 5. ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORLD WAR

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It is well-known that for the RCP/USA the question of world war is the CARDINAL QUESTION. The centrality of this question also comes out in the "Joint Communique" of 1980 as well as in the 1984 "Declaration", though diluted to some extent because of existing differences among the various organisations constituting the RIM in this question.(x). In the "Declaration" it is said:

"The rivalry between the two blocs of imperialist powers led by the US and the USSR respectively is bound to lead to war unless revolution prevents it and this rivalry is greatly affecting world events." (p. 6)

Further on, it is said:

"Marxist-Leninists must seize hold of the revolutionary possibilities that are developing rapidly and lead the masses in stepping up the revolutionary struggle on all fronts" and "utilise the extremely favourable situation at the global level in favour of revolution in each country". ( p. 8).

All this comes very close to the RCP/USA's near hysterical insistence on substantiating the need for revolution - and FAST - preferably in the 80's - almost solely by the imminent danger of World War III. Though it is in general correct to point out that war

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(x) See, for example, Massline, Organ of the CRC, CPI(M), Vol. 10, No. 7, April 1984, p. 2.

can be utilised to make revolution, or that revolution can prevent war, we still find the above reasoning to be flawed. It is too closely reminiscent of the war hysteria of the "three world theoreticians", who insisted that war must come, that it was inevitable, and did not at all allow for the possibility of preventing, that is, postponing temporarily under certain circumstances particular wars by means of a peace movement. As Stalin had said in 1952:

"the present day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace..."

At the same time, Stalin reaffirmed the inevitability of war in general as long as imperialism continues in force and said:

"To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."

(Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", Peking 1976, pp. 36,37).

An exclusive orientation towards war only as propagated here is not adequate for preparing the masses in a deepgoing way for the necessity of revolution against world imperialism, against the ruling classes in their own countries. Marxist-Leninists cannot make their activity d e p e n d e n t on the time of outbreak of war. They have to determine their tasks in a long-term way so as to make the greatest possible contribution towards the victory of the world proletarian revolution. Within the framework of this task and subordinated to this they must do their utmost to prevent imperialist war. To tie up one's activity towards such a short-time perspective is bound to cause demoralisation, resignation and capitulation in the end.

## 6. SOME FURTHER POINTS OF CRITICISM

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1. Essential elements of the "three worlds theory" continue to find a place in the "Declaration". Though the term "superpower" may not have been used in contrast to earlier documents, world war is still seen only in the context of the rivalry between the "two blocs of imperialist powers led by the US and the USSR". ("Declaration", p.6) The terms "nations and peoples" are also mentioned together ( See pp. 6,7 and 9,ibid.), which is an obscuration of the class forces represented by the term "nation" and attempts to throw together the interests of the exploiting ruling classes and the revolutionary interests of the people.

2. The right to self-determination of the oppressed nations is n o t defined as the right to secession. ( p. 37, "Declaration").

3. The slandering of the Comintern and the world communist movement

after 1945 is also there, though in a cautious form. What is wrong with the method used here is that the justified criticism of revisionist deviations is simply imputed to the central documents of this period, for example, to the VII World Congress without emphasizing and propagating precisely the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists in this time against right opportunism. ("Declaration", p. 18).

In conclusion, it may be said that a salient feature of this document is that in no case does it, even by way of allusion, bring forward any proofs for its assertions and evaluations. Quite obviously, "blind belief" is counted upon and propagated. This is characteristic of it, as well as the fact that public debate is avoided.



Criticism of the  
Nepal Communist  
Party (Mashal)

NO STEP FORWARD WITHOUT AN OPEN AND PUBLIC DEBATE!

On the Occasion of the Split in the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)

S T A L I N

N. C. P. (M)

"It would be strange to fear that our enemies, our internal and external enemies, might exploit the criticism of our shortcomings and raise the shout: Oho! All is not well with those Bolsheviks! It would be strange if we Bolsheviks were to fear that. The strength of Bolshevism lies precisely in the fact that it is not afraid to admit its mistakes... As for our enemies, let them rant about our shortcomings - such trifles cannot and should not disconcert Bolsheviks." (Stalin, "The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the CC and the Central Control Commission", 1928, Works 11, pp. 33-34).

"If the two line struggle going on in a communist party is made public the enemies who are always alert to know and exploit all possible contradictions within a communist party will get the knowledge of this before the people know. One more point to be considered is the class-based society in which we are conducting two lines struggles where the enemy class is very strong. Thus making inner-Party contradictions public will not help party building and so we should not draw such lessons, concerning party building, from GPCR." ("Nepalese Left Tribune", Oct. 1, 1985, p. 7).

By refusing to publish the inner-Party differences which have led to the split in the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal), precisely the POSITIVE HERITAGE of the great proletarian CULTURAL REVOLUTION in China is attacked. In its insolence and frankness this attack is without match even in the ranks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. It goes against the principle worked out and applied countless times by the classics of Marxism-Leninism: namely, that the inner-Party struggle should be clear and not be a secret for the working masses, that it should be explained as widely as possible among them.

Today, 20 years after the begin of the cultural revolution, we repudiate with utmost scorn this bureaucratic-revisionist attack against the positive achievements of the cultural revolution in China. In view of the justified anger of many sympathisers of the NCP(M) against this bureaucratic-revisionist practice of keeping IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS secret, we demand by means of our criticisms not just the CORRECTION OF THE FALSE IDEOLOGICAL BASE of the NCP(M), but also the correction of the method of debate which is directed against the theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, against the method of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The fear of an open debate is a sure sign of a bureaucratic and not communist outlook!

ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE AND THE NECESSITY OF OPEN AND PUBLIC  
DEBATE ON IMPORTANT IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

To keep the ideological debate a secret for fear of the enemy's ridicule and intrigues is not in line with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. It is strange that a "Marxist-Leninist" organisation, which claims to uphold the GPCR, should reject one of its most fundamental lessons, namely, the OPEN AND PUBLIC DEBATE BEFORE EVERYONE on the most fundamental issues.

Lenin and Stalin repeatedly made fun of all fears and anxieties that open criticism would do a great deal of harm because the enemy could take advantage of it. They pointed out above all the enormous advantage gained by open criticism for educating the Party as well as the working masses.

In 1903, Lenin opposed the attempts of the Mensheviks to conceal the inner-Party differences from the working class because apparently open criticism meant a "split" in the Party and working class and said:

" To the question - 'what should not be done?' ( what should not be done in general, and what, in particular, should not be done so as to avoid a split), my reply is, first of all: do not conceal from the Party the appearance and growth of potential causes of a split, do not conceal any of the circumstances and events that constitute such causes; and, what is more, do not conceal them not only from the Party, but, as far as possible, from the outside public either. I say 'as far as possible' having in mind the things that, in a secret organisation, must necessarily be concealed - but in our splits things of this kind play next to no part. Broad publicity - that is the surest, the only reliable means of avoiding such splits as can be avoided, and of reducing to a minimum the harm of splits that are no longer avoidable".  
(Lenin, "Letter to Iskra", 1903, LW 7, pp. 115-116).

Limiting oneself to internal criticism only, whether in relation to debates within one Party organisation or in relation to criticisms of other fraternal parties, means keeping the criticism secret not only before one's enemies, but also before one's friends, before one's fraternal parties, before the working class of one's country, before the international working class, before even a smaller or bigger section of one's own party organisation. It means giving up to a very large extent an active aid in helping them to recognise, to avoid and overcome the mistakes and deviations that have crept in. It is even worse, in relation to fraternal parties, to criticise internally behind closed doors, but not to let anything of it come out, indeed, to demonstrate unrestricted solidarity outwardly. To some extent, whether one wishes it or not, it means to support the mistakes and deviations with one's own authority, to close the door for correcting them.

This kind of an attitude towards open and public debate means putting formal unity and public solidarity over and above the revolutionary principles. It implies a lack of belief in the working class, a lack of trust in it and in its power of judgement. In this connection, Lenin had said:

"We welcome the 'carrying of strife into the ranks of the workers', for they and they alone will distinguish between 'strife' and differences on principles; they will sort out these differences for themselves, form their own opinion and decide not 'with whom to go, but where to go', i.e., their own definite and clear line, drawn up and tested by themselves."  
 ( Lenin, "The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers", 1914, LW 20, p. 473).

The wrong approach of keeping the ideological debate a secret has the catastrophic consequence that correct and necessary criticism is then made public when everything is already lost, when every criticism is too late, when the contradictions have already become irreconcilable and it is no longer a question of "criticising" openly or internally, but a question of treating the other as an e n e m y, of defeating and destroying him ideologically.

Lenin often and repeatedly clarified that the ideological struggle, precisely among comrades, both within a communist party and within the world communist movement, is a basic law of Marxism. This inner-Party struggle is a struggle between bourgeois and proletarian ideology. This is particularly true when the representatives of certain elements of bourgeois ideology, or of certain wrong political positions, are excellent Bolsheviks and faithful adherents of communism. Lenin emphasized often enough that in such an ideological struggle, the theoretical sharpening of the issues in terms of their practical consequences and their theoretical and social roots, that is the p o l e m i c s, certainly has its place and need not be fractionist and splittist if it serves to clarify the problems, to correct mistakes and deviations, that is, if it serves the revolutionary cause.

This constantly on-going inner-Party struggle must not, however, a l w a y s take the sharpened form of a two-line struggle. The possibility that a second wrong line comes up is always there, but that it in fact does so is not a must, a law.

In regard to relations between fraternal organisations, every Marxist-Leninist Party has the right, after thoroughly examining the situation and in full consciousness about the significance of the issues involved, to begin a p u b l i c discussion and debate between the Marxist-Leninist Parties and to o p e n l y present their view before the entire Marxist-Leninist movement and the working class for its judgement. In certain situations this right becomes a necessary proletarian-internationalist duty.

ROTTEN "DEFENCE" OF COMRADE STALIN

In the article "On the History of the International Communist Movement" ( in: "International Revolutionary Digest" ( IRD), No. 1, September 1984, pp. 21 ff), it is correctly noted that in all the renewed evaluations of the international communist movement there is an increasing tendency to negate Stalin and his work. It is correctly noted that the attitude towards Stalin ( and Mao Tse-tung) constitutes the dividing line between revolutionaries and opportunists and revisionists. ( pp. 21-23). But, at the same time, the Nepal Communist Party ( Mashal) continues to fraternise within the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with organisations, such as the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA and the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India/Marxist-Leninist, to which its criticism in this vital question is very well applicable. However, its common meeting ground with even such organisations as it criticises becomes very clear in the very same article, because it seems that after all the NCP(M) does have some serious criticisms of Stalin:

" Some of Stalin's analysis and conclusions have proven wrong and it also cannot be denied that he made some tactical mistakes too"... (p. 23). " Stalin ruled out the inevitability of class struggle and restoration of capitalism in socialist society. According to this interpretation, since the means of production were socialised and classes were abolished there the class struggle was not necessary nor was the possibility of restoration of capitalism..." ( p. 30).

In spite of these and some other false criticisms, the attempt is made to "defend" Stalin in the question of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. But, the method of doing it is very problematic. On the one hand, it is said:

"As a consequence of wrong conception of restoration of capitalism, the revolutionary necessity of conducting extensive struggle against this kind of possibility and of launching it in the form of widespread campaign was undermined and it resulted into restoration of capitalism there."

( ibid., p. 30 ).

Against this kind of giving Stalin subjective responsibility for the degeneration ( untrue because if anyone fought consistently and firmly against such understandings it was Stalin), it is also said that the reason for the degeneration of the Soviet Union cannot be found in the errors of Stalin:

"The principal cause of failure of socialist revolutions in many countries and usurpation of state power and leadership of many parties by the revisionists is objective not subjective. Many subjective mistakes committed by parties of different countries and their leaders including Mao, Stalin and others also have contributed to some extent in the failure of socialist revolu-

lution. But it is a secondary aspect..." (IAD, pp. 23,24).

We think this is a wrong approach towards understanding the phenomenon of capitalist restoration and is bound up with catastrophic consequences. It leads to negating the enormous treasure house of experience of class struggle gained by the socialist Soviet Union, led by Stalin. By regarding this experience to be a "negative experience", an important heritage, indeed, a model for class struggle in socialism, is abandoned.

We categorically declare that the restoration of capitalism took place in the Soviet Union because after Stalin's death his correct line was rejected. This is the SUBJECTIVE CAUSE for the restoration of capitalism. To simply regard OBJECTIVE CAUSES to be decisive for the restoration of capitalism is wrong in many respects:

This thesis denies - in the same way as once the social-democrat renegades and the Trotskyites - the fundamental fact that in the era of imperialism in all countries all the objective conditions are ripe for the victory of socialism. Such an objectivist view is also open to fatalist conceptions. It tends to reduce one's vigilance towards attempts at restoration because, according to this interpretation, the power of the "objective forces" is too strong. It leads to resignation and passivity. Going according to this false thesis leaves no scope for seriously looking for subjective mistakes.

Finally, all the reproaches against Stalin are not proved. There is not a single quotation from Stalin. While making certain assertions there is no reference to sources, which is a rather un-serious method. Though the attitude expressed is not a crass form of anti-Stalinism, it does ultimately end up being only a more subtle form of it because it does hold the opinion that Stalin had taken a wrong position in all the most essential questions of class struggle and had made as many errors as it is only possible to have made. Of course, he is allegedly not to blame for all this: it is the historical conditions that are responsible.

This attitude towards Comrade Stalin is closely connected with the fact that the opportunist construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the "theory of the superpowers" remain the ideological base of the Party.(x). The inner-Party struggle was not used to enter into a deeper debate about this faulty ideological base itself.

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(x) We have often criticized the anti-Leninist construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the "theory of the super-powers". For a criticism of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" see "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", Issue No. 2, pp.5-30. For a criticism of the "Three Worlds Theory" see Issue No. 4, pp.12-27).

**EXPOSE THE  
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY  
DEEDS OF INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY**

**LONG LIVE THE HEROIC ARMED  
STRUGGLE OF THE PERUVIAN MASSES**

This leaflet by the West German Marxist-Leninist organisation, *Gegen die Strömung*, was sent to us shortly on the occasion of the brutal massacre in Peru of several hundred guerilla fighters, belonging mostly to the Communist Party of Peru, called "Sendero Luminoso". We support the armed fight of the Peruvian masses against the "social-democratic" fascist military dictatorship dependent on imperialism. We also join in with the main criticisms made in the leaflet against the C.P. of Peru, which is playing a leading role in this struggle.

COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF OVER 400 MEN AND WOMEN FIGHTERS, ABOVE ALL FROM THE C.P. OF PERU, AMIDST APPLAUSE FROM THE "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL" IN LIMA

# THE FASCIST DEEDS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN PERU

The toiling masses in Peru are groaning under the yoke of the military dictatorship, which is a dictatorship in the interest of the big imperialist powers, which have firmly dug their claws into the country, and in the interest of the native capitalists and feudal lords dependent on them! The workers and poor peasants, who have grown tired of hundred and one promises, have arisen in their thousands in an armed struggle. In this struggle the Communist Party of Peru is playing a leading role today. The entire hatred and smear campaign of the imperialist powers against the Communist Party of Peru is playing a leading role today. The entire hatred and smear campaign of the international and Peruvian media is therefore concentrated against the C.P. of Peru, called "Sendero Luminoso".

The prisons are full of alleged or real supporters of the C.P. of Peru. The Social-Democrat President Garcia, who is a fascist from top to toe, carries on demagogy about "Peru's own, progressive, democratic path" and receives support from revisionists like Fidel Castro. In

reality, however, he allows the military in his country to perpetrate massacres against the people and the guerillas which he later allows to be "investigated".

The prisons are full to bursting. According to the bourgeois media, alone in the prison Lurigancho, which was actually built for 2 000 prisoners, there are 6 000.

The same media also reports that 1 200 fighters from the C.P. of Peru have been arrested. Already in November 1985 a revolt of the prisoners had been shot down, and now it was announced that the inhuman conditions in the prisons would be further aggravated and the political prisoners would be isolated. This led to a revolt in the women's prison Santa Barbara, the prison Lurigancho and the island prison of El Fronton.

At the same time the World Congress of the Social-Democratic International was inaugurated in Lima. While the ruins of the island prison El Fronton razed to the ground were still smoking and the cannons of the battle ships had done their

handiwork, while prisoners were being shot under emergency law, and over 400 murdered men and women fighters of the C.P. of Peru and other prisoners were hurriedly being buried by the military, the So-

cial-Democrat Garcia, under applause from counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats gathered from all over the world, declared that he took the decision to massacre for the sake of the "authority of the state".

#### OUR MAIN CRITICISM OF THE C.P. OF PERU

The C.P. of Peru is the leading element and the organising force of the guerilla war in Peru. Our solidarist criticism of this Party, organised internationally in the REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (RIM), which we have already put forward in talks, concerns above all the following points :

1. The C.P. of Peru, rejecting modern revisionism of all shades, has abandoned the fundament of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin by constructing "new conditions", in which "Maoism" is supposed to be the Marxism of our era. It has participated in the completely false and basically revisionist attacks against Stalin !
2. The C.P. of Peru is also fighting West German imperialism as one target in Peru with arms in hand, but has declared itself in theory to be in agreement with the completely wrong thesis of the "two superpowers", a thesis, which objectively renders the other big imperialist powers harmless.
3. The C.P. of Peru has rejected the public debate on all the existing differences between the revolutionary forces in the world in a bureaucratic manner and has thereby barred for itself any real ideological advance and has sown a bureaucratic spirit in its own ranks.
4. The C.P. of Peru has very evidently - completely against the theory and practice of Mao Tse-tung -, underestimated the significance of the role of the COMMUNIST PARTY as an ideological and political educator of the working class and its allies, the role of a CENTRAL ORGAN for building the party in the armed struggle. It has exposed itself to the danger of losing in class struggle in the ideological area to the counter-revolutionaries who are also well-equipped ideologically. Thereby it also endangers its achievements in the military area.

Willy Brandt, the old and re-elected chairperson of the "Socialist International", also a dyed-in-the-wool representative of West German imperialism, said "We stand by you..." (Frankfurter Rundschau, 23.6.86) and clapped his hands in approval.

All these facts cannot be wished away and fall in line with all the bloody terrorist acts of Social-Democracy, this "STINKING CORPSE" ! The demand for "investigation" put forward later, and similar stammerings are attempts to conceal in view of the exposure of the facts. All these bloody deeds will not be able to prevent that for every fallen revolutionary in Peru ten new ones will join the ranks of the guerilla war !

In view of the massive participation of West German imperialism in the plunder of Peru's toiling masses, in view of the direct participation of Willy Brandt, the representative of West German imperialism, in the massacre of the prisoners, we Marxist-Leninists in West Germany declare our solidarity with the fighting masses in Peru and their Guerilla War, expanding for we Marxist-Leninists in West Germany declare our solidarity with the fighting masses in Peru and their Guerilla War, expanding for the last six years !

These events throw a characteristic light upon the fascist deeds of Social-Democracy, which has a long history in Germany, too : ranging from the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the co-founders of the Communist Party of Germany by the Social-Democratic Noske troops, from the shooting of the workers in Berlin in 1929 by the Social-Democratic Chief of Police Zörgiebel up to the murderous ac-

tions of the West German state under a Social-Democratic government, as for example Mogadishu in 1976 and the "suicide"-murders in Stammheim. Precisely because Social-Democracy in West Germany and in other countries poses with demagogy and phrases much more than the open fascists to be "socialist" and "socially minded", and thus deceives large sections of the masses, its FASCIST DEEDS MUST BE REVEALED AND NAMED AS SUCH !

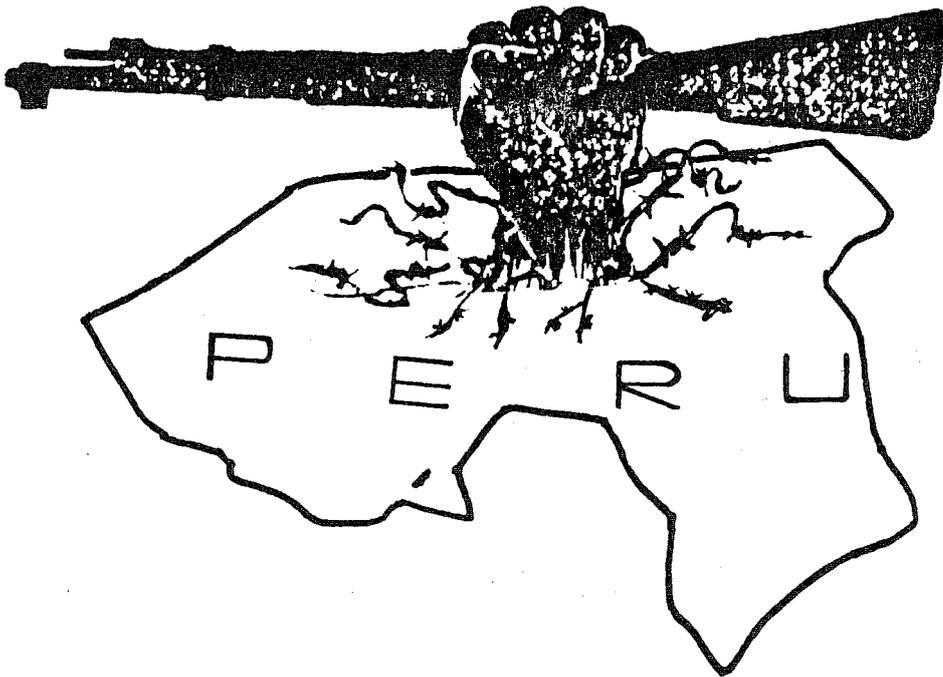
Long live the heroic struggle of the armed people's masses in Peru !

Death to West German imperialism, one of the blood-sucking imperialist powers exploiting Peru !

Let us expose the counter-revolutionary deeds of International Social Democracy!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM !

25.6.1986



# ALREADY PUBLISHED:

No. 1, NOVEMBER 1984

**The Weapon of Criticism Cannot  
Replace Criticism by Weapons!**

**Political Power Grows Out  
of the Barrel of a Gun!**



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**HE WHO DOES NOT  
DEFEND STALIN,  
IS AN OPPORTUNIST AND A COWARD**

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No. 3, DECEMBER 1985

**TO LEARN FROM MAO TSE-TUNG  
WE MUST ASSESS HIS MERITS  
AS WELL AS HIS ERRORS**

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TUNG" by the organization for building the Communist Party  
of Afghanistan, Marxist-Leninist.

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Revolution in Afghanistan!**

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# Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism

Contributions Towards Building the Marxist-Leninist Party in India

**Let Us Defend and Critically  
Evaluate the Experiences of the  
Communist Movement in India!**



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Documents with Critical Comments:

- 1930 "DRAFT PLATFORM OF ACTION" OF INDIAN COMMUNISTS.
- 1951 DOCUMENT ON PATH OF INDIAN REVOLUTION.
- LETTER OF THE C.P. OF GREAT BRITAIN ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE C.P. OF INDIA, 1931.
- OPEN LETTER TO THE INDIAN COMMUNISTS BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BRITAIN, CHINA AND GERMANY, 1932.
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**LET US DEFEND AND CRITICALLY  
EVALUATE THE EXPERIENCES OF  
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT  
IN INDIA!**

Learning from History

"There are some who are proud, instead of ashamed, of knowing nothing or very little of our own history. What is particularly significant is that very few really know the history of the Communist Party of China and the history of China in the hundred years since the Opium War. Hardly anyone has seriously taken up the study of the economic, political, military and cultural history of the last hundred years."  
(Mao Tse-tung, "Reform Our Study", May 1941, Sel. Works III, p.19)

"To sum up our eighteen years of experience and our current new experience on the basis of our understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to spread this experience throughout the Party, so that our Party becomes as solid as steel and avoids repeating past mistakes - such is our task."  
(Mao Tse-tung, "Introducing the Communist", Oct.4, 1939, Sel. Works II, p. 296).

Mao Tse-tung rightly emphasized here the prime importance of correctly summing up the experiences of one's own Communist Party, of learning from past experiences, from the problems confronted and from the errors committed, of grasping the present as a continuation of past struggles in the economic, political and also in the IDEOLOGICAL areas. He often emphasized the significance of this task for building a strong Party and himself repeatedly summed up the experiences of the C.P. of China in this way.

Our main task today while building the Marxist-Leninist Party in India is to appropriate the fundamentals of the theory and principles of Marxism-Leninism. However, this can be done only through a fierce ideological struggle. This ideological struggle includes that over the history of the Communist Movement in India, over which revisionists and renegades have and are already waging an energetic struggle.

In this article we shall deal in broad outlines with this question of how the history of the Communist Party and movement in India must be approached.

## 1. MARXIST-LENINIST APPROACH IN ANALYSING THE EXPERIENCES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND MOVEMENT IN INDIA

While building the new genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, the Marxist-Leninists in India have the task of consciously appropriating, defending and continuing the REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS of the Communist Party and Communist Movement in India. For this they

must analyse both the positive and the negative experiences of the past in order to learn from them and build upon them.

The Marxist-Leninists must defend the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party and Movement in India against the slanders of the bourgeoisie, of the Trotskyites, but particularly also against their distortion and falsification by the modern revisionist parties, the CPI and CPI(M), these betrayers of the revolution in India.

While defending the positive achievements of the Communist Party and Movement in India, it is also absolutely essential to make an unsparing and responsible criticism of revisionist and opportunist deviations that have occurred in the history of the Party.

The history of the Party must be analysed on the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The writings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism must be taken as a base. The documents of the various World Congresses of the Third International on the national and colonial question; the various debates on these issues in general and on some concrete questions of the revolution in India in the Third International, articles in the "International Press Correspondence", "Communist International" as well as in the Cominform journal "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy" - all these must be studied as well and are an essential help in this task.

This analysis of the history of the Party must also take into account the existing historical situation. While analysing the content and the significance of the mistakes the historical situation has to be also considered. It is necessary to go into the historical, social and ideological roots of these mistakes, to make an i d e o l o g i - c a l analysis of them.

While analysing the process and causes of revisionist degeneration of the Communist Party, it is correct to look for the roots of revisionism in the past and analyse them. But the Marxist-Leninists must in a very conscientious way draw a clear line of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution: they must make a clear-cut distinction between the periods when there was more or less a correct line with deviations, the periods when a wrong line dominated but there was a fight and the possibility of a fight against them; and the period when the wrong line became cemented, when the Party fully degenerated and went over totally into the camp of capitulation and counter-revolution and became an agent of the bourgeoisie against which the struggle became a life-and-death one.

While analysing the causes of the degeneration, the external factors, above all the pressure of the imperialists must be taken into consideration. But the main weight must be laid on the i n t e r n a l causes, the weaknesses and mistakes of the Marxist-Leninists, their insufficient struggle against the revisionist line, their giving way to the revisionist cancer. This must be carefully analysed, for t h i s is the decisive factor for the degeneration of the Communist Party.

The approach to the past must above all be a solidarist and

critical one. The positive revolutionary heritage must be taken as the starting point. It should be shown that one is not starting from scratch. In this context, it is important to work out all that was correct and positive in the line of the CPI, all that which represented an advance, even if in a very germinal form, with all its weaknesses, inadequacies and inconsequences. It is also very important to make a distinction between some revisionist leaders and a dedicated cadre at the base who led many a heroic and armed battle against the ruling feudalists and imperialists. (x)

## 2. APPROACH OF THE MODERN REVISIONIST PARTIES TOWARDS PARTY HISTORY

There have been many bourgeois-imperialist attempts at "analysing" the history of the Communist Party of India. Representative of this genre are: Mino Masani's "The Communist Party of India", 1954; Overstreet's "Communism in India", 1959; Madhu Limaye's "Facts and Fiction", 1951. The anti-communism expressed in these books, their portrayal of Communists as anti-national, anti-patriotic, as agents of Moscow, as terrorists and extremists, advocates of a totalitarian system, are meant to repel away newer generations from Communism, who have never had a personal experience of the glorious legacies of the Communist Movement, in India and world-wide.

But the revisionists are incapable of really rebutting these calumnies against the communist movement. By their very nature as agents of the bourgeoisie, of social-imperialism, they are able to confront these anti-communist attacks only with their own distorted version which "rewrites" history from their own present-day thoroughly revisionist standpoints. They cannot at all fulfill the task of comprehensively and in a deep-going way reviewing the history of the Party, defending its positive achievements and learning from its mistakes and deviations. In fact, some of the leaders of these parties have in the past been the perpetrators of its worst deviations and betrayals.(x)

In a true bureaucratic and revisionist style, the CPI has kept locked up in its archives the documents of the history of the party, available only to its own members and inaccessible to the genuine Communists and sympathizers of the movement. Till now it has been unable to come out with a comprehensive evaluation of the history of the Party. A couple of examples from some of the CPI's writings on this subject should suffice to expose its approach to Party history.

The CPI upholds and continues in an even more extreme way the right reformist deviations under the leadership of P.C. Joshi in the thirties and forties which followed the policy of trailing behind the

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(x) While evaluating concretely the individual leading figures it is essential to make a distinction between those cadre who were a sincere lot and made genuine contributions in the beginning but later degenerated and those who from the beginning were never really Marxist-Leninists, who were at the most bourgeois democrats, but sometimes already compradors and agents of the bourgeoisie.

leadership of imperialist agents like Gandhi and Nehru. It re-evaluates positively the role of these counter-revolutionary collaborators and concedes them "anti-imperialist and nationalist" strivings and considers such an assessment to be more "balanced". ( See, for eg., Anil Rajimwale "Evolution of the CPI Programme(1956-64)" in: Marxist Miscellany, No. 2, 1975, p.51). In the same vein, the evaluation of the 1951 programme and of other documents around this period that the 1947 "independence" was sham is condemned to be "sectarian" and "dogmatic"( See, CPI Documents, Vol. VIII, PPH, p.vi), and as showing a lack of recognition of the qualitative change in the character of state power! ( See "Marxist Miscellany, op.cit., p. 46).

Despite its "leftist" phrase-mongering and "anti-revisionist" pose vis-a-vis the CPI, the equally revisionist CPM also throws overboard correct positions and attaches itself to and develops further in an even more fully revisionist form earlier erroneous theses. Like the CPI, it also, for example, essentially defends the tactics of the Communists in India during World War II and is in no way prepared to subject this entire period and its betrayal of the national movement to a really penetrating analysis and learn from the mistakes committed. ( See, for eg., "Quit India Call and the Role of Communists", M. Basavapunnaiiah, National Book Centre, 1984).

Similarly, correct positions taken earlier are thrown aside: For example, the correct assessment of the documents around the 1950s regarding the sham nature of India's "independence" in 1947 is rejected as not tallying with "the new emerging realities" of political independence. ( "On the Programme of the CPI(M)", M. Basavapunnaiiah, CPI(M) Publication, March 1986, p. 17). Among other things, it also revises the Marxist-Leninist stand on the national question as taken in the 1930 Draft Platform of Action and the 1951 Programme which declared the right of self-determination to the various nationalities in India, including the right to secede as a "lopsided and erroneous understanding on the national question in India" and arrives at the stand that this principle does not apply in India. ( *ibid.*, p.41).

### 3. OUR TASKS

In the late 60's, the anti-revisionist forces emerging from the CPI(M) and grouping themselves around the organ "Liberation" made a good beginning in the direction of analysing and drawing lessons from the experiences of the past as a contribution to understanding the problems of the present - a task which the revisionist parties of CPI and CPI(M) had already shown themselves incapable of accomplishing. We are referring here primarily to the article series by BANDE ALI KHAN, "A NEW ASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE CPI" ("Liberations", Vol. 1, No.4, Feb. 1968; Vol.1, No.6, April 1968; Vol.1, No.8, June 1968; Vol.1, No.9, July 1968).

These articles, however, cover only the period from 1919 to 1934. They are also not final in their assessment, but basically apply themselves to generating a discussion on the subject. They also need to be scrutinised and evaluated for mistakes, weaknesses etc.

But the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" groups and parties emerging from the splitting and fragmentation of the CPI(ML) in the early 70s and later did not realize the importance of this task. They have not been able to pick up, critically evaluate and build upon this good beginning. Instead, many groups, like Vinod Mishra group, Satya Narain Singh group, Santosh Rana group, have resorted to the old revisionist and bureaucratic practice of hiding the history of the Party from the numerous cadres and sympathisers, all the better to be able to push across their revisionist and opportunist line and tactical "innovations" because their cadres are left untrained in Marxism-Leninism and are not made vigilant on the basis of a thorough understanding of the history of the Party, its numerous struggles and deviations.

Those who have attempted a sketchy appraisal so far, like the CRC, CPI(ML) ( in their book "Towards a New Phase of Spring Thunder, 1982), do not do it on the correct base of Marxism-Leninism, but on the basis of the opportunist construction of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought" ( ibid., p.10). They also make the major mistake of not drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation between the present-day revisionist parties and the CPI in the past. This leads them to a more or less completely negative evaluation of the CPI with only failures to its credit. It renders them incapable of seeing the growth of the Party, its struggles and deviations in the historical context, and renders them incapable of defending its correct starting points and positions, particularly against revisionist distortion.

In view of this situation, the genuine Marxist-Leninists have to take up this task of studying and evaluating the history of the Party and the Communist Movement in India. This is a pre-requisite to be able to solve all the vital theoretical and practical problems facing them in their fight today: the issues of Party building and organisation, a precise analysis of the character of the state, the analysis of the classes in Indian society, determining who are the friends and who are the enemies in the revolution, the stages of the revolution in India, questions of united front tactics, of the hegemony of the proletariat and the worker peasant alliance, the question of the military path of the revolution - countrywide armed uprising , or a combination of partisan warfare in the countryside combined with workers' risings in the cities, the exact significance of the national question in India today, the degree and nature of capitalist development, the significance and place of the anti-feudal fight today and many more questions.

For solving these vital questions today it is absolutely essential to study the various documents of the Party, the numerous inner-Party struggles over these and other questions, the articles in the journals of the Comintern and Cominform, the debates, resolutions and theses of the World Congresses of the Communist International, the writings of the classics and Mao Tse-tung, the experiences of the Communist Parties of other colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries, but also imperialist countries. (x)

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(x) We would like to point out here as examples only some of the important debates and writings on some of these issues: The debates at

( Footnote contd. overleaf)

The vastness and complexity of this task, however, is such that it can be accomplished only by the growth of a genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement, which throws up dedicated Communists, who through long and hard years of theoretical and practical training are in a position to accomplish these tasks vital for the success and final victory of the revolutionary movement in India.



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( Footnote contd. from last page)

the 5th and 6th World Congresses of the Comintern on M.N. Roy's "decolonisation" thesis, and on the dependent nature of capitalist development in India; On the question of the united front and the role of the bourgeoisie in India we have important hints in Stalin's writing "On the Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East", SW 7, also in the 6th World Congress documents, the 1930 Draft Platform of Action of the Indian Communists ( Inprecorr Dec.18, 1930) and the Open Letter to the Indian Communists by the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Germany and China, published in the Communist International, 15 May 1932.

LET US UPHOLD  
ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE 1930  
"DRAFT PLATFORM" OF THE  
INDIAN COMMUNISTS!

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The "Draft Platform of Action" by the Calcutta Committee of the Indian Communists was sent to and published by the Communist International in the journal "International Press Correspondence" of Dec. 18, 1930. The Draft was sent with the request to publish it in the working class press so that the Indian Communists could benefit from the corrections and suggestions by members of fraternal communist parties. This method of publishing a draft programme of action and putting it forward for discussion in the international communist movement has to be evaluated very positively.

The late 20s and the early 30s, the period when the "platform of action" was drafted, saw an upswing in the mass revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants, as well as the counter-revolutionary actions of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie, which continued its policy of betrayal of the revolutionary peoples and of compromise with British imperialism. However, at this important juncture, the Indian Communists were lagging behind the mass revolutionary movement. The publication of the "Draft Platform of Action" in 1930 was an attempt to put an end to this situation and move forward towards creating a united all-India revolutionary Party which would be able to provide leadership to the revolutionary masses in their anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles.(x)

Undoubtedly, this draft programme of action has some weaknesses. It is after all a "draft", which was to be corrected and amended. But this is not the most essential thing. More important seems to us to stress the following:

WE MUST SMASH THE ARROGANT DENIAL OF ANY REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF THE C.P. OF INDIA AND THE COMINTERN!

Linked with a deep-rooted ANTI-STALINISM and barely comprehensible arrogance is the fact that those organisations calling themselves "Marxist-Leninist" in India today do not consider it necessary to make a comprehensive assessment of the positive and negative experiences of the old C.P. of India as well as of the positions of the World Congresses and the ECCI on a principled basis. In contrast to the founder of the CPI(ML), Charu Mazumdar, who did have a solidarist attitude towards Stalin, these present-day dwarf-like creatures from Massline etc have degenerated into the most deep anti-Stalinism and are already "correcting" Lenin and Marx.

As we have already pointed out: we do not think there can be

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(x). There are contradictory versions as to whether this draft platform of action was ever adopted in a final form by the CPI. V.B. Karnik in his book "Indian Communist Party Documents 1930-1956", Bombay 1957 asserts that this draft was adopted (p.v), but the contrary is asserted by the CPI. ( See, "On the Programme of the CPI(M)" by M. Basavapunniah, March 1986, p.1). Whatever may be the case, the Draft still retains its importance for us.

any real advance in the Marxist-Leninist movement in India, or any step forward in the direction of building a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party without setting oneself this task and by starting the process, step by step, to evaluate positive and negative experiences of the CPI on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The experiences of the C.P. of India and the struggles led by it are the experiences which have been paid for with the blood of the workers and peasants, the revolutionary youth and the manyfold oppressed women! To deride this experience means to spit in the face of the countless martyrs of the revolution in India, who, today, make our fight easier, and on whose shoulders we must stand in order to be able to see further ahead.

#### IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME WHICH CONTINUE TO BE VALID!

Based on the decisions of the 6th World Congress in 1928 and the Programme decided there, the fundamental features of this Draft Programme continue to be topical even today. This is so despite the fact that in place of British imperialism which dominated then India has become the hunting ground for all the big imperialist powers from the USA and the Soviet Union to England, France and West Germany, as well as for the smaller imperialist powers.

● The creation of big industrial centres in India has not changed, but only worsened the backward situation in the rural areas, the oppression and exploitation of the rural proletariat and the poor and landless peasants and has not at all put a stop to India's increasing dependence on world imperialism.

For this reason, both the axes of the national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, namely, the DEMOCRATIC AGRARIAN REVOLUTION and the NATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTION, which have been fully correctly worked out in the Draft Platform of Action, are valid even today.

● At many places, the platform makes clear in an exemplary way that the National Congress, particularly its "Left" wing represented by Nehru, Bose and others, represents the "greatest threat to the victory of the Indian revolution" (p.3). The correct orientation is to do away with all rotten concepts of "alliance" with these class enemies. Of course, it is this orientation of the "Draft Platform" which makes the CPI and CPI(M) reject it and the policies of this period to be those of "senseless sectarianism". ( See Hiren Mukherji, "Our Freedom Struggle and the Communist Party", CPI Publication, 1984, p.41; "Bharat ka Swadheenta Sangharsh Aur Communist", Harkishan Surjeet (ed), National Book Centre, 1985, p. 99).

● The Draft Platform also correctly delineates the aim of the first stage of the revolution to be in essence the dictatorship of the workers and peasants with the further-going aim of the proletarian revolution without any stage of "capitalist development" in between.

● Particularly emphasized must be the laying down of the right to the self-determination of nations up to the right to secession. Though it is unclear and has not been worked out in the programme which nations or nationalities enjoy this right, which is a weakness, the fact that this point is mentioned is very important, indeed, it is the touchstone for every Communist.

● The orientation towards an armed struggle, the creation of workers' defence and peasant and soldiers' committees for preparing for the armed uprising is one of the important features of this draft programme. It must be contrasted with the revisionist thesis of "peaceful transition", but also with all those forces in India like the CRC and other "ml" fractions which "play down" and "minimise" the role of the armed struggle.

It can be objected that too little is said in the programme about the exact path to be taken by the armed struggle, that it is too generally spoken an "uprising", but what is essential is that the necessity of an armed revolution is seen to be absolutely necessary and made into a programmatic point.

The question of the exact path of the armed struggle, whether an armed uprising in the cities like in Russia, or the path of protracted people's war like in China or some mixed form was heatedly debated later within the CPI, without, however, coming to any clear conclusions.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in India today must take this point of an armed struggle as a starting point and, on the basis of the concrete experiences of the class struggle in India then and now, work out the concrete path, the begin, the accents of the armed people's struggle and its various phases.

● The various partial demands in general as well as those for the workers and peasants, the youth and not lastly for the working women must definitely be debated as subordinate points and criticised if need be. Nevertheless, they still contain pointers in the direction of how at all to approach the question of partial demands in general and shows up the necessity of developing particular programme points for working women, for soldiers, the Dalits, in order to do justice to their particular situation.

● The Draft Programme is also characterised by the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It declares the need for the alliance with the other sections of the world proletariat, including with that of the English proletariat led by the British Communist Party.

● The programme also makes a clear decision in the question of building the illegal party. The building of the party is very unmistakably represented to be the "main task". The addition of "mass party" probably offered the false conclusion that right from the beginning there was to be the orientation towards building a mass party instead of first orienting oneself towards creating the advance guard of the proletariat, the vanguard. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that, today, as then, the main task is above all to BUILD THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY ON THE BASIS OF THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN!

DOCUMENT

# 1930 "Draft Platform of Action" of Indian Communists

## PART I

## MAIN TASKS OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

The Indian people is groaning under the yoke and the exploitation of British imperialism. Relying upon their political and economic supremacy, and requiring billions of rupees year by year out of the miserable income of India, the bloodthirsty imperialists have brought the toiling masses of the people to a state of famine, hopeless poverty, intolerable slavery and mass extinction as a people.

With all the power of the state in its hands, controlling the main branches of industry, railways, sea and river transport, banks and the credit system, the greater part of the land, forest and irrigation system, British imperialism has retarded and still obstructs the economic development of our country in every way, supporting and relying upon all that is backward and reactionary in town and country.

The supremacy of British imperialism is the basis of backwardness, poverty and endless suffering of our people. Only by the merciless and violent destruction of the political and economic supremacy of the British imperialist will the working masses of India succeed in rising to their feet, achieving their independence and creating the condition requisite for further development, and for the reconstruction of society in the interest of workers and peasants and for the purpose developing further towards socialism. In the enslavement of Indian people British imperialism

relies upon the native princes, the landlords, the money-lenders, and the merchants, utilizing the assistance of the national bourgeoisie. The system of land ownership by the landlords, native princes and money-lenders and the relics of serfdom in the land system of India (and consequently in all India's social and political institutions) represent the main bulwark of British supremacy.

In order to destroy the slavery of the Indian people and emancipate the working class and the peasant from the poverty which is crushing them down, it is essential to win the independence of the country and to raise the banner of the agrarian revolution, which would smash the system of landlordism surviving from the middle ages and would cleanse the whole of the land from all this mediaeval rubbish. An agrarian revolution against British capitalism and landlordism must be the basis for the revolutionary emancipation of India.

Linked up as it is with the system of landlordism and usury, and terrified at the thought of a revolutionary insurrection by the toiling masses, the capitalist class has long ago betrayed the struggle for the independence of the country and the radical solution of the agrarian problem. Its present "opposition" represents merely manoeuvres with British imperialism, calculated to swindle the mass of the toilers and at the same time to secure the best possible terms of compromise with the British robbers. The assistance granted to British imperialism, by the National Congress takes the shape at the present time of a consistent policy of compromise with British imperialism at the expense of the people, it takes the form of the disorganisation of the revolutionary struggle against the native States, the system of landlordism and the reinforced exploitation, jointly with the imperialists, of the mass of the people, of the working class in particular. The greatest threat to the victory of the Indian revolution is the fact that great masses of our people still harbour illusions about the National Congress and have not realized that it represents a class organisation of the capitalists working against the fundamental interests of the toiling mass of our country.

The policy of Gandhism, on which the programme of the Congress is founded, uses the cloak of vague statements about love, meekness, modest and hardworking existence, lightening the burden on the peasantry, national unity, the special historic mission of Hinduism, etc. But under this cloak it preaches and defends the interests of the Indian capitalists, the inevitability and the wisdom of the division of society into rich and poor, eternal social inequality and exploitation. That is, it preaches the interest of the capitalist development of India on the bones and the sweat of the working masses of the people, in alliance with world imperialism. The National Congress betrayed and disorganised the struggle of the toilers in 1919-21.

The National Congress supported the manufacturers against the workers during the textile strikes and in fact assisted in the passing of anti-labour legislation. The National Congress refused to support the fight of the Railwaymen against British imperialism, suggesting that they should ask Lord Irwin and Mac-

Donald to arbitrate. The National Congress opposed the peasantry in their struggle against the money-lenders, the big landlords and the native princes.

Jointly with the liberals, the landlords and the manufacturers, the National Congress has produced the anti-popular Nehru Constitution, in which it declared the necessity of preserving the landlords, the rajahs and the money-lenders, remaining as a junior partner in the British Empire and leaving supreme authority in the hands of the British Viceroy and the Governor-General.

The National Congress issued the Delhi Manifesto supporting Gandhi's eleven points, which represented the programme of the Chambers of Commerce and similar associations. It carried on negotiations with the Liberals in prison trying behind the scenes to come to an understanding with the British Government and so forth. The National Congress and particularly its Left Wing, have done and are doing all in their power to retain the struggle of the masses within the framework of the British imperialist constitution and legislation.

In this connection—world history and the lesson of the class struggle in India prove that only the leadership of the working class can ensure the fulfilment of the historic task of emancipating the Indian people, abolishing national slavery, sweeping aside all the fetters which check national development, confiscating the land and effecting far-reaching democratic reconstruction of a revolutionary character. The working class of India, organized by the industrial process itself and by the class struggle, will, under the leadership of the communist vanguard perform its historic task of organising the scattered masses of peasantry and town poor for struggle against British domination and landlordism.

But in order to organise the mass of the workers; in order to rally the proletariat as a distinct class conscious of its distinct class interest and fighting for the leadership of the national movement for emancipation; in order to bring about the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry; in order to liberate the working class, the peasantry and the town poor from the hands of national reformism and direct their revolutionary struggle towards an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution — for all these purposes the working class requires its own proletarian Communist Party.

The Communist Party of India is the party of the working class, the final aim of which is the achievement of socialism and ultimately of communism. The Programme of the Communist Party is totally different in principle from the programmes and ideas of the other parties and groups, which are parties of the capitalist class and petty bourgeoisie not excepting the national revolutionary parties. While the latter are striving for the development of capitalism in India, the Communist Party is consistently and firmly fighting for a socialist path of development. While the national revolutionary groups are fighting for bourgeois rule and bourgeois form of government the C.P. of India is fighting for the democratic dictatorship of the

working class and the peasantry, a workers' and peasants' Soviet Government in India.

The only form of government which can safeguard the interest of the workers, peasants and toilers generally is the Soviets. The Soviets, set up in the course of the revolutionary revolt of the working masses, as insurrectionary bodies for the overthrow of British supremacy, will be the sole genuine seats of authority, elected directly in the factories, works, villages, etc. ensuring confiscation of the land and the satisfaction of the vital needs of the mass of the people. The Soviet Government alone will be capable of ensuring the national minorities their right to self-determination, including that of complete separation, and at the same time achieving the maximum unity in the ranks of the toilers of various nationalities engaged in common revolutionary struggle against the enemies of the Indian revolution. The Soviet Government alone will be able to effect an alliance with the world proletariat for the purpose of defending the liberty and the achievements of the Indian revolution against the attacks of world imperialism and the Indian exploiters. Only such a government will be able to make an alliance with all other Soviet States against international imperialism and for the final victory of the world revolution. Firmly and courageously, and notwithstanding any sacrifices, the Communist Party will defeat the disorganizing and treacherous work of the national reformists. It will organize the masses of workers and peasants and lead them to victory over imperialism and take the lead in the further march towards socialism.

Adopting these as its guiding principles, the C. P. of India advances the following main objects for the present stage of the Indian revolution:

- (1) The complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule. The cancellation of all debts. The confiscation and nationalisation of all British factories, banks, railways, sea and river transport and plantations.
- (2) Establishment of a soviet government. The realisation of the right of national minorities to self-determination including separation. Abolition of the native states. The creation of Indian Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.
- (3) The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government officials and money lenders and handing over for use to the toiling masses of peasantry. Cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to money-lenders and banks.
- (4) The 8-hour working day and the radical improvement of conditions of labour. Increase in wages and state maintenance for the unemployed labour.

The Communist Party of India will fight for these main demands, which express the interests of the mass of the people, and the achievement of which will create the conditions for and render possible further development in the direction of the building of a socialist society in India. At the same time, with

the object of developing the mass revolutionary struggle and revolutionary education of the mass of toilers, the C. P. of India puts forward partial demands the struggle for which will facilitate the mobilisation of the mass of the people in revolutionary insurrection for its emancipation.

## PART II

### THE FIGHT FOR PARTIAL DEMANDS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The C.P. of India considers that the sole and historically tested means of winning independence, carrying out the agrarian revolution and achieving democratic reconstruction, is the path of the revolutionary struggle of the widest possible mass of the people, developing on to a general national armed insurrection against the British exploiters and all their allies in our country.

The propaganda of non-violence of Mr. Gandhi, Nehru and the other leaders of the National Congress is intended to prevent a general national armed insurrection of the toiling masses against British rule. By his own confession in his autobiography, Gandhi took part in the armed suppression of the rising of the Zulu peasants in Africa and assisted the British robbers in their fight against the German capitalists for the right to exploit colonial peoples. Gandhi recruited Indian peasants into the British army, and sent to their deaths hundreds of thousands of Indian workers and peasants in the interests of the British robbers. And today Gandhi tells the peasants and workers of India that they have no right to, and must not, revolt against their exploiters. He tells them this at the very time when the British robbers are making open war on the Indian people in the North West Province and throughout the country.

The toiling masses will understand this double game of the National Congress. The workers and peasants of India will not give up their right to smash the whole feudal and imperialist system of exploitation, and their right to bring about the violent overthrow of British rule.

This emancipation of India cannot be achieved by a terrorist movement. The supporters of the terrorist movement of our country do not see and believe in the struggle of the broad masses of the people, and do not understand the connection between the agrarian revolution, the struggle of the working class and the overthrow of British domination. They try by brave and single-handed terrorist acts to achieve victory over British imperialism.

While recognising the devotion and self-sacrifice of the terrorists in the cause of the national emancipation of India, the Communist Party declares the road to victory is not the method of individual terror but the struggle and the revolutionary armed insurrection of the widest possible masses of the working class, the peasantry, the poor of the towns and the Indian

soldiers, around the banner and under the leadership of the Communist Party of India.

The most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution is the agitation carried on by the Left elements of the National Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose, Ginwala and others.

Under the cloak of the revolutionary phrasology, they carry on the bourgeois policy of confusing and disorganizing the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and help the Congress to come to an understanding with British imperialism. Particularly blackguardly and harmful is the part played by the national reformists in the labour movement, in which they try in every possible way to substitute the methods of class collaboration for the method of class struggle, doing their best to bring the workers under the influence of the ideas and the organisations of the Indian and British exploiters. The treacherous part played by the National Congress as regards the peasantry has once again shown itself in the appeal of the Left Congress leaders to the British Governor-General of Bengal to send troops to crush the peasants' revolts at Kishoreganj. In these circumstances some of the Left national reformists (supporters of Roy and others), who realise that the masses are becoming disillusioned in the Congress have cleverly put forward the advice to win the National Congress from within. Nominally their object is to revolutionize the Congress, in reality it is to restore the prestige of the Congress by replacing the old treacherous leaders by new leaders who are no better than the old.

The exposure of the Left Congress leaders who may again undertake to set up a new party or organisation like the former League of Independence in order once again to mobilize the mass of the workers, is the primary task of our party. Ruthless war on the Left national reformists is an essential condition if we are to isolate the latter from the workers and mass of the peasantry and mobilize the latter under the banner of the Communist Party and the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in India.

The Communist Party of India calls upon all the toilers to form a united front against the imperialists, the landlords, the money-lenders and the capitalists. The C.P. of India calls upon the Moslem and Indian workers and peasants not to be tricked by the cunning provocative methods of the British Government and the reactionary native exploiters, who set the toilers of different nationalities and religious beliefs against one another and provoke conflicts between them.

The C.P. of India calls upon all the toilers, including the untouchables (pariahs) not to permit such disorganization and splitting of the united revolutionary front of the oppressed who suffer equally at the hands of their own and British exploiters. In its struggle to win leadership of the masses, the C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to make resolute use of any legal and semi-legal opportunity for public action and mobilisation of the masses around working class slogans. On every occasion they

must expose the treacherous part played by the National Congress. Against the bourgeois compromise front established by the national reformists, they must create the united front of the toilers from below, on the basis of the definite proletarian revolutionary demands and activities.

As one of the practical means of explaining to the toiling masses the exploiting and the treacherous policy of the Congress leaders, the C.P. of India recommends to its supporters to make use of their activity in the trade unions, municipal councils (Calcutta, Bombay, etc.) and similar institutions.

The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters and organizations to develop mass revolutionary activities and the struggle of the working class for their political and economic demands, mass refusal by the peasants to pay taxes, levies, rent, debts, particularly in districts where there are large landed estates—thereby mobilising and preparing the mass of the toilers for revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The C.P. of India calls upon all the class-conscious workers and revolutionaries to assist in transforming individual strikes of the workers into a general political strike, as a resolute step in organizing the revolutionary struggle of the mass of the people for independence, land and a workers' and peasants' Government under the guidance of the working class.

#### A. GENERAL DEMANDS

In order to develop mass revolutionary struggle and the political training of the people, the C.P. of India puts forward and fights for the following demands:

1. Expulsion of the British troops, abolition of the police and general armament of the toilers.
2. Immediate liberation of all political prisoners including those who have committed acts of individual and mass violence.
3. Unlimited freedom of speech, conscience, press, meeting, strikes and associations for the toilers and abolition of all anti-popular laws (Trades Disputes Act, the prohibition of picketing, the regulation for the deportation of revolutionary workers, Press Act, etc.)
4. The abolition of rank, caste, national and communal privileges, and the full equality of all citizens irrespective of sex, religion and race.
5. Complete separation of religion from the state and the expulsion of missionaries as direct agents of the imperialists, with confiscation of their property.
6. Complete separation of religion from the state, and at any time on the demand of the majority of the electors.

#### B. SPECIAL WORKERS' DEMANDS

In order to organize the widest masses of the working class, defend the day to day interests of the workers and maintain the general revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses in our

country, the C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers to concentrate every effort on the creation of a revolutionary trade union movement.

The C.P. of India deems it essential to organize mass trade unions based on factory committees, with the leadership elected directly by the workers and consisting of advanced revolutionary workers. The trade unions must become regularly functioning mass organisations, working in the spirit of the class struggle, and all efforts must be made to expel and isolate reformists of all shades, from the open agents of British capitalism such as Joshi, Chamanlal, Giri, etc., to the sham Left national reformists such as Bose, Ruikar, Givwala, and other agents of the Indian bourgeoisie who constitute a reactionary bloc for joint struggle against the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement. At the same time the C.P. of India works for the transformation of the All-India Trade Union Congress into a fighting all India centre of the labour movement on a class basis.

- I. The C.P. of India calls upon all its supporters and all class-conscious workers to help in organizing factory committees in all factories, railways, docks, etc. throughout the country. In cases where, owing to victimisation of the employers or British authorities, the factory committees have to work semi-legally, the C.P. advocates putting forward the demand for recognition of the factory committees as one of the principal demands in strike movements. The C.P. of India calls for the countrywide organization of workers' defence detachments, both to defend workers' strikes and demonstrations and to take part in the general revolutionary struggle.
- II. The C.P. of India calls upon all class-conscious workers to help the party to organize the movement and the struggle of the unemployed for regular relief at the expense of the state and the employers. It calls for the countrywide organization of unemployed councils, demonstrations and joint struggle with the workers in industry for the partial demands of the unemployed, monthly unemployment benefit at the minimum cost of living, refusal to pay rent, free supply of fuel and food stuffs by the municipal authorities, etc.
- III. Taking note of the semi-slave conditions of the plantation and agricultural workers, the C.P. of India calls upon class-conscious workers to take part and assist in the organization of the trade unions of plantation and agricultural workers. The fight for complete abolition of all systems of serfdom, compulsory and contract labour, deprivation of rights and unprecedented exploitation of the agricultural proletariat is one of our main aims, linked up closely with the aim of mobilizing the broad masses of peasantry to fight imperialist and feudal exploitation, under the leadership of the working class.
- IV. With the object of protecting the working class from physical and moral degeneration, and also in order to

raise its capacity to fight for emancipation, the C.P. of India fights for:

1. Limitation of the working day to 8 hours for adults and 6 hours for youths from 16 to 20. Introduction of the 6 hour working day in all harmful industries, including coal mining, and free supply of milk and butter to the workers in these industries.
2. Complete freedom of trade unions, demonstrations, picketing and strike.
3. Equal pay for equal work for women, youths and men.
4. Complete abolition of compulsory contract labour and systems of legal bondage of the workers.
5. A compulsory weekly rest period on full payment and a paid annual holiday of 4 weeks for adults and 6 weeks for youths.
6. State Insurances against unemployment, sickness, accidents, industrial diseases, old age, loss of working capacity and orphanage and compensation for disablement.
7. Establishment of a state minimum wage of 50 rupees a month, prohibition of contract system and establishment by law of weekly payment of wages.
8. Prohibition of deductions from wages for any reason or purpose whatsoever (fines, bad work, etc.)
9. Introduction of properly organized factory inspection, workers being elected members thereof, to supervise labour conditions in all factories employing hired labour.
10. The abolition of the system of hiring workers through jobbers, sarangs, etc., employment and dismissal of workers to take place through labour exchanges, controlled and supervised by the trade unions.

In addition the C.P. of India supports and fights for each and every demand intended to improve the conditions of the workers, building of new houses at governments' or employers' expense, provision for proper lavatories, clean dining rooms etc.

The C.P. of India is definitely against the principle of arbitration and interference by capitalist arbitration courts. It emphasises most definitely that the sole means of winning any serious concessions on the part of the exploiters is resolute class struggle by strikes and mass revolutionary activities.

#### C. PEASANTS' DEMANDS

- I. The C.P. of India fights for the confiscation without compensation of all land and estates, forests and pastures of the native princes, landlords, money-lenders and the British Government and their transference to peasant committees for use by the toiling masses of the peasantry. The C.P. of India fights for wiping out the medieval system of landlordism, to cleanse the whole of the land from the rubbish of the middle ages.
- II. The C.P. of India fights for the immediate confiscation

of all plantations and their transference to revolutionary committees elected by the plantation workers. The allotments to which the planters assign their contract workers and also the land not in cultivation, to be handed over to the labourers and the poor peasants as their property. At the same time the C.P. of India is in favour of the nationalisation of large-scale machinery-equipped plantations, and workshops connected therewith, for utilisation in the interests of the whole Indian people.

- III. The C.P. of India fights for the immediate nationalisation of the whole system of irrigation, complete cancellation of all indebtedness and taxes, and the transference of the control and supervision of the work of irrigation to revolutionary peasant committees elected by the working peasantry.
- IV. In order to disorganise British rule and maintain revolutionary pressure against it, the C.P. of India calls upon the peasantry and agricultural proletariat to engage in all kinds of political demonstrations and collective refusal to pay taxes and dues, or to carry out the orders and decisions of the Government and its agents.
- V. The C.P. of India calls for refusal to pay rent, irrigation charges or other exactions, and refusal to carry out any labour services whatsoever (begar) for the landlords, native princes and their agents.
- VI. The C.P. of India calls for refusal to pay debts and arrears to Government, the landlords and the money-lenders in any form whatsoever.
- VII. As a practical watchword for the campaign among the peasantry, and as a means of developing more political consciousness in the peasant movement, the C.P. of India calls for the immediate organisation of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry on a fight to achieve all the revolutionary democratic changes required in the interests of emancipating the peasantry from the yoke of British imperialism and its feudal allies.
- VIII. The C.P. of India calls for the independent organisations of the agricultural proletariat, particularly the plantation workers, and its amalgamation with the proletariat of the towns under the banner of the Communist Party, as well as its representation in the peasant committees. The C.P. of India is firmly convinced that the complete thoroughgoing and permanent achievement of the above mentioned political and social changes is possible only by the overthrow of British domination and the creation of a Federal Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

#### D. EMANCIPATION OF THE PARIAHS AND THE SLAVES

As a result of the rule of British imperialism in our country,

there are still in existence millions of slaves and tens of millions of socially outcaste working pariahs, who are deprived of all rights. British rule, the system of landlordism, the reactionary caste system, religious deception and all the slave and serf traditions of the past throttle the Indian people and stand in the way of its emancipation. They have led to the result that in India, in the twentieth century, there are still pariahs who have no right to meet with their fellowmen, drink from common wells, study in common schools, etc.

Instead of putting an end once and for all to this shameful blot on the Indian people, Gandhi and the other Congress leaders call for the maintenance of the caste system, which is the basis of and justification for the existence of the socially outcaste pariahs. Only the ruthless abolition of the caste system in its reformed, Gandhist variety, only the agrarian revolution and the violent overthrow of British rule, will lead to the social, economic, cultural and legal emancipation of the working pariahs and slaves. The C.P. of India calls upon all the pariahs to join in the united revolutionary front with all the workers of the country against British rule and landlordism.

The C.P. of India calls on the pariahs not to give in to the tricks of British and reactionary agents who try to split and set one against the other the toilers of our country.

The C.P. of India fights for the complete abolition of slavery, the caste system and the caste inequality in all its forms (social, cultural, etc.). The C.P. of India fights for the complete and absolute equality of the working pariahs and all the toilers of our country.

#### E. STRUGGLE FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE TOWN AND PETTY BOURGEOISIE

The C.P. of India calls upon the small producers in the towns to support the revolutionary struggle against British domination, the landlords, the princes and the money-lenders.

The capitalist class and the National Congress, in their search for a compromise with imperialism are betraying the interest not only of the workers and peasants but also of wide sections of the town petty bourgeoisie (artisans, street traders, etc.).

Only the complete abolition of British rule bringing in its train the liberation of our country, the radical alterations of the whole policy of the Government and the abolition of landlordism and survivals of serfdom throughout the Indian social order, will create the conditions requisite for developing the economic life of the town petty bourgeoisie, handicraft workers and town poor. The C.P. of India fights for the cancellation of all the usury which has enslaved the poor people of the towns. The C.P. of India fights for the cancellation of all direct and indirect taxes, excise and other forms of taxation of wages and small earnings which are ruining the artisans, street traders, employees, etc. It stands for the replacement of such taxes by a progressive income tax on the capitalists, bond holders, banks and inheritance. The C.P. of India fights for all revolutionary measures which serve the interests of the proletariat and are

intended to improve the conditions of the town poor.

#### F. EMANCIPATION OF THE TOILING WOMEN

The toiling women of India are in a semi-slave condition under a double burden of the survivals of feudalism and economic, cultural and legal inequality. The toiling women have no right whatsoever to determine their fate, and in many districts are forced to drag out their existence in purda under the veil, and without the right not only of participating in public affairs, but even of freely and openly meeting their fellow citizens and moving through the streets. At the same time the exploitation and working conditions of the women workers are surely unheard of in their brutality and sweated character. The semi-slave conditions of women in India are the result of the widespread survival of relics of feudalism throughout the social order of the country and its careful preservation by British imperialism.

Noting that the present bourgeois national women's organisation, "The All India Women's Conference" led by Sarojini Naidu, one of the leaders of the National Congress is not carrying on a genuine struggle to emancipate women but in reality is co-operating with British imperialism, the C.P. of India calls upon the working masses of India to join the common revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for the overthrow of the social order and social system which gave rise to the slave conditions of Indian women.

The C.P. of India fights for the complete social, economic and legal equality of women. It fights for the complete abolition of night work for women and the prohibition of underground work for women (in the coal mines and in all branches harmful for females).

The C.P. of India fights for leave of absence from work at full rates of wages two months before and after child birth, with free medical aid, and for the establishment of creches in all factories and workshops employing women, at the expense of the employers such creches to cover small children and infants at the breast, with a special apartment for feeding. Nursing mothers to have their working day reduced to 6 hours.

#### G. SOLDIERS' DEMANDS

I. In the struggle for the emancipation of our country the C.P. of India calls for the spreading of revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and police and explanation of the necessity for their armed insurrection together with the toiling masses of the country against British rule.

II. The Indian soldiers and police are, socially, in the main, poor peasants who have been forced to seek employment in the army by poverty, landlessness and hunger. The C.P. of India fights for the allotment of land to the soldiers equally with all

the other toiling peasants. The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to explain to the soldiers and ex-soldiers that the only means of acquiring land, abolishing indebtedness and getting work is the revolutionary overthrow of the British and the feudal supremacy.

III. The C.P. of India calls upon its organisation and class conscious workers and revolutionaries to begin organising revolutionary groups among the soldiers. The aim of these groups must be to persuade and prepare the soldiers to take action in support of a general armed insurrection of the people for liberty, land and a workers' and peasants' Government. It is necessary to explain to the soldiers by concrete examples drawn from their daily lives (arbitrary action by the officers, shooting down of demonstrators, workers' strike, etc. flagrant inequality of treatment of white and Indian soldiers—worse food, clothes, allowances, etc.) that Indian soldiers are only a blind tool in the hands of the British robbers, who use them to maintain the national and social oppression of the toiling masses of our country.

IV. The C.P. of India calls upon its supporters to organize the ex-soldiers who have had practiced proof of the swindling and exploiting character of the British rule and to build up revolutionary ex-soldiers' organisations among them and, wherever possible fighting detachments to prepare and support the future national insurrection and agrarian movement under the leadership of the party.

V. The C.P. of India calls upon the conscious workers to organise fraternisation with Indian soldiers, with the object of establishing closer friendship and explaining the solidarity of the interests of workers, peasants and soldiers in the fight for freedom and the abolition of all forms of exploitation.

#### H. YOUTH DEMANDS

I. The C.P. of India calls upon the revolutionary working class youth to build up the Young Communist League. The Youth Communist League of India, being an illegal organisation owing to the complete lack of rights and the prevailing terror, has as its object to organise the widest possible masses of working class, peasant and revolutionary student youth around the banner of the Communist Party, doing so either directly or through the medium of auxiliary, legal and semi-legal mass organisations (youth section in the trade unions etc.).

II. The Y.C.L. of India as the helper of the Party has the special task of organising the working youth under the banner of communism. The Y.C.L. of India must come forward as a political organisation which subordinates economic, cultural, sports, etc. activities to the interest of the political struggle namely, the overthrow of the imperialist yoke and the winning of power by the working class and the peasantry.

III. The C.P. of India calls for the countrywide organisation, both of mixed and of separate workers', peasants' and students' detachments, both to defend the people's demonstrations, strikes,

etc., and in order to make systematic preparations for the armed struggle of the Indian people.

IV. The C.P. of India calls upon the honest revolutionary youth to help in spreading political propaganda among the soldiers and police. The C.P. of India considers that the call of the Left nationalists to the soldiers to leave the army and take their discharge, in accordance with Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, is a mistake. The task of genuine revolutionaries is to persuade the soldiers, while staying in the army, to prepare and to raise, when the time is ripe, the banner of armed insurrection and, shoulder to shoulder with the toiling people, overthrow British rule.

V. With the object of protecting the toiling youth against physical and cultural degeneration, and in order to develop its revolutionary offensive for the national and social liberation of the toiling masses, the C.P. of India fights for:

- (a) Limitation of the working day to 6 hours for youths from 16 to 20. Prohibition of employment of children under 16.
- (b) Universal free and compulsory education up to 16 in the national language of the pupils. Free feeding, clothing and supply of text books to children at the expense of the State. Introduction of vocational training for youths at the expense of the State and the employers.
- (c) Paid weekly and annual (6 weeks) holiday for youths.
- (d) State maintenance for the unemployed youths at rates equivalent to the cost of living.

## CONCLUSION

The Communist Party of India, putting forward its programme of demands of the Indian revolution, calls upon the toiling masses to rally under the revolutionary banner of the Party and carry on the struggle to the successful conquest of power and the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in the form of Soviets.

The C.P. of India declares that the successful solution of the problems facing the revolution against feudalism and for emancipation will open up the possibilities (with the help of the international proletariat and the class offensive of the exploited masses of our country,) of the revolution, thereby creating the requisite conditions for the development of our country on socialist lines, avoiding the further stage of domination of the capitalist system.

In this struggle the Indian people are not alone. They have an ally in the revolutionary workers of all countries in the world. The workers of the whole world are fighting for the overthrow of the international imperialism and the abolition of the whole system of capitalist exploitation, which is now going through a very profound crisis. The crisis of the feudal and capitalist system of exploitation in India is at present being combined with the world crisis, which leads to the great sharpening of all antagonisms, the approach of wars, and the rise of

a new wave of revolutionary struggles. The growing crisis is producing the growth of stubborn resistance and counter-offensive on the part of the international proletariat and the colonial peoples. The strength of the international revolution is growing. In one of the countries of the world, Soviet Russia, the working class has long ago overthrown the power of the exploiters and is successfully building up a socialist state of society. The workers of the Soviet Union have created a firm bulwark of the International Communist movement, and are showing in practice how the world ought to be reconstructed in the interests of the workers and peasants. The Soviet Union is a reliable ally of the colonial peoples, including the toilers of India. The toiling masses of India will receive the support of the revolutionary workers of all countries, particularly of the developing Chinese revolution. The toiling masses of India will also be supported by the revolutionary workers of Great Britain, led by the British Communist Party, while the ruling Labour Party of MacDonald and Independent Labour Party of Maxton and Brockway, who are part and parcel and agents of British imperialism, will do everything in their power to tighten and maintain the noose of slavery and poverty round the neck of the Indian people. In spite of all the devices of the imperialists and their reformist agents, the revolutionary front of the world proletariat and colonial peoples is growing stronger and wider every day.

But to ensure the victory to the Indian revolution, there is required a Communist Party of the proletariat, the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of our country. The building of a centralised, disciplined, united, mass underground communist party is to-day the chief and basic task, long ago overdue, of the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of our country.

The C.P. of India declares with pride that it considers itself a part of the organised world communist movement, a section of the Communist International. The C.P. of India calls upon all advanced workers and revolutionaries devoted to the cause of the working class to join the ranks of the Communist Party now being built, in order to fight to carry out the historic tasks of the Indian revolution. In the conditions of British supremacy and terrorism, the Communist Party can only exist and develop as an underground party, applying and utilizing all forms of legal and illegal activity to develop its mass struggle, and to incite the toiling masses for the fight for democratic dictatorship of the working class and of the peasantry. The Communist Party of India sets up its party organisation and groups in all towns and in all factories and workshops throughout the country.

The Communist Party of India organises the working class and the basic masses of the peasantry under the banner of the Indian revolution.

In spite of all difficulties, sacrifices and partial defeats, in spite of all the attempts of the imperialists and the Indian bourgeoisie

to separate the revolutionary movement of India from the international proletariat, the Communist Party will lead the struggle of the toiling masses to the complete overthrow of British rule and of the system of landlordism and serfdom, in order thereafter, together with the world proletariat, to march forward in the struggle to set up a socialist system of society in our country and throughout the world.

Long live the independence of India!  
Long live the working class, the leader of the toiling masses!  
Long live the revolutionary insurrection for independence,  
land and bread!  
Long live the workers' and peasants' Soviet Government!  
Long live the world revolution!

(Taken from *India and Communism*, 1935 - pp. 328-343.)

(From: *Indian Communist Party Documents, 1930-1956*, Ed. by  
V.P. Karnik, Bombay, 1957, pp. 2-21)

**1951 DOCUMENT ON PATH  
OF INDIAN REVOLUTION**

After the 1930 "Draft Platform of Action", this is the most important and perhaps the last document of the C.P. of India which can and must be discussed in a solidarist way from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. This document, drafted in consultation with leaders of the CPSU, was adopted by the CC of the CPI in April 1951. (x)

In the 40's and early 50's, there were within the world communist movement massive attempts to combat the spreading unprincipled Right opportunism, the revisionist theses of the "democratic" path without armed struggle, of a "particular" path for each country. These revisionist trends and deviations were, after Stalin's death, cemented into a revisionist line along with a full-scale degeneration of the Communist parties, including the Indian Communist Party. For precisely this reason, it is essential to make full use of all such documents that were directed against this degeneration, without in the least glossing over their weaknesses and drawbacks.

This document of the CPI is precisely such a document and has the following significant points:

1. Rejection of the "peaceful path", affirmation of the principle of the armed people's revolution, overthrow of the state!
2. Rejection of mechanical copying of the path of armed struggle; neither a copy of the path of the October Revolution, nor that of the Chinese Revolution is in place for India. Emphasis on PARTISAN WAR in view of India's specificities.
3. The central significance of a really revolutionary worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the Communist working class Party.
4. With all necessary caution, the thesis is rejected that Partisan War can only then be unfolded when there is a revolutionary situation all over the country, when there is an upswing in the direction of armed struggle everywhere. In view of the uneven development of the various parts of India, adhering to such a thesis would lead to the liquidation of Partisan War.
5. Affirmation of Partisan War and rejection of the ideology of "individual terrorism".
6. Criticism of the thesis of the "inevitability of fascism" because of the situation arising from the relation between revolution and counter-revolution. Affirmation of the fact that there can still be certain possibilities for legal work for the C.P. and its mass organisations which must be defended and utilised, while at the same time strengthening the EXISTING ILLEGAL PARTY APPARATUS!

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(x) It is worthy of note that, in a lame effort to undermine its strategic significance, this document is renamed "Tactical" Line Document by the revisionist editor of the "Documents of the History of the CPI" ( Vol. VIII, PPH, p.19). The understanding contained in it is also termed "dogmatic". ( ibid., p. ix).

7. In view of the Korean War at that time, questions of international politics, particularly the war-mongering politics of the imperialists should not be under-estimated.

8. Clarification of the fact that Nehru's foreign policy, in spite of some correct theses, serves essentially the purpose of manoeuvring between various imperialist powers.

9. Finally, there is the emphasis on the immense role of a socialist hinterland for the Chinese Revolution in the form of the revolutionary Soviet Union. After 1949, this could be applied to India as well because now the border between India and China was that between a people's democratic state under the leadership of a Communist Party and a reactionary India. This would give the opportunity to render more difficult encirclement campaigns.

It can be that, from today's point of view, we may evaluate these theses to be not clear or sharp enough. But, in the situation prevailing then, they were a powerful blow against Right opportunism and must today also be used in this way.

We are presenting this document here expressly for discussion and are not now itself going into points which could be seen more critically. While working out principled documents of our line, this document can by no means be taken over in detail. Much would need to be formulated in more sharp a way. However, in this work, this document must be kept in view.

In sum, it was a Marxist-Leninist document, a sharp weapon in the struggle against spreading Right opportunism, having, even today, an enthusing effect on all revolutionary forces!

## NOT PEACEFUL BUT REVOLUTIONARY PATH

1. The immediate main objectives set forth in the draft program of the Communist Party of India are the complete liquidation of feudalism, the distribution of all land held by feudal owners among the peasants and agricultural workers, and achievement of full national independence and freedom. These objectives cannot be realised in a peaceful, parliamentary way. These objectives can be realised only through a revolution, through the overthrow of the present Indian state and its replacement by a people's democratic state. For this the Communist Party shall strive to rouse the entire peasantry and the working class against the feudal exploiters, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and build, under the leadership of the working class, a broad nationwide united front of all anti-imperialist classes (including the national bourgeoisie), sections, groups, parties and elements willing to fight for democracy and for the freedom and independence of India.

2. While resorting to all forms of struggle, including the most elementary forms, and while utilising all legal possibilities for mobilising the masses and taking them forward in the struggle for freedom and democracy, the Communist Party has always held that in the present colonial set-up in India and in view of the absence of genuine democratic liberties, legal and parliamentary possibilities are severely restricted and that therefore the replacement of the present state upholding the imperialist-feudal order by a people's democratic state is possible only through an armed revolution of the people. The concrete experience of the last three years in India, after the so-called transfer of power, has only confirmed this thesis.

COMBINATION OF PARTISAN WAR IN THE  
COUNTRYSIDE AND WORKERS' RISING IN CITIES

3. Nevertheless, wrong and distorted ideas have prevailed in our party ranks about the exact character of this armed struggle and the exact form it will have to take in order to ensure victory. For a period after the second party congress, the dominant tendency inside the party leadership was to forget the colonial nature of India's economy, to refuse to draw lessons from the experience of the revolutionary movement in China and other colonial countries, to minimise the immense importance of peasant struggles and to put forward the thesis that the political general strike in the cities and in industrial areas is the main weapon of our revolution, that such a strike will itself unleash countryside insurrection and lead to the overthrow of the present state.

Afterwards, on the basis of a wrong understanding of the experience of the Chinese revolution, the thesis was put forward that the Indian revolution would develop exactly in the same way as the revolution in China and that partisan war would be the main or almost the only weapon to ensure its victory.

While the former thesis minimised the importance of the peasant masses and their struggles, the latter thesis minimised the importance of the working class and its actions. Both tactical lines were the result of ignoring the specific situation in India and of the tendency to draw mechanical parallels with other countries.

In theory as well as in practice both tactical lines amounted to repudiation of the key task of building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, repudiation, therefore, of the task of building the united national front of which this alliance alone could be the firm basis, repudiation of the leadership of the working class in the antifeudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

4. In order to evolve a correct tactical line, it is necessary to discard both the erroneous theses given above and to take into account all the factors of the Indian situation. India is a vast country, with a backward and basically colonial economy and with 80 per cent of its people dependent on agriculture. In such a country, partisan warfare, as the experience of China has shown, is one of the most powerful weapons in the armoury of the revolutionary movement and this weapon will have to be wielded by the Communist Party in the fight for national liberation. At the same time it must be realised that there are other specific factors of the Indian situation which are such that this weapon alone cannot lead to victory. In China, the split in the united national front in 1927 simultaneously split the armed forces also and the Communist Party had an army of 30,000 to start with. Moreover, because of the sparse development of railways and other means of transport, the enemy found it difficult to rapidly concentrate his forces against the areas held by the communists. Despite these advantages enjoyed by the revolutionary forces, they were repeatedly encircled by the enemy. Time and again they had to break away from this encirclement and threat of annihilation and migrate to new areas to rebuild again. It was only when they made their way into Manchuria and found the firm rear of the Soviet Union that the threat of encirclement came to an end and they were able to launch that great offensive which finally led to the liberation of China. It was thus the support given by the existence of a mighty and firm Soviet rear that was of decisive importance in ensuring victory to the tactic of peasant partisan warfare in the countryside in China.

5. In these respects the situation in India is different. We have no army to start with, it has to be created. The transport system in India is far more developed than in

China, enabling the government to swiftly concentrate big forces against partisan areas. And above all, the geographical position of India is such that we cannot expect to have a friendly neighbouring state which can serve as a firm and powerful rear. All these do not mean that partisan warfare has no place in India. On the contrary, because of the factors given earlier, partisan war must be one of the major weapons in our armoury as in the case of all colonial countries. But this weapon alone cannot ensure victory. It has to be combined with the other major weapons—that of strikes of the working class, general strike and uprisings in cities led by armed detachments of the working class. Therefore, in order to achieve victory of the popular democratic revolution, it is absolutely essential to combine two basic factors of the revolution—the partisan war of the peasants and workers' risings in the cities.

6. Partisan areas will inevitably arise in various parts of the country as the crisis deepens and as the mass peasant movement rises to the level of revolutionary seizure of land and foodgrains, paralysing and wiping out of the local forces of the enemy. These areas and the revolutionary forces operating in them, however, will continuously face the danger of encirclement and annihilation at the hands of the enemy. Even the coming into existence of liberated territories with their own armed forces in several parts of the country will not eliminate this danger because these areas will themselves be surrounded by hostile forces from all sides. Therefore partisan war alone, no matter how widely extended, cannot insure victory over the enemy in the concrete situation prevailing in India. When the maturing crisis gives rise to partisan struggles on a wide scale when the partisan forces in several areas are battling against the enemy, the workers in the cities, in vital industries and especially in the transport system, will have to play a decisive role. The onslaught of the enemy against the partisan forces, against liberated areas, will have to be hampered and paralysed by mass strike actions of the working class. With hundreds of streams of partisan struggles merging with the general strike and uprising of workers in the cities, the enemy will find it impossible to concentrate his forces anywhere and defeat the revolutionary forces but will himself face defeat and annihilation. Even inside the armed forces of the government the crisis will grow and big sections will join the forces of revolution.

#### ALLIANCE OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS AS CONDITION OF VICTORY

7. Such a perspective demands the closest alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the realisation of workingclass leadership in this alliance. This alliance will be built in action, by the bold championship by the working class of the demands of the peasantry, by the

direct support given by the working class in the form of demonstrations and strikes to the struggles waged by the peasantry. Leadership of the working class will be realised not merely through the leadership of the Communist Party but above all through the direct mass actions of the working class itself in support of the demands and struggles of the peasantry. Of all classes the working class is looked upon by the peasants as their closest friend and ally. Many workers come from the rural areas and are connected with the peasant by a thousand and one tie. Actions by the working class help not merely the existing peasant struggles but also, as the history of our national movement shows, inspire the peasants in the neighbouring areas, radicalise them and help in developing new peasant struggles. In the present situation in India when all classes, all sections, except the exploiting few, are facing starvation and when hatred against the present government is growing, strike actions by the working class on such an issue as food ration cuts can be a most powerful weapon to inspire the entire people, to give concrete form to their discontent, to build their unity in action and to raise the popular movement to a higher level. By fighting not merely for its own demands but for the demands of all discontented classes and sections; especially the peasantry, by acting as the foremost champion of the interests of the general democratic movement, the working class will come forward as the leader of the revolutionary people and build their revolutionary unity.

8. It is of the utmost importance therefore that the party creates a political consciousness in the working class, makes it conscious of its role of hegemony, overcomes the present disunity of the working class, wins over the majority of workers in the vital industries and builds a powerful workingclass movement with underground factory and workshop committees as its nucleus. The best and most advanced elements must be recruited into the party. All this demands intensive political agitation in the working class, patient day-to-day work, leadership of immediate struggles for the winning of the concrete demands and the building up of a strong tradeunion movement. Only a united working class and a working class conscious of its role of hegemony can build national unity.

#### PARISIAN WAR OF PEASANTS

9. In the rural areas the party has to rouse all sections of the peasants, including the rich peasants, against feudal exploitation and build their unity basing itself firmly on the agricultural workers and poor peasants who together form the overwhelming majority of the population. While the liquidation of feudalism and distribution of land to the peasants must remain the key slogans of agrarian revolution for the entire period, it is necessary to formu-

late immediate specific demands for each province and each area like reduction of rent, fair price for agricultural produce, abolition of feudal levies and forced labour, living wage for agricultural workers, etc. and lead actions for the realisation of these demands. The agrarian crisis is maturing rapidly and the peasant masses are seething with discontent against the present government which rose to power on the basis of their support and afterwards betrayed them. Despite however this widespread discontent and despite the numerous peasant actions that have taken place in many parts of the country, the peasant movement in the country as a whole remains weak and large sections of peasants have not yet been drawn into active struggle, because of the absence of organisation and firm leadership. It is our task to overcome this weakness by intensive popularisation of our agrarian program, by formulation of such concrete and easily understood demands as can become the basis for the broadest mass action, by patient day-to-day work and correct leadership of struggles to realise these demands, and by building up in the course of these struggles a network of peasant and agricultural workers' organisations with underground units in the villages as their leading and guiding centres. Volunteer squads of the most militant and conscious sections of the peasants have to be formed to defend the peasant movement against the attacks of the enemy—squads that will form the nuclei of partisan squads as the movement develops and reach the stage of seizure of land and partisan warfare.

10. As the crisis matures, as the unity, consciousness and organisation of the masses grow, as the strength and influence of the party develops and as the enemy resorts to more and more ruthless measures to crush the agrarian movement, the question of when, where and how to resort to arms will be more and more forced on the agenda. As the question is one of immense practical importance, it is absolutely necessary that the party is able to give a clear and unambiguous answer to it.

It must be realised that because of the vast area of India, because of the uneven level of mass consciousness and mass movement in different parts of the country, uneven acuteness of the agrarian crisis and uneven strength and influence of the party itself, the peasant movement cannot develop at the same tempo everywhere. Premature uprisings and adventurist actions of every type must be undoubtedly eschewed. At the same time, it would be wrong to lay down that armed action in the form of partisan warfare should be resorted to in every specific area only when the movement in all parts of the country rises to the level of uprisings. On the contrary, in the course of the development of the movement, the situation will arise in several areas which would demand armed struggle in the form of partisan warfare. For example, in a big and

topographically suitable area where the peasant movement has risen to the level of seizure of land, the question as to how to effect that seizure and how to defend the land so seized will become a burning live question. The party is of the opinion that partisan warfare in such a situation, undertaken on the basis of a genuine mass peasant movement and the firm unity under the leadership of the party of the peasant masses, especially the most oppressed and exploited strata, combined with other forms of struggle such as social boycott of landlords, mass no-rent struggle, agricultural workers' strike, can, if correctly conducted and led, have a rousing and galvanising effect on the peasant masses in all areas and raise their own struggles to a higher level.

Wherever such partisan struggles develop they must also be combined with mass actions of the working class, especially in the neighbouring areas, in the form of strikes and demonstrations. Undertaken on the basis of the most careful preparation and assessment of all factors, the partisan struggles must be conducted with the utmost boldness and tenacity, defending the gains of the movement by every means at our disposal.

At the same time the party has to act with the utmost flexibility when overwhelming forces of the enemy are concentrated against the partisan areas and the partisan forces run into the danger of defeat and total annihilation.

#### PARTISAN STRUGGLE AND INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM

11. In spite of the offensive nature of the partisan struggle, it is necessary to emphasise in our agitation and propaganda in the initial period the defensive nature of partisan struggle, saying that the objective of the partisan struggle is above all to defend the peasants from the attacks of the government and its punitive organs. In doing so special attention should be paid to the demands for which the peasants are fighting and to the atrocities of the government which force the peasants to take to arms. It is necessary, at the same time, to point out that it is the government that is responsible for violence and bloodshed.

Partisan struggle is frequently confused with individual terrorism, it is asserted that individual terrorism is a part of partisan struggle and not only a part, but even a basis of the partisan struggle. This is absolutely wrong. What is more, individual terrorism contradicts the spirit and objectives of partisan struggle. And it is absolutely incompatible with partisan struggle. In the first place, the objective of individual terrorism is to destroy particular individuals while not pursuing the aim of destroying the regime of feudal exploitation and subjugation of the people, whereas the objective of partisan struggle is not to

destroy particular individuals, but to destroy the hated regime in a prolonged struggle of the popular masses. In the second place, individual terrorism is carried out by individuals—terrorists—or by small squads of terrorists acting apart from the masses, and without any link with the struggle of the masses, whereas the partisan struggle is carried on by the popular masses and not by individuals, it is carried on in close contact with the struggle of the masses against the existing regime.

Since individual terrorism is directed against particular individuals and not against the regime it creates in the minds of the masses a harmful illusion as if it would be possible to destroy the regime by destroying individual representatives of the regime, that what matters is not the destruction of the regime but the destruction of the individual representatives of the regime, that the main evil is not the existence of the regime but the existence of particular worst representatives of the regime whom it is precisely necessary to destroy. It is clear that such a feeling created by individual terrorism can only weaken the onslaught of the masses against the regime and thus facilitate the struggle of the government against the people. Therein lies the first main harm done by individual terrorism to the people's partisan movement.

Since individual terrorism is carried out not by the masses but by individual terrorists acting apart from the masses, individual terrorism leads to an undue minimisation of the role of the mass movement and to equally undue exaggeration of the role of the terrorists, who are alleged to be capable of securing the liberation of the people by their own forces, independent of the growth of the mass partisan movement. It is clear that such a feeling created by individual terrorism can only cultivate passivity among the popular masses and thereby undermine the development of partisan struggle. Therein lies the second main harm done by individual terrorism to the revolutionary movement.

To sum up: Individual terrorism undermines the possibility of unleashing the partisan struggle of the masses and it should be rejected as harmful and dangerous.

#### IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

12. Despite the tremendous radicalisation that has taken place among the masses during the last three years and despite the many mass actions that have taken place and are taking place, it would be gross exaggeration to assert that India is already on the verge of an armed insurrection or a revolution, that a civil war is already raging in the country, that the government, its leaders and agents are already completely isolated and so on and so forth. Such an exaggeration inevitably leads to the ignoring of

the concrete tasks facing the party, the organising and advocacy of adventurist actions, and the issuing of futile calls for action and pompous slogans which bear no relation either to the existing level of mass consciousness or to the actual maturity of the situation. In practice it results in the selfisolation of the party, making it easy for the enemy to destroy it. It results in handing over of the masses to the socialists and other disruptors.

Equally wrong are they who through their reformism see only the weakness and disunity of the popular movement; the offensive of the enemy and advocate a policy of retreat and 'lying low', a policy of regrouping of forces, eschewing all militant action in the cities and in the countryside for the present. Tactics based on such an understanding of the situation would result in the worst type of reformism and make the party trail behind the masses instead of leading them.

13. The reality of the situation is that the crisis is maturing fast, under its impact the masses are getting fast radicalised and a period of big battles lies ahead. The government's failure to carry out a single pledge that it gave to the people, its failure to tackle a single problem—especially the problem of agrarian reform and food for the people—all these are fast shattering the illusions and already the majority of our people look upon the present government as a government of the exploiting classes, as a government of landlords and capitalists. Most of them still believe that this government can be changed and a real popular government take its place without resort to armed revolution and by means of the general elections, nevertheless in the struggle for their day-to-day demands—adequate wages, fair price for agricultural products, restoration of ration cuts, etc.—hundreds of thousands are coming out in action in all parts of the country. The growth of the popular movement still lags behind the growth of popular discontent, only a small fraction of the people have as yet been drawn into the actual struggle against the government. This lag is due not merely to the repressive measures adopted by the government but primarily and above all to the weakness of the party and the existing disunity of the progressive forces. It is therefore one of the key tasks of the party to forge the unity of the working class, to unite the popular forces on the basis of a concrete program, and to grow into a mass party so as to be able to supply the leadership which alone can unify and extend the mass movement and raise it to a higher level.

The party has to give the slogan that the present government must go and be replaced by a popular government, representing the unity of the democratic forces, a government that will break with the British empire and carry out the program of agrarian reform and democracy. It has to utilise the coming general elections for the most

extensive popularisation of its program, for mobilising and unifying the democratic forces, for exposing the policies and methods of the government. It has to lead the masses in their day-to-day struggles and take them forward step by step so that the people, through their own experience, come to realise the necessity and inevitability of armed revolution.

The party must not preach the inevitability of fascism but utilise the enormous volume of democratic opinion in the country to unite the people and halt the growing drive towards fascism on the part of the present government. Through patient and systematic day-to-day work, through bold championship of the demands of the people, through correct leadership of the concrete struggles of all sections of the people, the party will grow and be able to fulfil its role as organiser and leader of the people's democratic movement.

14. It is necessary therefore to put an end to the interminable discussion that has been going on in our party for one year on the question of the Chinese path, on the question as to how armed struggle is to be conducted. Such discussions disorganise the party, dissipate its strength and leave the masses leaderless precisely when they need the leadership of the party most urgently. Discussion of such matters, carried on almost openly as they have been till now, reveals all our plans to the enemy and makes it difficult to carry them out in practice.

The fact is that if the crisis bursts forth in the near future the party in its present disorganised and weak state will not be able to fully utilise it to lead the people to revolution. It is not yet prepared to shoulder the gigantic responsibilities that such a situation will place on it. It is necessary therefore that the present weaknesses are overcome with the utmost rapidity, the ranks of the party are unified and steps are taken to extend mass basis of the party and strengthen it. While recruiting the best elements from the working class and other fighting classes into the party and developing it into a mass party, it is necessary at the same time to exercise the utmost vigilance against the swamping of the party by elements that cannot yet be considered fully tested and trustworthy. The system of candidate membership must be introduced for this purpose. It is also necessary that while utilising all legal possibilities, the existing illegal apparatus of the party is strengthened enormously.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE

15. One of the most important tasks facing the party in our country is the task of mobilising the Indian people in the struggle for the defence of peace. Being one of the largest and most populous countries of the world and occupying a key position in Southeast Asia, India has a tremen-

dous role to play in the battle against the Anglo-American warmongers and for the preservation of peace. It is the job of the Communist Party to ensure that India plays that role.

The forces of peace in our country are potentially very strong and are growing. Love and admiration for the Soviet Union are widespread among all sections, including the middleclass intelligentsia. The liberation of China and its emergence as a great power, the manner in which the people's government of China is successfully tackling the problems of food, famine, floods and diseases have profoundly influenced our people. So powerful is the sentiment against American aggression in Korea, so widespread the sympathy for the Korean people that even the most reactionary newspapers have had to criticise the Americans. This powerful mass sentiment as well as other factors have compelled even the Nehru government to take a stand against the most blatant acts of the American imperialists (the threat to use atom bomb, the branding of People's China as aggressors, etc.).

16. The party, however, has as yet not succeeded in transforming the widespread peace sentiment into a powerful peace movement because, as on other issues, our approach to the issue of peace also was an extremely sectarian one. The peace movement, in the main, remained a movement confined to the existing mass following of the party and the TUs and peasant organisations under our influence. The peace platform was utilised for abstract denunciation of the government on all conceivable issues and to popularise struggles that only the party waged. Inevitably the result was a restriction of the sweep of the peace movement and failure to win over as peace partisans all the genuine lovers of peace. It is only recently that these harmful methods are being abandoned.

Another manifestation of sectarianism was the failure to link the issue of peace with the live issues facing the people, the failure to show the connection between the drive towards war and the mounting war budget of the Nehru government with the rise in the prices of necessities of life, reduction of government expenditure on education, neglect of housing accommodation, growing attack on civil liberties, etc.

It is of the utmost importance to abandon all sectarianism in order to develop a real broadbased peace movement. The growing and strengthening of the national-liberation movement helps the cause of peace. The strengthening of the peace movement also facilitates the growth of the national-liberation movement. These two movements therefore must develop in close relation with each other, each strengthening the other. Nevertheless they are not identical. The platform of peace is a broader platform. It can and must include all supporters of peace, all elements who for various reasons are opposed to war and

are prepared to take their stand against all measures calculated to extend and unleash war.

17. It is necessary for peace movement to correctly appraise the foreign policy of the Nehru government in relation to peace and to adopt a correct attitude towards all specific manifestations of that policy.

While the peace movement must support all these specific acts of the government which hamper the plans of the warmongers, e.g. Nehru's declaration against the atom bomb and the vote against American proposal to denounce People's China in the UNO, it must also simultaneously point out the halfhearted and vacillating nature of the government's policy and wage a determined battle to mobilise mass opinion in favour of consistent peace policy.

As a matter of fact the Nehru government's policy cannot be called a policy of peace. It is essentially a policy of manoeuvring between the main enemy of peace, the United States of America and its junior partner Britain on the one hand and peaceloving countries on the other. Nehru fears the consequences of a world war and therefore advocates a policy of 'moderation', of not going 'too far'. At the same time the Indian government continues to be an active member of the British commonwealth which is a partner of American imperialism in aggressive wars. The Indian government has not condemned the American war of aggression in Korea, nor repudiated its support to the illegal resolution of the UNO sanctioning that aggression. It has not condemned the British imperialists who are waging war in Malay but on the contrary permitted them to recruit gurkha soldiers against the Malayan people. It has not denounced French aggression in Vietnam and continues to give facilities to the French imperialists for the transport of troops and war materials.

Therefore, in addition to mobilising the people against the threat of atom bomb, for support to the Stockholm and Warsaw appeals, one of the specific tasks of the peace movement in India is to rally the people against those policies of the present government which abet and aid the colonial wars waged by the American, British and French imperialists against the peoples of Southeast Asia. The peace movement is not a pacifist movement, not a movement merely for recording abstract support to peace. It is a fighting movement for concrete action in defence of peace and against the imperialist warmongers, including those waging colonial wars.

18. The peace movement must fight against all attempts to sow hostility against the Chinese People's Republic. It must explain to our people how the liberation of Tibet is not a threat to peace but a decisive blow against the instigators of war. It must uphold the heroic action of the Chinese volunteers who by smashing the plans of the American warmongers to enslave the Korean and Chinese peoples strengthened the cause of world peace.

19. We must also fight against all warmongering propaganda against Pakistan, pointing out how the growing tension between Pakistan and India is the result of imperialist manoeuvres and how it helps the enemies of the peoples of both states. We must demand a drastic reduction in the military budget and a policy of friendship and close alliance between India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

20. The peace movement must wage a determined battle against slanderers of the Soviet Union, against all those who strive to depict the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union as a policy of war and aggression. Basing ourselves on the lucid and clear-cut statement of Comrade Stalin in reply to the *Pravda* correspondent, we must concretely expose the real instigators of war and uphold the shining example of the Soviet Union which is devoting its energies and resources to further improve the condition of the people and leading the entire progressive humanity in the struggle for the preservation of peace. Firm friendship between the peaceloving peoples of all countries must save the world from the menace of war and the people of India have to play a big role in establishing this friendship—this fact must be made part of the consciousness of the entire people.

#### ON PARTISAN WAR

##### *Question-Answer*

**Question:** Is it correct to resort to partisan war in one particular area where the conditions are ripe for it, even though other rural areas are not ripe for it and the workers are not ready to support it with mass actions?

**Answer:** Yes, you can and should resort to it. To start or not does not depend on us. It depends on the organisational state of the masses and their mood. If the masses are ready, you must start it.

**Question:** Have we to take up partisan struggle only when the peasant struggle for partial demands reaches the stage of land distribution and establishing of village peasant committees? Or, can we take it up when the movement is still in the stage of struggle for partial demands, for example rent reduction?

**Answer:** The partisan struggle also has stages. It starts with smaller demands—let us say, reduction of rent. It is not yet a partisan struggle. If the enemy refuses to grant the demands and the peasant is eager to win it by force, then partisan struggles can start. True, it is not the struggle for seizure of land but only for reduction of rent, still it will be a partisan struggle.

The partisan struggle is a struggle for enforcing demands by force. It starts whenever peasants start open struggle for their demands. This is the first stage of the struggle. Whenever it takes up the main demand, that means the higher stage. Whenever it takes to arms to crush the law this is the highest stage. Just like the workers' struggles.

Hence it does not depend on us. If the masses are ready and eager, we should assist them.

**Question:** Can partisan warfare even of the most elementary type be developed in areas where communications are well developed?

**Answer:** Yes, when encirclement occurs, transfer the best forces to another area. Lead out the armed forces so as to join it with the armed forces in another area, so as to create a liberation army of your own.

**Question:** Aim of the partisan struggle that must be the liquidation of the enemy's armed forces with the active assistance of the masses of peasants. To kill individual oppressors with a view to terrorise all the other oppressors and make them renounce their oppression is terrorism. But I cannot understand the complete banning of any individual action against any oppressor—landlord, notorious official or a spy—as a matter principle, under the name terrorism. In my opinion, at times, it becomes necessary in the earlier phase of the partisan struggle, to organise individual actions against some notorious oppressors, not in order to terrorise other oppressors into renouncing their oppression but to guard the safety of the partisan squads. I am unable to understand how such actions make the people passive. As I understand international literature, such individual actions were conducted by partisans against German and Japanese fascists in the occupied countries during the antifascist war, and they are being done even now in Asian countries where partisan warfare is going on—Malaya, Burma, Indochina, etc. If I remember rightly, such actions were not only not banned by Lenin in his article on partisan warfare but, on the other hand, he severely criticised the mensheviks who condemned them as anarchism. I seek clarification on this point.

**Answer:** Comrade says he cannot understand why individual terrorism should slow down the action of the masses. Individual terrorism is called so not merely because it is directed against individual oppressors but also because it is carried out by individuals or groups irrespective of the masses. Individual terrorism creates the illusion that the main evil is not the regime but individuals, that only if a few more are destroyed, the regime will be finished off. What conclusions will the masses

draw? That with the help of terrorism of this type, it is possible to destroy the regime after a long struggle. And if such conclusions are drawn by the peasants, they will say "No use developing the struggle against the regime. Our glorious terrorists will do the job." Such sentiments weaken the onslaught of the masses against the regime, it is harmful and dangerous.

Individual terrorism creates the belief that the main force lies in the heroic terrorists and not in the masses. The role of the masses becomes to watch and applaud. That means to cultivate passivity. Marx and Engels taught that the liberation of the masses has to be won by the masses themselves. This is what you ought to tell them. Different results follow from individual terrorism. Masses look upon the terrorists as heroes and liberators.

Comrade's reference to Lenin is without foundation. We can give him articles by Lenin directed against individual terrorism. You must know how hard he hit mensheviks when the revolution was at an ebb and they took to terror.

The theory of individual terrorism comes to the front when the revolution recedes. It is a reflection of the weakness of the movement. Whenever the revolutionary movement is rising and the masses themselves rise their theory of individual terrorism disappears from the horizon. Comrade must bear that in mind.

**On landlords and capitalist landlords:** In general landlord means feudal landlord. In the case of capitalist landlords as described by comrade, there should be a limit to the total land to be allowed to them.

This program lays down the broad outline. You will have to prepare a special agrarian program of your own. You have cultured provinces, backward provinces. In some capitalist farming has made big strides. Every area has its own specific feature. All this has to be taken into account.

#### CLARIFICATION

##### *Questions and Answers*

Deleted from the program the abolition of all indirect taxations. Our experience shows it is not possible at this stage. Only later, when revolution gains, it will be possible to reduce prices, reduce and then annul indirect taxes. Russian Marxists at first put this in their minimum program but it proved wrong.

Also we are opposed to the abolition of regular army. Experience shows that the revolution cannot be defended without a standing army, with well-qualified and trained men, tankmen, airmen, pilots, etc. Modern army cannot exist without well-trained cadres. If India bases itself only

on rifles and machine-guns, Pakistan can easily subjugate it. Must have army of its own. Present army of Nehru however is a mercenary army. Popular national armies not mercenaries. It is linked with the people. Perhaps they will not digest general principle of conscription in India. Effect of British tradition which considers conscription a misfortune. Will say that Nehru not enforcing conscription but bolsheviks want it. Better not to say anything.

**On competition of foreign goods in India:** Theoretically, we know that America in a crisis dumps its goods. This happened in China under Chiang. Flooded China with American goods and ruined national industries. That's why the Chinese bourgeoisie accused Chiang of not defending the national industries and opposed him. Do not know if America is doing the same in India.

**Question:** Can we say that the Indian big bourgeoisie has finally gone over to imperialism? If so, what is the objective basis of winning over or mobilising any section in the struggle against imperialism?

**Answer:** A certain part of the big national bourgeoisie has finally joined hands with imperialism but not the whole of it. Many among the bourgeoisie stand for industrialisation and would be opposed to foreign capital in the inner market.

**Question:** Can in India the big bourgeoisie or any section of it still be called oppositional in its relation to imperialism?

**Answer:** Yes. It can unquestionably. If only because the government plunders the peasants and restricts the home market. It may not shout from the house-tops about it, but it is opposed to this all the same.

**Question:** Is it the entire big bourgeoisie or only sections that are collaborating with imperialism? If sections, then which sections?

**Answer:** First part of the question already answered. As regards the second part, it is wrong to put such a question. You want to weigh them in a balance? Cannot do that. National bourgeoisie should be taken as a whole, its majority. Growth of movement will show who stands where. There are scoundrels among the national bourgeoisie but they are not typical of the class as a whole. The same is true of the working class. Not all sections and all elements are revolutionary. So, if you look at the problem in a Marxist way, the national bourgeoisie is oppositional. Partly undoubtedly reactionary but not the whole. Not only small but many of the bourgeoisie feel that the inner market is too narrow and will not prevent land being handed over to the peasants.

**Question:** What is the class character of the present

Nehru government? We think this big bourgeois-landlord government collaborating with imperialism.

**Answer:** Not quite. Nehru bases himself not only on these classes but also on the kulaks. When the government cry 'buy land', it addresses itself to the kulaks and the kulaks appreciate. So the basis is not as narrow as you think. Therefore it is not a puppet government. In order to overthrow it, one has to work hard. Don't think if you blow, it will fall.

Weakness of the Nehru government is that it does not base itself on the majority of the peasantry, workers and toiling intelligentsia. It is from this direction that you should launch your attacks.

**Question:** If this is so, why would kulak join us? How can we win him over?

**Answer:** We have to ally with him in the antifeudal struggle. The kulak sympathises with the Nehru government. But if the peasantry rises against the feudals, the kulak thinks that the part of the feudal land will fall to him, but will either support the peasants or proclaim neutrality.

**Question:** Are we right when we say that the united front we have to build is a united front of all classes including the national bourgeoisie?

**Answer:** Yes, you are right.

**Question:** Can we characterise the foreign policy of the Nehru government as a manoeuvre between British and American imperialism? Does this apply to the foreign policy in so far as it relates to the specific policy of peace?

**Answer:** Yes, subject to one correction. Nehru also plays between the peaceloving countries and the war bloc.

**Question:** What should be our attitude to such specific manifestation of the government's foreign policy, as for instance the stand on the use of the atom bomb or on the American proposal to brand People's China as an aggressor? Should we merely expose them as a manoeuvre or should we support them while simultaneously exposing them as halfhearted and inadequate in nature?

**Answer:** The latter is right. Support and expose the halfhearted nature.

**Question:** Is there any contradiction between the certain specific acts of the government and our general opposition to it?

**Answer:** No contradiction.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Our party possesses a very fine perspective. A very good regime can be organised in your country and a great

society. For this, you should renounce personal differences. Differences will arise but they must be overcome. The minority must submit to the majority. Discuss and convince each other. Even Lenin found himself in the minority several times. He submitted to the majority. Without that there can be no discipline or no party.



( From: "Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India",  
Vol. VIII, 1951-1956, Ed. by Mohit Sen, People's Publishing House,  
New Delhi, 1977, pp. 19-41)

**In Support of Azanian  
National Liberation Struggle!**

## 1. APARTHEID SYSTEM IN CRISIS

For the last few years South Africa is in the throes of the most serious crisis it has undergone since the 1930s. Its economy, dependent on imperialism, is faced with a serious balance of payments crisis and a reduced capital inflow. Four million, i.e., 25 to 30% of its economically active population, the majority of it black, is hit by unemployment. Inflation at around 20% is pushing down even further the already dismal living standards of the black masses. With increasing state repression - around 3 500 people are 'missing' since the state of emergency imposed in June, and many more openly killed or in the prisons, the struggle of the peoples of South Africa against the racist and exploitative regime is escalating:

- Legal, but mainly illegal, mass strikes of the workers in the mines and in manufacture against starvation wages, against racial discrimination, against mass retrenchments and deportation to the so-called "homelands" are on the increase.

- Forcible eviction from urban areas to the so-called "homelands" under the Group Areas Act is being violently resisted - the most well-known case is the furious battle put up by the residents of the squatter camp Crossroads, outside of Cape Town.

- People in their thousands have participated in rent boycotts against rack-renting in the townships, particularly in Soweto.

- Strikes and school boycotts by thousands of school children against racist "Bantu education", against authoritarian teaching methods, for a single, democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education, against corporal punishment, against 'puppet' parents committees at schools and for democratically elected students councils continue.

- The attempt to cause divisions among the oppressed peoples by giving some sort of political representation and voting rights to the "Coloured", Indian and Chinese population, but not the Africans, in the tri-cameral Parliament has been answered by an election boycott by the overwhelming majority of the so "privileged". Violent protests and street fights on the part of the Africans against this was most brutally put down.

What is the reality of this barbarous system of apartheid that the peoples of Azania are battling violently against and are determined to overthrow?

Apartheid is:

- SUPEREXPLOITATION of the black population. For example, in the mining sector white employees receive 1400 dollars per month, whereas the Africans get 260 dollars. In manufacturing whites earn an average monthly wage of 1290 dollars, Indians 460 dollars and the Africans 330 dollars. In the agricultural sector, where overwhelmingly Africans

are employed on white-owned farms, the situation is infinitely worse: 28 to 40 dollars per month.

Apartheid helps in keeping the wages low, at below subsistence levels for the majority of the black workers by regulating the flow of the population to the urban areas. The so-called independent native states, the Bantustans, serve as major reserves of relative "surplus" population. This can be attracted to and repelled from the major white-owned mining, manufacturing and agricultural sectors, as the need arises. In most townships all family housing has been destroyed. Wives, children and old people have been despatched to "resettlement" camps in the reserves and hostels have been provided for "single" black workers.

The "homelands" serve as a cheap reservoir for the reproduction of labour as they relieve the capitalist sector and the state of expenditures on education, health care and pensions. The household and subsistence labour of women on the reserves is an important subsidy to capital. The land allocated to the African population in the Bantustans is so infertile, drought prone with an overworked soil and limited in size that black workers have no choice but to migrate to white areas at subsistence wages or less. The women, unemployed, old men and children in the backward native homelands live a life of grinding poverty, hunger and death - a genocidal programme. The incidence of malnutrition deficiency diseases and infant mortality is very high.

The policy of the "independent homelands" is actually a continuation of the earlier policy of robbing the native population of its land. Even today only 13%, that too the most infertile and unproductive land, is conceded to the so-called homelands. This is a continuation of the colonial policy which makes Africans "foreigners" in their own country lacking all political rights. Like the Group Areas Act it is also intended to divide the oppressed and exploited African people along tribal and so-called "ethnic" lines and hinder a united national liberation struggle.

30% Africans are labourers, labour tenants and squatters on white-owned farms and live and work under conditions similar to those of the serfs of the Middle Ages. The wages are only 1/3rd to 1/4th of the income of the blacks in the urban areas. It is still common to pay wages in kind ( food, housing and even alcohol). Long working hours, the lack of binding work contracts, paid leave, health insurance etc along with the most crass forms of bondage of the entire family to the farm owners, use of physical violence and even murder by the white farm owners make this section of the Africans one of the most exploited ones.

Apartheid means segregation along "racial" lines. The major towns and cities consist of a central business and shopping area exclusively reserved for white business, white residential suburbs and industrial estates or mines. Well removed from the white city and suburbs are the separate "townships" for "Bantu", "Coloureds" and "Asiatics".

According to the Group Areas Act each and every individual is classified according to the Population Registration Act which divides the population into black, white and coloured and then into various sub-groups and then designates them to live in their own separate areas. Only the whites are not divided into any sub-groups.

The various population groups thus more or less live apart, are educated apart, recreate apart. In the work-place, too, they are kept more or less apart. The blacks do different inferior jobs - often in segregated areas in the factory or office. They often use different facilities, for example, lavatories and canteens.

There are two sets of laws for the white man and the black man. A white man can go scot free if he commits a crime, even murder, against a black man. Apartheid is thus the political form which institutionalises the old colonial status of the white "superman"; it is an intensified crude racialism and secures in the economic sphere too the class rule of imperialism.

## 2. IMPERIALIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST INTERESTS IN APARTHEID REGIME

It is well-known that the South African racist regime is supported and propped up by all the imperialist powers, that they all draw super-profits from the super-exploitation of the native African population based on the apartheid system. For the U.S. alone, the rates of return in 1983 were 25% in mining as against 14% in the rest of the world; in manufacturing it was 18% against 13%. A number of strategic minerals and metals, like manganese, vanadium, platinoids, uranium, chrome etc, essential in the manufacture of missile systems, are imported at low costs from South Africa.

In the 60's and 70's this dependence crisis of the South African economy had intensified. It allowed massive inflows from imperialist countries, foreign loans, both commercial and from the IMF, imports of capital goods and modern technology into mining and manufacturing. "Multi-national" corporations from all the imperialist countries poured billions of dollars into strategic sectors of the South African economy and made it their major base for deeper penetration into other countries of Southern Africa.

For all its sanctimonious, holier than thou attitude that it adopts towards the other imperialist powers in the matter of trade and other relations with South Africa, Soviet complicity in the South African racist regime is no less. For example, when the South African economy was in the doldrums following the Soweto uprising, it was the gold price bonanza of 1971-81 which helped to sustain it. Since the world bullion market is jointly controlled by the Soviet Union and South Africa, the phenomenal price rise in gold could never have occurred without the full complicity of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also has a cartel arrangement with the De Beers Corporation of South Africa in the diamond market. De Beers buys up the entire Soviet production of gem quality diamonds for an annually renegotiated price,

which comes to almost a billion dollars of profits per year.

Military support to the Pretoria regime by the imperialists is also a well-known fact. In spite of repeated UN embargos on arms deliveries to South Africa, it has continued to be well-supplied in arms by Britain, U.S., West Germany, Italy, Canada and even the Soviet Union. South Africa's nuclear capability is also due to the help of these powers.

In the light of this gain from and support of the apartheid regime in South Africa how are the anti-apartheid postures of these very same imperialist governments to be understood?

The upsurge in the militant struggles of the oppressed peoples in South Africa, the world-wide repugnance against the barbarious apartheid system compels the ruling regime in South Africa and its imperialist backers to conduct a show of reform even while brutally beating down the struggles of the people.

The political crisis and unstable situation lowers the attractiveness of the South African market for foreign capital investments. To pull up the growth rate and restore confidence of big business and monopoly interests in the South African market some solution has to be found which does not endanger the essential system of capitalist exploitation and national oppression. The ruling classes and the imperialists very much fear that if there is no "change" at all in the present form of exploitation, the struggle of the black population which is already taking on revolutionary dimensions will become quite impossible to control.

To this end, some barely skin-deep "reforms" have already been instituted by the Botha regime: like the tri-cameral parliament, legislation of black trade unions with the aim of integrating them into a government controlled industrial relations system, allowing blacks to own property in a few previously white districts, allowing their entry into hotels and some other public places etc. But all these are far from having fulfilled their function of deceiving the masses into believing in the illusion of change.

It seems the manoeuverings of the ruling classes and the imperialists may have to go so far as to enter into an alliance with black bourgeois elements which are already in the making both in the rural and urban areas. It means may be agreeing to a black majority rule ( a la Zimbabwe). In a nut shell it means changing over to a neo-colonial mode of exploitation, as has already happened in the case of many other African countries like Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Tanzania.

For this reason, contacts are being taken up with leaders of the liberation movement, particularly with the leaders of the African National Congress. Senior South African businessmen flew to Zambia to meet the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, in September 1985. Nine of South Africa's leading business men have made an urgent appeal to the government to free Nelson Mandela and unban the ANC unconditionally and

immediately. Leaders of the ANC, like Oliver Tambo, have been meeting U.S. and British government officials and business representatives and having talks with them.

Apart from the political dimension, there are also tangible "economic motives" to press for a more "modernised" form of apartheid. To overcome the present economic crisis "modernisation" of the various sectors of the economy is called for, but this would require a more skilled and qualified black labour force. There is need to increase black purchasing power, or at least of some sections of it, to widen the market. Because of international opinion apartheid in its present form is restricting potential export outlets and capital inflows besides creating an internally unstable environment for investments. The overblown security and administrative system required to sustain the present-day apartheid structures are uneconomic. Influx control deprives industry of flow of cheaper unskilled labour from the subsistence economy.

Naturally, such changes are not going to and are not meant to really touch the foundations of the apartheid system. For, in the absence of a revolutionary restructuring, there can only be a racial allocation of work roles: Though there is a call for more skilled labour this is within an overall framework of deskilling. The racial division of labour will remain with whites remaining as the fully trained mechanics and supervisors over partly trained black mechanics paid at wage rates lower than those paid earlier to white workers in the same jobs. These kind of "changes" in the labour process coupled with rationalisation will in fact lead to an increase in unemployment and exploitation. The case of Zimbabwe is already before us where, in spite of a "revolution", a black worker earns today on an average ten times less than what a white worker does.

### 3. THE NATIONAL-REFORMIST CHARACTER OF THE ANC LEADERSHIP

The African National Congress is the leading mass organisation in South Africa and has decisive influence in the United Democratic Front (UDF), constituted by many hundreds of organisations. But there are also many other organisations wielding considerable influence among the masses like the Pan African Organisation (PAC), the Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation) and the Cape Action League. These organisations are critical of and have contradictions with the ANC. The Azapo and Cape Action League stand in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1960's and, with other organisations, have come together in the "National Forum", a rival organisation to the UDF.

Here we are concentrating on making a critique in some essential points only of the ANC as the best known organisation and as the most influential one. But this by no means absolves us of the responsibility and task of gathering information about the other organisations and determining our position in relation to them. A critique of the line of the revisionist South African Communist Party must also be done.

The true character of the leadership of the African National Congress, the leading organisation in Azania's liberation struggle today, is quite clearly revealed through various statements its leaders have been making in recent times.

That the ANC is not and does not regard itself to be a national revolutionary organisation is apparent from the following statement by Nelson Mandela:

"Under the Freedom Charter, nationalisation would take place in an economy based on private enterprise. The realisation of the Freedom Charter would open up fresh fields for a prosperous African population of all classes... The ANC has never at any period of its history advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country, nor has it, to the best of my recollection, ever condemned capitalist society." ( N. Mandela, "The Struggle is My Life", London, 1986, p.173).

It is certainly not an accident that the Durban Declaration in 1983 of the United Democratic Front, of which the ANC is a constituent organisation, did not reaffirm the demand of the Freedom Charter of 1955 that "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole".

In an interview given to Western journalist, Oliver Tambo, asked about the future economic system of South Africa, ironically cited the example of other "liberated" countries like Zambia and said that there would definitely be place for foreign and private firms in the country. ( Spiegel, No.33/85, p.89).

This means that there is absolutely no programme of carrying out a really thorough-going anti-imperialist revolution. Rather, there is the intention to let neo-colonial influence remain in the country, to leave untouched the commanding positions of native and foreign capital.

The ANC tactics of calling for mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions by the imperialist and other countries must be seen in this background. It is "the only peaceful means to effectively press the South African government to abandon apartheid and accept majority rule" ( Daily Despatch, 10.7.86). It is the only way to reduce the period of destruction and limit the degree of damage inflicted on the economy.

In this connection is also to be seen the kind of armed struggle that is being waged by the military wing of the ANC, the Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Freedom Charter of 1955 had addressed itself in the beginning not only to the blacks but also to the white "liberals" and even to the ruling racist Nationalist Party. Its aim was to peacefully call for the convening of a national congress which would draw up a new non-racial constitution.

However, the Nationalist Party wanted none of this and continued with its programme of brutal repression of the movement and after the Sharpsville massacre in 1960 the ANC and the PAC ( Pan African Congress)

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ROLE OF GANDHI

Migrant labour from different parts of India came to South Africa from the middle of the last century. British disruption of the Indian economy coupled with the need for a large and cheap labour power in other parts of the British Empire, in this case for the sugar plantations in Natal, led to this migration. Migrant labour was to be used both to keep down the wages of the native Africans as well as to lay the basis for a divide and rule policy.

It was the unemployed artisans and craftsmen, landless labour and peasants, driven off the land by fragmentation and debt, which came as indentured semi-slave labour to the plantations. A small number of traders also followed to cater to them. Later still there came some accountants, teachers, lawyers, priests etc.

Competition between white and Indian traders was one reason for the ideology of colour prejudice against Indians of all classes propagated by the white settlers. The aim of much discriminatory legislation was to cut off competition from Indian traders. White labour in South Africa, too, desired to protect itself against the use of cheap black labour, and allowing itself to be divided along racial lines, agitated for much of the discriminatory legislation and practice against black, i.e., including Indian, labour.

The Indians claimed equality with the white settlers on the grounds that British Indian subjects had been specifically promised equality with white subjects throughout the Empire by Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. This was a strategem of the rulers, also propagated by Gandhi, engaged as a lawyer by the Indian traders in Natal, to make the Indians keep their representations distinct from those of the other oppressed. This practice of Gandhi set the pattern of dividing the struggles of the oppressed and exploited people along racial and "group" lines.

This was naturally in the interest of the British, too. They encouraged methods of persuasion and negotiation for solving the "Indian" problem in isolation from the more fundamental problem of White-African relations. The Indians were given some privileges in comparison with the Africans and were encouraged to maintain these and seek for their extension by negotiation with the White ruling class.

Gandhi in South Africa exhibited early his loyalty to the British Empire. For example, at the time of the native Metabele rising in 1896 he did not utter a single word in its support. In the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 he helped the British and contributed to their success. At the time of the Zulu Rebellion in 1906 he again sided with the Britishers in this rebellion as a "loyal subject of the British Empire". His compromising tactics, as in the case of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of 1912, also came to the fore in this period itself.

This isolation of the struggles of the Indians, their preferential treatment in comparison to the Africans, the encouragement of anti-Indian sentiments by the ruling classes, all this did give rise to some riots against the Indians. In the Durban riots in 1949, 142 people died while more than 1000 were injured as white policemen looked on. Similarly, the gutting of the Phoenix Settlement in 1985 was partly a reaction against the participation of a minority of the Indians in the tricameral parliament and also partly an attack against the affluence of some of them, symbolised by the attacks against their shops, whereby some African ones were destroyed, too. It was also seen as a ruling class attempt to disrupt any Indian-African unity.

were banned and driven underground. In this situation, with the masses already spontaneously increasingly retaliating to state violence with their own violence, the ANC, not wanting to lose its hold and influence over the militant black masses, itself adopted these forms of struggle, but with the express intention of keeping them within its own reformist concept. ( See N. Mandela, op. cit. , pp. 165-66). This was not at all a principled recognition and application of the necessity of a violent revolution. Violence was planned only against objects and not persons. It was to be restricted to sabotage actions.

The aim of violent actions was not to carry out a revolutionary war against the racist system, but had the purpose of pressurising the government and arriving at a "peaceful solution".

"We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awaken every one to a realisation of the dangerous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war." ( ibid., p. 167).

However, being confronted with an unyielding Nationalist Party and government, the ANC decided in favour of guerilla war in 1969. But the main aim and purpose behind such a decision remained the same. It has never been the policy of the ANC to treat violence as a concern of the masses themselves, of the worker and peasant masses. It has always been treated as being a concern of only an armed elite, which is then, of course, easier to "control"!

These counter-revolutionary collaborative policies and plans of the ANC enjoy the full support and connivance of members of the revisionist South African Communist Party who occupy many central positions in this organisation and in its military wing.

#### 4. INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S HOLLOW SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND APARTHEID IN INDIA

Since the days of Nehru and the formulation of the policy of "non-alignment" and even earlier the Indian government and bourgeoisie have been portraying themselves as staunch opponents of colonialism, imperialism and racism. In the case of South Africa, India has played a leading role in the UN and in the Non-Aligned Movement, in the Commonwealth and other international forums, in calling for trade boycott, arms embargo and other economic sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime. But it is time to tear apart the rhetoric of the government's anti-racist and anti-imperialist phrase-mongering and expose the reality:

A bourgeoisie and government which is itself dependent on imperialism cannot possibly want to take a really strong and consistent stand against imperialism and render effective aid to an anti-imperialist national

liberation movement. This was neatly exposed at the recent Commonwealth summit and at the Non-Aligned Conference at Harare.

The Indian government claims to be among the first to have broken trade relations with South Africa in 1946 itself. But true to its bourgeois nature it is in reality not at all averse to making huge profits from its trade and business with South Africa. The Indian state as trading partner of a South African firm earns the phenomenal amount of over Rs 1,150 crores per year from the export of diamonds processed from a predominantly South African stock. Indian goods, supposedly having other black African countries as their destination, are re-exported to South Africa earning their businessmen more than Rs 100 crore annually. Another instance of indirect support to the South African regime is LIC ( Life Insurance Company of India) investment in government securities in South Africa.

Even so-called Indian "aid" to the liberation movements in Southern African countries is not only meagre but is tied to its own economic interests: India recently offered to contribute 1 million Rs to the Lesotho Special Fund and 1/2 million Rupees for the Botswana Special Fund, but they have to be used for importing Indian goods and technical services. Any arms aid also has the spectre of profits behind it either directly or indirectly by later using the "good" relations so developed to enter into profitable contracts.

Certainly, some Indian businessmen have tried to cash in on anti-white feelings in many African countries to bag a few consultancy contracts, turn-key and joint venture projects. But the major part of any Indian investment in Africa is as junior partner to imperialist financial interests. Indian compradors like Tatas and Birlas have entered into joint ventures with imperialist concerns providing the acceptable third world mask and jointly profiting in the loot of the oppressed masses. Indian capital similarly participates in imperialist financing agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and the African Development Bank financing "development" projects in African countries.

Nearer home the hypocrisy of "anti-apartheid" stances becomes sickeningly clear: What about the millions in our own country who suffer from our own brand of apartheid, the caste system? Are not our resettlement colonies the "Bantustans" of India? What about our many backward rural areas, our squalid and inhuman shanty towns, slums and squatter camps with their inhuman and degrading living conditions? Are they not cheap reservoirs of labour power for the money hungry capitalists? What about the practice of treating as "foreigners" people living on their own lands like the Nepalese in the Darjeeling hills? What about the "Aryan" feelings of racial superiority towards the "dark skinned" people in India and towards the "black" African? What about the practice of treating one sex less than human and committing all kinds of brutalities against it? What about genocidal state terrorism against minorities like the Sikhs and Muslims?

5. FOR AN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTION  
IN AZANIA

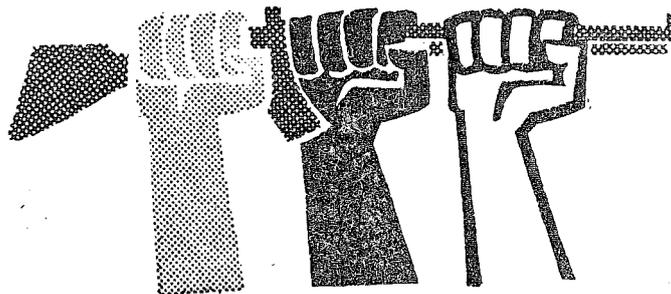
The rich experiences of the world-wide communist and working class movement, generalised in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have proved that there is only one path leading to the real liberation of the masses of South Africa and Namibia from a colonial and white-settler regime, from the exploitation and oppression from world imperialism, from the fascist, racist rule of the white ruling class in South Africa.

THE PATH TO BE FOLLOWED IS THAT OF THE ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMED PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY!

Only by following this path can the revolutionary war of liberation of the people's masses of Azania not end in the fact that the present ruling clique is replaced by another, albeit different in colour, or that the dependence on one or more imperialist powers, may be in different forms, continues to exist as before.

Only this path can lead to the establishment of a really revolutionary-democratic power, which is a form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, a rule which is really a people's power.

If it is really to win, the revolution cannot be allowed to target only the system of racism and apartheid. The anti-racist, democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution is necessary to make clear to the oppressed and exploited masses that it is the capitalist-imperialist system which is the cause of racism and exploitation and not the white race, and that the revolution must be led from its democratic stage to the socialist stage, in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the way to communism.



# APPENDICES

PREFACE

We are publishing here three Letters of fraternal Communist parties to the Indian Communists in response to their request for criticisms and comments on their "Draft Platform of Action" of 1930.

A Letter by the Colonial Commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain was published in the "International Press Correspondence" of 15 January, 1931. ( pp. 66 of this issue). Important points made in this letter were that certain peculiarities of the Indian situation, especially the national and religious questions, had not been adequately dealt with in the Draft Platform. In addition, the question of the agrarian revolution also required a more detailed treatment than had been accorded to it in the Draft.

After this, in the "Communist International" of May 15, 1932, there appeared an "Open Letter to the Indian Communists" by the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Germany and China. ( pp.68 of this issue). Much can be learnt even today from the main criticisms made of the work of the Indian Communists in this letter.

- The Open Letter stressed the most important and urgent task of overcoming provincialism and unprincipled factional struggle and building up a strong, working class, illegal Communist Party on the basis of the Draft Platform of Action.

- The Letter reiterated the need, as expressed in the Draft Platform, to expose and isolate the treacherous bourgeois National Congress, particularly its "Left" wing. But, in this connection, it also pointed out some deviations on the part of the Indian Communists, which should be noted even today. It pointed out that the way to isolate the bourgeois National Congress and win the masses under its influence was not that of the Roy group. This described the National Congress as a people's organisation, as a national united front and asked the people to join it. The way also did not lie in keeping away from the Congress as the Indian Communists had been doing. It lay in participating most actively in the mass struggle for independence.

"It is necessary to participate in all mass demonstrations organised by the Congress, coming forward with our own Communist slogans and agitation; to be in the forefront in all activities, demonstrations and clashes of the toiling masses with the imperialists... constantly criticising the Congress leaders, especially "left" ones, and calling on the masses for higher forms of struggle..." ( p. 74)

Against all deviations of toning down criticism of the "left" reformists in the name of unity, as was done by the CPI leadership later, and is a deviation committed often enough by many so-called "m-l" groups today, against all concepts of a united front from above, in the face of all cries of the bourgeoisie alleging sectarianism and ultra-leftism, it is said that criticism must be taken to the masses. The Communists must hold the "Left" national reformists to their words, and expose their phrases before the masses by comparing then with their deeds. ( p.79)

- The Letter also deals with some problems and mistakes in methods

of work in the working class. While forging an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, while fighting for proletarian leadership in the anti-imperialist and the general peasant struggle, it is a necessity to form an independent class party of the proletariat, and not a workers' and peasants' party. It emphasizes that a firm base in the working class can only be secured by means of the system of factory cells, by helping the workers to develop into active Party members as organisers and leaders of working class struggles and Party organisations.

- Finally, the Letter emphasizes the role of a regular illegal and legal Party press in forging the organisational and ideological unity of the Party.

However, since it did not seem that the open and solidarist criticism made in this Letter had made much difference to the work of the Communists in India, the C.P. of China, a year later, sent another "Open Letter to the Indian Communists", which was published in the "International Press Correspondence", No. 51, 1933 (pp. 88 in this issue), in which more or less the same criticism as in the earlier letter was repeated. We sum up the main points of the Letter:

- The C.P. of China's description of the characteristics and the need to form a Leninist Party of a new type, if one wanted to be in a position to lead the national liberation struggle and give it strength, is worthy of note particularly in the face of large-scale violations in this question today. A Leninist Party is described, among other things, as: an iron monolithic C.P., a militant Bolshevik Party which does not allow any factions and groupings, which carries on the struggle for uniformity in the Party by mercilessly struggling against all deviations, "left" and right opportunist in the ranks of the Communists, ensuring the proletarian character of the Party, even in its composition, by recruiting advanced workers in its leading organs etc.

- While citing its own experiences of trying to attain the hegemony of the C.P. and the working class in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement, the C.P. of China also correctly stresses that it would be wrong to "transfer mechanically Chinese experience to India", that it would be necessary to take into account all concrete conditions and features peculiar to India ( p. 101 ).

In this context, the C.P. of China saw the tactics of the united front in India to be somewhat different from those in China: "In India, owing to the conciliatory position of the bourgeoisie, the tactic of the all-embracing united national front could not find application even in the early stages of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. In India it can only be a question of the policy of the revolutionary bloc of the workers and the basic masses of the petty bourgeoisie. Of course, this means a bloc of the masses and not combinations of leaders" (p. 92/93) . It also stressed at the same time the importance of utilising any other temporary allies ( revolutionary sections of the national bourgeoisie). (x)

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(x) ( Footnote overleaf)

- Criticism is also made of deviations made in carrying out an exposure of the reformists in the trade unions and in working for the unity of the working class: On the one side, the sectarian deviation is criticised of either refusing to work in those trade unions headed by reformists and national reformists, of allowing splits in the mass organisations. On the other side, it is also criticised that working in reformist trade unions, or unity with the national-reformist trade union organisations must not lead to the abandonment of the independence of the Communist Party, the abandonment of our principles, the abandonment of the open defence and propaganda of our views and our right to criticise and expose the vacillations and treachery of the national-reformists. ( p. 97 )



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(Footnote from last page)

(x) This is also consonant with what Stalin said in relation to united front tactics in India in his "The Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East", 1925. He said that in countries like India where the "national bourgeoisie has split up into a revolutionary party and a compromising party" ( p.150, SW 7) the task was to form a "national-revolutionary bloc of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia against the bloc of the compromising national bourgeoisie and imperialism". But, at the same time, the C.P. can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie, after isolating the compromising national bourgeoisie. ( p.151).

# document 1

LETTER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN ON THE  
DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE C.P. OF INDIA

( In response to the request of the Communist Party of India, in publishing its draft programme, for criticisms and comments, the Colonial Commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain has sent the following letter.)

To the Communist Party of India:

Dear Comrades, The Colonial Commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain has discussed your draft platform of action and regards the publication of this platform as a tremendous achievement which will greatly clarify the tasks of the Indian workers and peasants.

In response to your suggestion to send any criticisms, we would like to make the following points:-

1. The document should go deeper into the character of the agrarian revolution, and the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", which are mentioned as the form of Government for which the Communist Party of India is fighting.
2. More attention should be paid to an analysis of the present situation. It is specially important to know what stage the movement of the peasantry has reached.
3. The points put forward in the united front programme of partial demands should be made more concrete. In view of the paramount importance of the agrarian revolution we consider the question of developing action and organisation among the poor peasantry and agricultural proletariat should have been dealt with at greater length. As it is the subject of peasant demands is set forth only in the most general terms.
4. There should be a special treatment of national and religious questions. In view of the concrete problems and actual conflicts which have to be faced at the moment in regard to these questions, it is essential that the platform of action should set out clearly the line of approach adopted by the Communist Party of India.
5. As minor points of criticism may be mentioned:-
  - (a) Repeated reference is made to the system of landlordism as a survival from the "Middle Ages", a call is made to "cleanse the land from this mediaeval rubbish", and again, the first of the peasant demands speaks of the "wiping out of the mediaeval system of land-holding". Actually there was no mediaeval system in India in the European sense, nor were there any "Middle Ages".
  - (b) In about the middle of the first section ( Part I, Main Tasks of the Indian Revolution), it is declared that "the National Congress

issued the Delhi Manifesto supporting Gandhi's eleven points." This is a curious blunder, for actually the Delhi Manifesto was issued by Congress signatories in November, 1924, and contained only four conditions for participation in the Round Table Conference, while the 11 points of Gandhi were issued by him in about March, 1930, and have not been the subject of a resolution of the National Congress.

With revolutionary greetings,  
Your's fraternally

Colonial Commission, Communist Party of Great Britain.

( From: INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. II, No. 2, 15  
January 1931, p. 44, Berlin).

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## document 2

### OPEN LETTER TO THE INDIAN COMMUNISTS

( By the Central Committees of  
Britain, China and Germany  
Communist Parties.

Dear Comrades,

The revolutionary struggles of the toiling masses for their national and social liberation has reached a turning point. The national bourgeoisie, which has betrayed the revolutionary people, are trying their best to preserve their influence over the toiling masses, to ward off the approaching Indian revolution.

It depends to a great extent upon the efforts, the energetic and self-sacrificing struggle and correct policy of the Indian Communists, whether the treacherous bourgeoisie will maintain its influence and carry out its counter-revolutionary job successfully, or whether the working class, headed by the Communist Party of India having isolated the national reformists, will lead the toiling masses of town and village to a victorious struggle for independence, land and the worker's and peasant's power.

The objective conditions and the growth of the class consciousness of the Indian proletariat testify to the fact that the latter course has every chance of fulfilment, provided the Indian Communists overcome their lagging behind in the formation of a mass All-India Communist Party; provided they, on the basis of the platform of action published by them and the experience of the past years, energetically and jointly undertake the formation of the Communist Party and organise the struggle of workers and peasants, not in words but in deeds.

#### THE CORRELATION OF CLASS FORCES

The Indian bourgeoisie which is trying to preserve its influence over the masses, and which did not break off its negotiations with British Imperialism at the end of the Second Round Table Conference, is continuing its policy of counter-revolutionary compromise with British Imperialism and betrayal of the revolutionary people. British Imperialism, making use of counter-revolutionary

national reformism, widely developed the policy of repression and provocation, the organising of the reactionary elements of the country, trying to drown in blood the rising masses of workers and peasants and simultaneously continuing negotiations with the Indian bourgeoisie. Full agreement between the Indian bourgeoisie and the British Imperialists is being hindered at the present time by the rapidly developing revolutionary movement under the conditions of deepening economic crisis.

Because of the sharpening of the economic crisis, the insignificant and temporary reduction of taxes in a few provinces has not helped the position of the peasants in the least. The burden of ruin, oppression and poverty which is preconditioned by the whole system of imperialist-feudal money lending exploitation, and is aggravated by the present decline of agricultural prices, together with the actual increase in taxation and reaction, is reaching an unprecedented height. In spite of the fact that the movement is proceeding unevenly, it has already assumed such a powerful character (guerilla warfare in Burma and Kashmir, struggles in U.P., etc.) that on the one hand it has compelled the National Congress (which was negotiating an agreement with the imperialists) to continue preterding its sham opposition towards imperialism longer than it wished, to deceive the masses and disorganise the peasant struggle. On the other hand it has forced the British imperialist to hasten in the use of barbarous forms of mass terror to break up the People's movement.

On 7th. January 1932, the "Bombay Chronicle" was compelled to admit that :

" a noteworthy feature of the present movement in the United Province is the fact that the peasants are becoming their own leaders ..... that the peasant movement to an ever-increasing extent takes place at the initiative of the peasants themselves and that they have identified themselves with the Congress because they could not get assistance from other organisations. "

The leaders of the National Congress, Gandhi, Nehru and Company are compelled to admit the fact, in a number of speeches, that the anti-imperialist movement and the agrarian struggle are beginning to come together more and more. The terrified bourgeoisie are now trying to disorganise the peasants' struggle and hold the peasant movement back, so that it be limited to a peaceful, submissive economic campaign for slight reduction of taxes, postponement of debts, etc. However, in spite of the efforts of the National Congress, the peasant movement is beginning to exceed the limits marked out by the

Congress, and dissatisfaction of the peasantry with the policy of the Congress is beginning to spread.

Dissatisfaction with the policy of the National Congress is likewise increasing among the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns (the increase in the wave of terrorist actions, increased interest of various elements in the terrorist movement, in the working-class movement and Marxism, speeches at student meetings in Calcutta, etc.) and is expressed to a still greater extent among the working masses.

The working class has roused the town petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, by its activities beginning from 1928, to the struggle against the British Imperialists and thus had a tremendous influence on the development of the People's movement in 1930-31.

The events of the last few months (the Bombay demonstration against Gandhi, the Sholapur strike, etc.) show that process of drawing the Indian proletariat into the economic and political struggle, accompanied by its liberation from the influence of the National Congress, is growing and in spite of the still existing uneven character, is beginning more and more to assume an all-India character. All the facts show that in most cases, the workers themselves begin the strikes and that among the workers, not only in Bombay, but also in other places, there is a growing strata of active workers who are capable not only of becoming the cement and the leaders of a mass revolutionary trade union movement, but can become, with energetic work carried on the part of the Communists, the mass basis of strong, working class, illegal Indian Communist Party.

Some comrades are inclined to think that the working-class movement entered a period of decline and depression as the result of the defeat of the Bombay strike in 1929. Such a point of view is entirely wrong. It is true that the defeat of the strike (which occurred as the result of the absence of a Communist Party and neglect of the task of spreading the strike to Ahmedabad and Sholapur), the growth of unemployment in the first half of 1930, the terror of the employers and the police and particularly the insufficient work of the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement had undoubtedly a bad effect on the position of the Girni Kamgar Union (GKU). But this does not at all justify the theory of decline, because it was exactly in the year 1930-1931 that -

- 1) there was a final split of the Communist groups from "Left" national reformism and for the first time there really commenced the formation of an illegal Communist Party;
- 2) the working masses took a most active part in all political activities to the point to open fights against the police and the troops (Sholapur, etc.);

- 3) the backward sections of the proletariat of the country (Bangalore, Cawnpore, Baroda, etc.), who had been lagging behind, began to be drawn in to the struggle;
- 4) a number of independent political activities of the working masses took place, and the working class, by its methods of struggle, put a specific imprint on the whole mass movement. The advanced sections of the proletariat commenced an open struggle against the National Congress. The historical demonstration of Bombay workers on the day of Gandhi's departure to London, and the Sholapur demonstration of textile strikers, are very remarkable instances of such a struggle against the influence of the National Congress.

The development of a spontaneous working class movement, the growth of the class-consciousness of the proletariat most definitely refutes the theory of reaction among the working masses, of a decline of their fighting spirit, of the low level of class-consciousness of the Indian proletariat outside Bombay. Such theories merely show that some comrades have not overcome their disbelief in the power of the working class, are not in contact with the workers outside Bombay, and confuse the question of the literacy of the workers, with the level of their class-consciousness. These comrades have brought with them, into the workers movement, the anti-proletarian bureaucratic organisational principles of the National Congress, division into leaders and masses and practical disbelief in the strength of the revolutionary rank and file, therefore they cannot even explain the outbreak of spontaneous economic strikes and the tremendous participation of the working masses in the anti-imperialist movement. This shows that many Communists have not yet pondered the experience of the end of 1927 and 1928, when the Bombay textile workers very quickly kicked out the reformist group of Joshi, to the astonishment of the revolutionary leaders, and solidly came over to the platform of the "Red Flag".

It may be stated accurately that in India "the strength of the present movement lies in the awakening of the masses (chiefly the industrial proletariat), and its weakness lies in the insufficient consciousness and initiative of the revolutionary leaders". (Lenin)

The general picture of the Communist movement is not satisfactory. On the one hand there is a tremendous unprecedented development of the working-class movement. On the other hand, the Communist Party still consists of a small number (though the number is increasing) of weak groups, often isolated from the masses, disconnected with each other, not politically united, and in some places not clearly differentiated from national reformism, adopting a conciliatory policy towards it. Instead of a struggle for a united All India Communist Party, we find socialism, provincialism, self-isolation from the masses, etc., which, though it would be understood to some extent in 1930, now represents the main danger to the revolutionary, proletarian movement.

The lagging behind of the Communist vanguard must be rapidly and most decisively overcome. This is the first and the most important task for all those honest Communist revolutionaries who stand by the platform of action of the Communist Party of India and are faithful to the cause of the Indian and world proletariat.

#### COMMUNISTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The biggest mistake made by Indian Communists consists in the fact that, in reality, they stood aside from the mass movement of the people against British imperialism in spite of the fact that the documents of the Communist movement refer to this mistaken policy no change has yet taken place, and self-isolation from the struggle for independence still exists. In June 1930, one of the documents of the Bombay organisation said:

" We came to a position in Bombay when we actually withdrew from the struggle and left it entirely to the National Congress. We limited our role to that of a small group who sit aside and issue .... leaflets occasionally. The result was one which could have been expected; in the minds of the workers there grew the opinion that we are doing nothing and that the Congress is the only organisation which is carrying on the fight against imperialism and therefore workers began to follow the lead of the Congress ....

The result of the policy of actual withdrawal from the political struggle, lack of attempts to lead the masses, to organise them, to isolate the reformist elements proved to be harmful in regard to the growth of the Communist Party itself. "

The self-isolation of the Communists from the anti-imperialist mass struggle, alleged to be a purely Congress movement, has created confusion in the Communist ranks. It helped to increase the disbelief in the strength of the proletariat and the growth of its class-consciousness among the Communist intellectuals. It has hindered the development of the process of differentiation in the revolutionary movement and has hindered the isolation of "left" national-reformists from the working masses, and objectively strengthened the positions of the bourgeois National Congress.

The whole history of the Indian working class movement, however proves that this is a most dangerous error. At the dawn of the Indian working-class movement, Lenin, estimating the participation of the Bombay workers in the protest demonstration against arrest of Tilak (in 1908) wrote:

" In India also the proletariat has already reached the point of a conscious political struggle, and as this is the case, the days of the Anglo-Czarist order in India are numbered. "

The movement of 1921-22, developing under the influence of the October Revolution, showed a further maturing of the proletariat. Even the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat, such as Gandhi, were compelled to admit (see "Young India") that the workers of Bombay, Ahmedabad and other towns came forward during this period as a most active force, thereby frightening the bourgeois National Congress terribly. But the present period, which is developing under the influence of the Chinese revolution, and the successful construction of Socialism in the USSR (the Bombay strikes, the boycott of the Simon and Whitley Commissions, the Meerut trial, the movement of 1930-31, the formation of the Communist Party, etc.) shows the gigantic extent of the working-class movement, its further progress, and its particular activity in the struggle for independence. The whole history of the working-class movement decisively refutes those who do not believe in the strength of the proletariat, and its ability to fight for the leadership of the People's movement.

The bourgeois National Congress, deeply hostile to the proletariat, distracting the workers and peasants from the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, has so far succeeded in maintaining influence over considerably wide masses of the workers. This can be explained, mainly, by the fact that bourgeois national reformism has cleverly made use of the hatred of the working masses for British imperialism, and using this, has been foisting on them a policy of internal class peace concealed by "radical" phrases on the "national struggle".

Thus the liberation of the proletariat from the influence of the treacherous bourgeoisie, and its conversion from an active political force into the leading force with the hegemony of the People's movement can be brought about at present only by the exposure of the bourgeois National Congress and its "left" wing, Bose, Kandalkar, Roy, etc., as the betrayers of the struggle for independence. It can be realised only if the Communist Party takes a most energetic part in the struggle for independence, on the basis of an irreconcilable struggle against the national reformists. This participation in the anti-imperialist movement is closely connected, and interwoven with the energetic participation of Communists in the everyday struggle for the economic interests of the working masses, with the most energetic support, organisation and development of the peasant struggle, the agrarian revolution and the attraction to their side of all revolutionary democratic elements who are prepared to struggle against British imperialism.

The prerequisite for a correct policy for Communists in the anti-imperialist movement is a definite, sharp clear and uncompromising struggle and exposure of the National Congress and

especially the "left" national-reformists, first of all its special variety, the group of Roy-Kandalkar.

However, while struggling against "left" national reformism, it is incorrect to separate ourselves from the mass movement of the people, who appear to be under the leadership of the National Congress. A distinction must be made between the bourgeois Congress leadership and those sections of the workers, peasants and revolutionary elements of the petty-bourgeoisie, who, not understanding the treacherous character of the National Congress, followed it correctly seeing the basis of their slavery in the domination of British imperialism.

The National Congress was able to preserve its leadership over the masses of town poor, workers, students, youth, artisans, etc. (who participated in a number of armed struggles with the police force of British Imperialism on their own initiative), not by its positive political programme which conceals its bourgeois-feudal contents under vague "radical" promises, but only on the basis of assurance of its loyalty to the independence movement, utilising the hatred of the people towards blood-thirsty robber imperialism and the still existing illusions of a "united national front."

To isolate the National Congress and all the "left" national reformists from the toiling masses, to help the separation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and establish the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle of the people, the Indian Communists must take the most energetic part in the anti-imperialist movement and must be in the forefront in all activities, demonstrations and clashes of the toiling masses with the imperialists, coming forward as the organisers of the mass struggle, openly exposing everywhere and at all times, by concrete examples, the treachery of the bourgeois National Congress and its "left" wing. It is necessary to participate in all mass demonstrations organised by the Congress, coming forward with our own Communist slogans, and agitations; to support all the revolutionary student demonstrations, be at the forefront in the clashes with the police, protesting against all political arrests, etc., constantly criticising the Congress leaders, especially "left" ones, and calling on the masses for higher forms of struggle, setting ever more concrete and ever more revolutionary tasks before them.

The experience of the Girni Kamgar Union confirms the correctness of the analysis. The Kandalkar-Roy group was able to split the Girni Kamgar Union because (paying lip service of their loyalty to the revolutionary struggle for independence) they appealed to the worker to join the bourgeois National Congress, describing it as a people's organisation, thus helping it to disorganise the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses. It was only by use of "anti-imperialist" phraseology, utilising the hatred of the working masses towards the imperialists, that the national reformists were able to attract considerable sections of the workers to their side.

But if the existence of "united national front" illusions played its part in maintaining the influence of the National Congress, the self-isolation of the Communists objectively assisted the reformists, and retarded the process of the breaking away of the workers from the bourgeois National Congress. The treacherous Roy - VN Joshi-Kandalkar group tries to hide its counter-revolutionary essence and its affiliation to the national reformist camp by the old and well-known bourgeois method of charging the Communists with ultra-radicalism and sectarianism.

This charge of sectarianism is nothing but slander of the Communists for their Bolshevik irreconcilability to national reformism, for their revolutionary hatred of the imperialist and feudal system of exploitation, for their persistent and continuous preparation and mobilisation of the toiling masses for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist rule .

The treacherous Roy-Kandalkar group, in their appeal to the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta, in the leaflet issued in Bombay against Bradley and the Meerut prisoners, by their condemnation of the position of the revolutionary wing at the Nagpur Congress of trade unions, and the organisation of a reactionary bloc with the Joshi-Giri-Gokhale group, their disruptive work on the rail-roads, their struggle against the general strike, and the platform of action of the Communist Party of India, etc., only prove once more that they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, that they are carrying on a policy of subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie, that they are hindering the differentiation and break of the toiling masses with national reformism and disorganising the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants for independence, land and bread.

Fledging their support to the Comintern in phrases, the Roy-Kandalkar-Joshi group are the worst enemies of the international revolutionary proletariat and agrarian revolution in deeds.

The conclusion to draw from this is; that the formation of an All-India Communist Party, the isolation of the national reformists; and the development of the people's revolution under the leadership of the proletariat can only be achieved when the Communists determinedly liquidate their self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses. It can only be achieved when the Communists show that the Communist Party is the leader of the toiling masses and the only leader of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in practice, as the vanguard of the masses, showing the way of revolutionary struggle, sharply and mercilessly exposing and struggling against the National Congress and its "Left" wing. From this point of view, the Communists must also sharply combat all ideas of those comrades who unconsciously arrive at self-isolation from the mass anti-imperialist struggle through their desire to preserve the cadres, to gain time for building the party.

Such a line is harmful and short-sighted. The preservation of cadres, the guarantee of continuity and the formation of an illegal Party is an extremely necessary task. However, the fulfilment of it must not be achieved through self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle, but only by the correct combination of illegal and legal methods of work, organisation, and the most energetic drawing of workers into our ranks, and developing of new cadres from workers and trustworthy revolutionary youth.

#### STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONAL CONGRESS AND PETTY BOURGEOISIE

The increase of the dissatisfaction of wide masses with the policy of the National Congress (negotiations in London, etc.), directly connects with the deepening of the crisis, the offensive of imperialism, and the further revolutionising of the toiling masses, has compelled the leaders of the National Congress to follow the path of new "Left" manoeuvres to strengthen their influence. Very characteristic in this connection is the fact that the "Left" national reformists (Bose, etc.) have again raised the question of their readiness to create a separate organisation of "Lefts" and have begun to "criticise" the participation of the National Congress in the Round Table Conference, etc. (See his speech at the conference of the Youth in Maharashtra). All this is done in order to once more fool the masses, and organise, if necessary, a "safety valve" like the former League of Independence to give an outlet for the dissatisfaction of the masses. These manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie show the process of ferment and disappointment which is spreading among the toiling masses, and confirms the correctness of the platform of action of the C P I which speaks of the necessity of the sharpest differentiation, criticism and exposure of "Left" national reformism, including its foremost detachment, the group of Roy, as the necessary prerequisite for the mobilisation of the toiling masses for a revolutionary struggle and the creation of a mass Communist Party.

Struggling against the bourgeois National Congress, some comrades mistakenly identify the bourgeoisie with the petty-bourgeoisie, mechanically contrasting the "class" interests of the proletariat with the independence movement as a whole, while other Communists, fighting against this mistaken conception, forget about the bourgeoisie, forget about the instability, the waverings and hesitations of the petty-bourgeoisie, and sometimes in practice join with or follow the latter, thus objectively subordinating the proletariat to the leadership of the national bourgeoisie.

For example, it was a mistake when the leaders of the trade union movement stated ( see "Bombay Chronicle") that the split in Calcutta is a matter for the workers, only affects the trade union movement, is only connected with the economic struggle and has no connection whatsoever with the "patriotic" feelings of the nationalists. The struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the working class is of decisive importance for the whole of the anti-imperialist movement. The split and issues raised in Calcutta are also an important stage in the anti-imperialist struggle, and the differentiation of the forces of revolution

and counter-revolution. The organisation of an All-India centre of the trade union movement, based on the principles of the class struggle, must serve, in spite of the mistakes made, not only for the class consolidation of the proletariat, but must also help in the mobilisation of the peasantry and the revolutionary strata of the petty-bourgeoisie around the proletariat and its Communist vanguard. To do this it is also necessary to distinguish between the revolutionary patriotism of the toiling masses, suffering from national oppression and the treacherous counter-revolutionary pseudo-patriotism of the bourgeoisie. We must learn to prove that that portion of the trade union Congress which followed Bose, Khandalkar, Roy and Co. has carried on and is carrying on a struggle against the "patriotism", against the anti-imperialist fight of the revolutionary people. Those who separate the class interests of the proletariat from the struggle for independence in practice drive the toiling masses and the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie into arms of the National Congress and the "Left" wing, strengthen the position of the bourgeoisie, instead of rallying the toiling masses around the Communist Party and fighting for the hegemony of the proletariat.

A mistake of an opposite character is the statement of some comrades that the anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 can be described as a movement of the town petty-bourgeoisie. From the viewpoint of these comrades, the proletariat and peasantry as the basic forces of the Indian revolution disappear, and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie with its influence over the masses (still great) is forgotten. The tactics of the Communists are adapted as a result to the town petty bourgeoisie and hence criticism of the National Congress and the "Left" national reformists is toned down. Among the supporters of this view there arose at the end of 1930, under the influence of the waverings of the town petty-bourgeoisie, a theory of "reaction" in the working class movement (see "Railwayman", November, 1930). This theory incorrectly explained the situation of 1930 and would be wrong for the present period. Is it correct as "Railwayman" states, that the working class in 1930 came into motion under the influence of the dissatisfied petty-bourgeoisie and fell under its leadership? It is not.

In 1928-29 the proletariat by its strikes, its struggle against the Simon and Whitley Commissions, its revolutionary position at the Nagpur T.U. Congress, etc., aroused the petty-bourgeoisie to the anti-imperialist struggle. In 1930 the most active element in all mass actions in the towns (Bombay, Sholapur, Calcutta, Madras, etc) was the working class. In many cases the advanced sections of the workers spontaneously took the initiative into their hands, drawing the students and city poor to their side (Calcutta, etc). Therefore to underestimate the growth of the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the working class, to claim that it was an appendage of the petty-bourgeoisie, means in reality to fail to see its process of development, to lag at the tail end of events, give up the idea of forming a mass Communist Party and blame the workers for their (some of their revolutionary leaders) own pessimism, shortsightedness and inability to organise the struggle of the working class. Depicting the petty-bourgeoisie as

the leading force in 1930 and construing a theory of "reaction", the authors of the article made a mistake, in the sense that they gloss over the question of the treachery of the national bourgeoisie, which succeeded, in 1930, in leading the petty-bourgeoisie, and a considerable portion of those sections of workers and peasants, who, for the first time, were drawn into the independence movement. By stating that the working class was following the petty-bourgeoisie the authors of the article unconsciously help to conceal the bourgeois character of the National Congress, identify the petty-bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie and in reality hinder the exposure of the national reformists objectively helping to spread the harmful theory of the necessity of toning down criticism of the National Congress, so as not to frighten away the masses who follow it. Actually what the author of the article entitled "reaction" meant was that among the workers there was a growing discontent with the treacherous policy of the National Congress, that the illusions of the "united national front" had begun to disappear, and a drift of the masses from the National Congress had commenced. The absence of the Communist Party hinders this process and makes it possible for the enemies of the working class to bring demoralisation into the ranks of the proletariat. It is from this point of view without throwing responsibility for the mistakes of the revolutionary leaders on the workers, that we should attentively consider the counter-revolutionary speech of Ruikar, and the resolution adopted by the Nagpur Textile Trade Union in January 1932. Speaking of the growing disbelief of the workers in the leaders of the National Congress, Ruikar called on the workers not to support any political party whatever, but to only carry on an economic struggle, and persuaded the Nagpur textile union to pass a resolution not to take any further part in the national movement and restricting themselves merely to the trade union struggle. ("B.C.", Jan. 14).

The facts testify to the drifting of the masses from the National Congress and the treacherous work of the National reformists Kandalkar-Ruikar-Roy, once more confirm the harmfulness and the danger of the theory of "reaction", which is linked up with self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle and lack of faith in the working class. Self-isolation from the anti-imperialist struggle aids the work of all the agents of imperialism, who are trying to detract workers from the political struggle, and disorganise their ranks, especially at this moment when millions of peasants are being drawn in, when dissatisfaction and disappointment with the National Congress is growing, when the class character and treachery of the National Congress in the struggle for independence and the interests of the peasantry, becomes clearer.

In close connection with the mistakes exposed above we find the under-estimation of the danger of "Left" national reformism and an insufficient struggle against it. In all the statements of the Communists (leaflet for the Karachi National Congress, etc.), the question of the "Lefts" and their special function and role was not raised. A struggle is carried on against persons but the "programme, manouvres and nature of "Left" national reformism is not exposed. Such a mistake was made also at the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta. Put it is

not accidental that the "Left" national reformists are hastening to cover themselves with "socialist" armour and the renegade Roy swears devotion to the Comintern.

The "Lefts" will come more and more to the forefront, especially the Roy group, whose particular task is to carry on disintegrating work among the proletarian vanguard. The position of the comrades who tried to secure unity with Kandalkar was entirely wrong, because instead of raising questions of principle (the struggle against national reformism), they raised the question of persons, forgetting that the positions of groups and persons always reflect the interests of definite classes, and thus these comrades have been objectively helping the National Congress. The point of view of those comrades who think that criticism of the "Left" national reformists in the trade unions will lead to the isolation of the C.P. is wrong. On the contrary, if criticism is taken to the masses, the Communists will only strengthen their influence and win over the masses to their programme. We must hold the "Left" national reformists to their words, and expose their phrases appealing to the people, before the masses by comparing them with their deeds, showing that the first and smallest test was the fact that, instead of fighting against the imperialists, they went to the Round Table Conference; instead of helping the peasants they helped the imperialists to collect taxes; and now they are disorganising the no-rent movement; instead of supporting the workers they sabotage the general strike; instead of a revolutionary struggle they preach counter-revolutionary non-violence and submission; instead of supporting the revolutionary workers they split the Trade Union Congress in Calcutta and made an agreement with the Joshi and Giri group, the open agents of the imperialists, etc.

Therefore, we must consider as incorrect the fact that the proletarian revolutionaries, while struggling against the national reformists at the Calcutta T.U. Congress, did not come out simultaneously with a special declaration against the Sen-Gupta group, thereby hindering the differentiation and the struggle against national reformism. The struggle against national reformism, and still more against its dangerous variety (the Roy Kandalkar-V.N. Joshi group) serves as a base, and is connected with the overcoming of two incorrect points of view which have appeared in the process of the formation of the Communist movement.

One of these consists in passive resistance to the extensive recruiting of revolutionary workers into the ranks of the Party. The other consists in glossing over the class character of the Communist Party. It is wrong to propose to the revolutionary petty-bourgeois organisations to fuse with the Communist Party. An alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry is the basis of the strategy of the Indian C.P., but while fighting for the leadership of the anti-imperialist and the general peasant struggle, we must not for a moment forget the separate organisation of the town and village proletariat, and the formation of a completely independent class Party - the Communist Party. While fighting in alliance with the peasantry, the Indian proletariat must preserve its class independence; this is the only guarantee, not only that it will be able to ensure its hegemony (if a

Communist Party exists) in the general national movement, but that it will be able to draw the majority of the oppressed peasantry, after the overthrow of the power of the imperialists, with it in the struggle for socialism.

#### PEASANTS AND NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES MOVEMENT

The tremendous growth of the peasant movement, taking on the character of guerilla warfare in some districts, the struggle in the United Provinces, etc, was the main reason compelling the National Congress to move more and more to the right, against the revolutionary people, concealing its actions by "Left" manoeuvres.

The National Congress has retarded the "no-rent and no-taxes" movement in every way for one and a half years, and helped the British imperialists to collect taxes and debts from the peasants. Now, stating that it sympathises with the non-payment movement in words, it continues to carry on dis-organisational counter-revolutionary work against it in reality.

The present "no-rent and no tax" movement bears a spontaneous character. The task of the Communists at the present time is: following the policy as outlined in the platform of action of the Communist Party of India to actually start the organisation of a mass movement for democratic elements into this campaign, and giving it the anti-imperialist character of the struggles for independence. Only in this way, proving by concrete examples of how the "radical" words of the National Congress differ from their disorganising actions, will it be possible to isolate the national reformists and develop a powerful peasant movement. Besides direct agitational and organisational work by the Party and the utilisation of the industrial workers connected with the villages, it is necessary to call on the revolutionary elements of the rank and file (followers of the National Congress; the youth leagues; the peasant organisations, etc.), to undertake the organisation of a nation-wide movement for the non-payment of taxes and rent, in spite of the National Congress and over its head, organising peasant committees, self-defence groups, and establishing contact with the town workers.

It is incorrect to oppose the slogan of the general strike to the mass movement for non-payment of taxes and debts, civil disobedience, and the boycott. While supporting this mass movement, the Communists must win the leadership of it, and exposing the treachery of the National Congress by concrete example, develop and guide it into genuinely revolutionary channels.

#### SLOGAN OF GENERAL STRIKE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

At the end of 1930 some revolutionists (see article of "Railwayman") took a negative attitude at the slogan of the general strike. These comrades "explained" their negative attitude by claiming that the workers were not yet sufficiently class-conscious and that most of the trade unions opposed this slogan.

The basis for this position was an incorrect estimation of the general situation, lack of faith in the strength of the working class, and confusion on the question of the tactical tasks of the Communists.

The objective situation of 1930, and at present, shows that the slogan of a general strike was and is timely, corresponds to the relationship of class forces, and is one of the basic uniting slogans for the next stage of the struggle of the working class for hegemony in the people's movement.

The author of the article confused the question of the slogan of the general strike as a tactical line for the Communists, with the question of the date for calling the strike, which depends on a number of concrete factors. We must not, under the excuse of disagreement with the fixing of a date for the strike, carry on a struggle against the tactical line of the revolutionary proletariat.

" To consider the mood of the workers is important when choosing the moment of action, but not for deciding the tactical line of action, of the working class." (Lenin)

It is also incorrect to consider the slogan of a general strike according to the attitude of the trade union leaders. The majority of the Indian trade unions are bureaucratic, non-mass organisations, acting against the interests of the working masses, without contact with them. At the present time, the strength of these reformist trade unions is the result of the poor activity of the proletarian revolutionaries, of disorganisation in the workers' ranks, and the fact that the national reformists utilise the anti-imperialist sentiment of the working class. It is useful to recollect the experience of Bombay in 1928 and the rapid breaking up of the textile "Union" of Joshi and Co. When considering the slogan of the general strike, we must not mistake the attitude of the reformist leaders for the real sentiments of the working class. This is a gross error.

In order to break down the disorganising influence and work of the reformists it was necessary not to withdraw the slogan of the general strike, but on the contrary transfer the struggle for it to the rank and file, to the masses, exposing the reformists and organising the workers.

The events of the last few months (the increase of strikes, the growing demands of the Railwayman for a Railway strike, the growth of unemployment and poverty, resistance to the terror of the imperialists, etc.) show that support for the slogan of the general strike is increasing. The task of the Communists is to come forward in deeds not in words as initiators of the struggle of the workers. To start to organise strike committees, composed of rank and file workers and using the assistance of all revolutionary democratic organisations (youth leagues, rank and file revolutionaries at present deceived by the National Congress) and thus mobilising all forces, over the head of the reformist trade union leaders, developing the strike movement, especially on the railways, and by means of them, linking them

up with political demands, leading the masses to the general political strike. We greet the fact that Indian workers, as stated in the "Railway Mazdoor" are beginning this task. The general strike is of historic importance for the development of the revolutionary movement and the conversion of the proletariat into the leading force, mobilising the peasants and the city poor around it. It will deliver the first powerful blow at the power of the imperialists - bringing the revolutionary people right up to the highest form of struggle, the revolutionary uprising.

The development of the strike movement places the task of forming mass trade unions, and factory committees, before the Communists and the necessity of combining the battles for the everyday interests with the political struggle. The revolutionary Trade Union movement has registered a number of individual successes, like the strikes at Sholapur and Bombay, the calling of a conference of textile workers with the participation of 400 delegates from 60 factories, the strengthening of its position among the railwayman, the growth of the worker's press, etc.

However, the weakness of the Girni Kamgar Union, the loss of the leadership of the strike at the "Medhowji Dharmasi" factory, the loss of the leadership in the tramway union, etc., also show that the Communists disdain the everyday work in the factories and trade unions, do not build up groups of active workers, do not form Communist factions, do not carry on sufficient everyday organisational and agitational work. It is only by leading and defending the interests of the workers in large and small struggles constantly and every day, in attack and defence, that the Communist Party can win the unshakable confidence of the working class and lead it to the decisive battle against the exploiting classes.

It is time to get rid of bad traditions in the trade unions (the traditions of bureaucratic methods of work from above, the division into leaders and rank and file) and to start to form mass trade unions with elected management committees, consisting of workers from the bench, regularly functioning and in contact with the working masses, boldly promoting workers, supporting them and in every way developing their initiative and self-reliance.

We must carry on energetic work among the workers who follow the reformist trade unions. It is a great mistake to continue the practice of self-isolation from worker's meetings, and the mass trade unions which are under the influence of the reformists. Communists must always take part in them and carry on work among the workers urging them to join the united fighting front of the proletariat.

During strikes and other economic and political actions of the workers, it is necessary to propose to the workers who follow the reformists to help the general struggle, take part in the rank and file unity committees, defend the workers' demands etc., and thus fight for the unity of the workers, not in words but in deeds, exposing the reformists at the same time.

At the same time, it is necessary to change the passive attitude of Communists to the question of All-Indian trade union movement and repudiate the special theory that "the trade union Congress is not living and concrete for the workers". In this, as in the other questions, lack of faith is shown in the working class and local tasks are counterposed to All-Indian tasks, the Girni Kamgar Union is counterposed to the trade union Congress.

Such counterposing is very harmful. While developing our activity a hundred times for strengthening the Girni Kamgar Union and converting it into an All-Indian textile union (including Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, etc.), it is necessary to completely do away with a negative attitude towards the All-Indian trade union movement, and begin to form mass trade unions all over the country, in the coal, steel and jute industry, the plantations and the railroads, attracting the workers of the reformist trade unions to our side.

After the split of the Calcutta trade union Congress, the revolutionary wing did nothing to form a mass trade union movement, while the national reformists are carrying on a "unity" campaign (i.e., disorganisation of the revolutionary proletariat), organised a number of All-Indian campaigns (Labour Day, etc.,) formed a textile federation, seized the initiative on the railroads, formed provincial trade union councils, etc.

Even now the revolutionary trade union movement is in a position to send a number of groups of active workers to various centres in the country so as to start work among the rank and file workers. Only by boldly promoting workers and tested revolutionary Communist intellectuals into the leadership; starting real work and abandoning a number of mistakes explained above, only in this way will the Communists be able to start the organisation of the proletariat and develop the struggle for the hegemony of the working class in the People's movement.

#### STRUGGLE FOR ALL INDIA PARTY

The biggest gain of the proletarian movement, the greatest move forward is the fact that the advanced workers and revolutionaries have entirely separated from the National Congress and commenced to form illegal Communist Party. The idea of an illegal Communist Party has already been adopted and is beginning to be carried out.

However, the development of the Indian Communist movement is being blocked by the state of discord, the separate existence of the Party groups, a number of mistakes connected with it and enumerated above, without overcoming which, the movement cannot normally develop further.

If the period of isolated circles might have been considered inevitable in 1930 and the beginning of 1931, such a position must be considered as extremely harmful and dangerous to the further development of the Communist movement at the present time.

The movement has now reached a stage of development when it is absolutely necessary to raise the standard of struggle for an All-Indian Communist Party resolutely and firmly, for uniting and

welding together all the communist groups, for the organisational and ideological unity of the Communist ranks, utilising and developing the initiative from below to form and develop new local groups and organisations at the same time.

Hence it must be recognised that the Party organisation has not carried out a correct policy; instead of a struggle for the Party, it has, in reality, taken the line of provincialism. Instead of helping the local groups, it has taken up the position of self-limitation, and reducing the whole Party merely to a local organisation, not linked up with other local organisations. Instead of rousing and organising the ideological struggle for the Party, widely explaining and discussing all the questions of principle of the movement ( for which purpose it is necessary to create an illegal printed organ of the Central Committee and legal newspapers in the shortest possible time), the Party organisation was not even able to continue publication of the legal Marxist paper of All-Indian importance. The absence of such illegal and legal papers ( and their substitution by the trade union press does not improve the position) not only drove all disagreements deep inside, hindering the working out of a united Party line, but it played a great negative role in the formation of the Communist Party, strengthening of contact between the various districts, development of the class struggle against the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, and winning the workers and the revolutionary youth to the Communist Party. Revolutionary newspapers are appearing everywhere in the country (in Calcutta, Madras, Punjab, etc.), trying to preach Marxism and defend the proletarian point of view. But the absence of an illegal (and a legal) Party press makes it exceedingly difficult to influence them to struggle against confusion, discord and gross mistakes, hinders the working out of a united Communist line and the establishment of unity of views and methods of struggle. It is necessary to clearly understand the teachings of Lenin of the role of a central Party paper as an agitator and organiser of the masses and the Party. This is particularly important for the present period of the Indian Communist movement.

A psychology of provincialism has developed in the circles and refusal to work on an All-Indian scale. One of the questions which were of All-Indian importance (the All-Indian Trade Union movement, the general strike on the railroads, the peasant struggle, the movement for the non-payment of rent and taxes, the Round Table Conference, the jute strike, etc.) the Communist groups proved unable to rise above the provincial horizon. They did not see the general task and the All-Indian scale of the struggle, which in its turn, led them to narrow down their tasks, on the spot, in their provinces. In practice, they completely cleared the All-Indian arena for the national reformists, who took the initiative in the organisation (i.e., in reality disorganisation), of the railroad movement, the textile federation, the united front campaign, the work among the miners and metal workers of Jamshedpur, etc. Abandonment of the All-Indian arena, self-isolation, for instance, inability of revolutionary leaders of the Bombay workers to give assistance to the jute strike in

Calcutta, etc., in practice leads to the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie, hinders the formation of the C.P., prevents the winning of the hegemony in the struggle of the people by the working class, leads to the loss of initiative in all questions whatsoever (in the struggle for the trade union congress, preparations for the railway strike, etc.).

Provincialism and discord is also shown in the fact that the Girni Kamgar Union alone is made to take the place of the All-Indian trade union movement. In practice this leads to the fact that the Communist groups voluntarily leave the All-Indian arena and objectively play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

It is necessary to come forward decisively for an All-Indian Communist Party while increasing a hundred-fold local work (especially in Calcutta, etc.), it is necessary at the same time to move the centre of gravity of Party work somewhat to the All-Indian activity, and begin to build the Party, carrying on the struggle for a common political line, creating a network of local Party organisations, developing the sense of responsibility, Party feeling and discipline, encouraging local initiative and courageously drawing workers and those revolutionary intellectuals who are true to the working class cause into our ranks. Such a change will not weaken, but on the contrary will make the local activity, contacts and agitation, stronger and more stable. It is necessary to build and extend party organisations everywhere, encouraging local initiative. The strength of the Communist Party is determined by the degree of its contact with the wide masses, above all with the proletariat. The only correct form of organisation to secure this contact, and the fighting ability of the Party is the system of factory cells. Particularly in India, under conditions of terror and comparatively high concentration of the proletariat, the formation of factory cells is absolutely essential, obligatory and a highly important task of the Party. It is necessary to get in touch with, and draw in all active industrial workers, because that is the chief guarantee of successful building of an illegal Communist Party, able to withstand the terror and lead the struggle of the working class. It is essential to arrange propagandist circles, short courses, etc. at the same time, to develop and teach the active worker the elemental essentials of Marxism, helping them in every way into active Party work as organisers and leaders of working class struggle and Party organisations. The Communist groups were also unable to properly combine legal and illegal forms of work. In some districts, not following the correct position that the platform of action of the Communist Party of India can exist only as an illegal Party, the Communists have not been able to ensure the formation and normal existence of illegal organisations and leading organs.

It must be thoroughly realised (and this will determine how seriously and consistently the Communists stand by the illegal Party and the revolutionary struggle) that the leading organs of the Party, and the kernel of the party organisations, must

be in an illegal position, and that mixing the conspirative and open apparatus of the Party organisation is fatal to the Party, and plays into the hands of Government provocation. While developing the illegal organisation in every way, measures must be taken for preserving and strengthening the conspirative kernel of the party organisation. For the purpose of all kinds of open activity ( in the press, meetings, leagues, trade unions, etc) special groups and commissions, etc., should be formed which, working under the leadership of Party committees, should under no circumstances injure the existence of illegal cells.

To sum up; the slogan of an All-Indian illegal, centralised Communist Party, ideologically and organisationally united a true section of the Comintern, fighting for the platform of action of the Communist Party of India and the programme of the Communist International must become the central slogan for gathering and forming the Party; and for the struggle against waverings, against the tendency of maintaining isolated circles, against toning down the struggle against national reformism and opportunist sectarianism, all of which hinder the victory of the working class.

## CONCLUSION

The international situation is becoming more and more acute. Japanese imperialism is carrying on war in China and, together with a number of imperialist States, is preparing its division and complete subjugation. It meets the resistance of USA, which is striving to strengthen and widen its imperialist position in China by way of reducing the share of the other imperialist robbers and increased exploitation of Chinese masses. The military offensive, the war of the imperialist states against the USSR, the first working class republic, which has the sympathy of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed colonial masses of the world - is fast approaching. British imperialism is once more trying to utilise India, as in the world war, to supply reinforcements for its army, use its raw materials, and make it into a strategic basis for the war against the USSR and the revolutionary peoples of the East. The Indian bourgeoisie is once more betraying and selling the revolutionary people for a mess of pottage.

In the approaching deadly struggle between world imperialism and the proletarian state the role of the Indian Communists is enormous. The Indian anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution can deliver a deathblow at British imperialism and thus hasten the complete destruction of capitalism throughout the world and guarantee the victory of the world revolution. And for this struggle the Indian Communists must prepare in a truly Bolshevik manner.

At the present time, the tasks are exceptionally difficult. But for the Indian Communists there is no other revolutionary way to solve these tasks than the Bolshevik way, that is:

with the maximum of energy, tenacity and consistency, following the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, to undertake, in spite of difficulties, individual failure and defeats, the fulfilment of these tasks and the most important of them - the creation of a true Communist Party.

There can be no greater crime than if the Indian Communists (having their platform of action of the C.P.I. and agreeing with the present letter) instead of struggle for the great historical aims of the Indian and world proletariat follow the path of unprincipled factional struggle, factions and personal groupings.

Unprincipled factional struggle will play into the hands of the British Imperialists. True Communist groups must put the interests of the proletariat above everything else, direct all their efforts towards the rapid formation of the Communist Party, settling all questions of dispute within the framework of the Communist International and if necessary with its assistance.

The Communists of the whole world do not doubt that, in spite of their present weakness, inexperience and partial isolation, the Indian Communists will show sufficient Bolshevik firmness, courage and decisiveness to enter the wide All-Indian arena of struggle for the Party - the leader and organiser of the Indian revolution.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.



( All emphases in original )

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## document 3

OPEN LETTER TO THE INDIAN COMMUNISTS  
FROM THE C.C. OF THE C.P. OF CHINA

Dear Comrades:

We send the warmest greetings to the Indian Communists, our class brothers, our heroic comrades in the struggle of oppressed mankind for freedom.

More than a year has passed since we jointly with the British and German Communist Parties sent you the open letter. We have been watching the events in your country with unceasing attention and have been following your self-sacrificing struggle. With the truest and warmest desire to help in your great cause, we are giving you our experiences and our ideas on the most important questions of the present revolutionary movement in India.

There is no doubt that the chief and decisive question is the formation of a militant mass Indian Communist Party. The successful development of the revolutionary mass struggle is possible only under the leadership of a firm Communist vanguard.

The working class of Russia was able to overthrow the hated monarchy, to put a complete end to the frightful oppression of the landlords, to destroy capitalist exploitation, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to repulse the armed attack of the international interventionists, to make a radical improvement of the conditions of the working class and the peasants and to develop the victorious construction of socialism only because of the leadership of an iron, monolithic Communist Party, created and tested in many struggles. Only under the correct leadership of the C.P.S.U. it became possible to convert Russia into an advanced industrial country, to carry on the technical reconstruction of agriculture, to lead the peasant masses out of ignorance and poverty, terrible oppression and ruin, to lead them along the path of prosperity and the progress of agriculture. Under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. a foundation of Socialist economy was built and now classless socialist society where no oppression of man by man exists is being created. The U.S.S.R. has ensured its economic and political independence, has become a mighty and invincible fortress of the world revolution, a beacon light that points out the path for the workers and peasants of all countries.

In the U.S.S.R., in our Chinese country and in your country and throughout the world, the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class, capable of solving the great tasks which face the revolution. But unless the proletariat is organised, it is nothing. If it is organised and led by the Communist Party it becomes an unconquerable force. Lenin taught us that:

"Without a Party, steeled in the struggle, without a Party which is trusted by all that is honest in the given class, without a Party which is able to watch the sentiments of the masses and influence them, it is impossible to carry on such a struggle."

The experience of the struggle of the international proletariat confirms the correctness of these words. This experience shows us that without the Communist Party, the working class scatters its forces, cannot take the revolutionary power, cannot obtain the independence of its country, so as to carry further the struggle for socialism. Without it, it becomes merely a plaything, an appendage of its class enemies.

One of the chief causes of the defeat of the Paris Commune was the absence of a Party of the revolutionary proletariat. The experience of the revolutionary storms in Germany, Austria and Italy in 1918-20 shows that without a strong Communist Party, the proletariat was unable to defeat the bourgeoisie and suffered itself a defeat. In China, the successes and weaknesses of our government directly depend upon the strength and weaknesses of our Communist Party. Only the consistent ideological and organisational growth of the Communist Party, the rise of its fighting powers, a correct understanding and the great loyalty of the Chinese Communists to the interests of the people, explains the successes of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese Soviet Movement and the workers' and peasants' Red Army of our country.

In India in 1928-30 you were faced with a tremendous wave of strikes, coupled with a big movement of the peasant masses. If in these conditions in India there had been a mass fighting Communist Party, connected with the factories and the villages, able to lead the mass organisations, above all the trade unions, if this tremendous upsurge of the national independence movement which spread over your country had received revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party, it is clear that the results would have been quite different.

This is why, following the example of the Russian proletarians, we have for many years stubbornly built and strengthened in every way the Communist Party. We remembered that this is the basis and decisive condition of the victory of our people in the struggle for independence and growth. We have suffered tremendous sacrifices on this path. When we look back, our blood boils with hatred at our oppressors and class enemies who destroyed many of the best sons of our toiling people. But it is clear that the sacrifices made by our people did not pass away without leaving a trace, they were not sacrifices in vain. By the self-sacrificing and tireless struggle of our Communists, we have brought about a state of affairs when the Soviets became the banner of the national revolution, when the broad masses of toilers are being more and more organised and rally for the armed struggle against imperialism and Kuomintang counter-revolution. Whatever sacrifices the struggle may demand from us in the future, we will build and strengthen our Party.

We clearly realise that in order to solve the tasks of the revolution, we need a militant Party that fights like a lion, a Party of a new type, a special Party which is not at all like the parties of the Second

International, not like the Kuomintang, the National Congress and other national-reformist or national revolutionary parties. We need a Party like the C.P.S.U. The C.P. of Germany and other best sections of the Comintern are becoming and the Chinese Party is doing its best to become like it.

This Party must be a model of Bolshevik organisation and iron discipline, it stands up against conciliation and adaption to the oppressors and the bourgeoisie, it is not a peaceful Party, but a militant, bold, revolutionary Party, based on Marxist-Leninist theory - the only revolutionary theory of the international proletariat - always connected with the working class masses and always pointing out the way of struggle. Every Party member must be an active, firm self-sacrificing, conscientious and disciplined fighter. He must give up all his strength, all his knowledge and his life to the cause of the Party. "Sons of the working class, sons of want and struggle, sons of unparalleled sufferings and heroic efforts - this is what a member of such a Party should be first of all," said Comrade Stalin. The Party must not allow any factions and groupings. It must carry on a consistent struggle against all deviations from the Bolshevik line. The Party must form the transmission belts to connect it with the toiling masses, must form and lead the trade unions, the peasant committees, the Y.C.L. and other mass organisations. Only such a Party can ensure the victorious outcome of the decisive fights with the imperialists and other exploiting classes.

There is not yet such an all-Indian Party in existence. We are becoming more and more uneasy at the slowness of the process of the formation of the Communist Party of India. It is true that the Communists in India are faced with many difficulties. The considerable isolation of India from the international workers' movement, when bloody British imperialism tries in every way to prevent contacts between the revolutionary movement in India and the international proletariat - plays its negative role. It is not an easy task to break the toiling masses away from the influence of national reformism and form a mass Communist Party. It is not easy in the conditions of the barbarous monopolist domination of British imperialism and the cunning manoeuvres of the conciliation and anti-revolutionary bourgeoisie. But in spite of all these difficulties, we must realise that the conditions are favourable and fully mature for the uniting and rallying together of all the Communist Groups, for organising an all-Indian Communist Party. In some of your documents you correctly write that the peasants and the working class of India are sinking deeper and deeper into the sea of poverty and ruin.

Likewise the propertyless intelligentsia is doomed to death from starvation, whilst the bourgeois leaders of the National Congress are crawling on their knees before the British oppressors. The general situation in your country is characterised at the present time by the fact that through a pseudo-constitution and other manoeuvres, on the one hand, and with the help of furious terror on the other hand, British imperialism is trying to strengthen its positions of domination and oppression of the people. The Indian bourgeoisie, which stopped the civil disobedience campaign and continues its capitulatory policy, clears the path for the rule of British imperialism. At the same time ever wider sections of the toilers are turning their eyes towards the path of

the revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and feudalists, they are seeking revolutionary leadership. In these conditions, the rapid formation of the Communist Party is the central task of the Indian revolution.

This is why we welcome the Calcutta Committee of the Communist Party of India, which energetically took up the call for the formation of an All-Indian Communist Party, which understood the necessity to shift the center of gravity of Party work to activities on an All-Indian scale and which proposed to put an end to the pitiful chapter in the history of the C.P. of India, the chapter of petty squabbles and splits, and to open a new page by the formation of a powerful united Communist Party of India.

We hope that the Calcutta Committee, just as other local organisations, will show initiative and will energetically take up the task of uniting the scattered Communist groups and thus form the foundation of a mass Party. In India there are many Communists. If they are united and organised in a Bolshevik manner, their strength, influence and role will tremendously increase. It is necessary to get clear about ideology and practice of each of these groups. While carrying out the unification it is, of course, not necessary to take all, but the best of them, take trusted comrades, who support the programme of action of the Indian Communist Party and are ready to fight to carry it out.

The platform of action of the C.P. of India gave a correct Bolshevik analysis of the nature and driving forces of the Indian Revolution and the leading role of the proletariat.

However, the working class, with the Communist Party at its head can win and carry out its leadership only while participating in the struggle, when masses will see in practice that the Communists represent the only force capable of leading the revolutionary people to victory. The attention of the masses is concentrated now on the solution of a number of revolutionary democratic tasks. The workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie are burning with just hatred against the imperialists. They are coming into constant conflict with the British imperialists and with the reactionary forces of the old semi-feudal caste society, into conflict with the officials, police, government, landlords and money-lenders. And here and in the defence of their own every-day interests - the consciousness of the workers and all the toilers and their desire for organisation and struggle is growing. In the struggle for democratic demands a mass revolutionary movement is growing, the class-consciousness of the workers is developing, and the proletariat is becoming an independent class force. The toiling masses while fighting for their interests, see and begin to understand in practice the treacherous policy of the national-reformists and are becoming convinced that in order to obtain independence, it is necessary to throw aside the Gandhi-ite policy of non-resistance and the protection of the interests of the exploiters and follow the path of revolutionary struggle pointed out by the Communists.

And therefore it is clear that the task of Communists is to enter and take charge of all these democratic movements, of all movements of discontent against the existing order, whatever questions cause them to

arise, and to go everywhere with Communist agitation, putting forward proposals and slogans at every pretext, constantly explaining and showing in practice that the path of the national-reformists is the path of defeat and slavery. Only when the workers and peasants and the semi-proletarians of the towns and villages see that in the struggle for their every-day economic demands, in the demonstrations against terror and arrests, in the movement against the payment of rent and taxes, in the conflicts with the police and officials, in every mass action whether it comes from the students or small toilers, peasants or workers, in the struggle against the caste system, etc., the Communists come forward at the head and fight consistently and to the end, only then will the toiling masses, and not only the peasants and workers, become convinced that the Communists are the real leaders of the people who can be trusted and with whom it is possible to march to the end in the struggle for independence, land and power.

Look at our Chinese experience. In the revolution of 1925-27 the working class of our country became an independent class force, the leader of the toiling masses. Our party became a mass Party and began to play a big role on the political arena of China. This was possible only because of the participation of our Party in the democratic movement and especially in the anti-imperialist struggle for the independence of China. In the revolution of 1925-27 our Party applied the tactic of a united national front. It is true, this united national front could not have been and was not long, because in the conditions of a growing revolution the Chinese bourgeoisie (and Kuomintang) turned to the camp of imperialism, reactionary militarists and landlords and became the worst enemy of the revolution. On the other side the former leadership of our Party was not able to avoid the worst opportunist mistakes while carrying out the tactic of the united front. It did not sufficiently defend the independence of the Communist Party and in the interests of the bourgeoisie limited and narrowed the struggle of the masses. And however badly we carried out the tactics of the united revolutionary front with the national bourgeoisie, whatever gross mistakes we may have made, nevertheless it is thanks to these tactics of the united front that we have obtained our successes in the struggle against imperialism and the conversion of our Party into a powerful political factor. Without these tactics the successes of the Northern campaign of 1925 would have been impossible. We could not have organised the proletariat and roused it to the struggle as rapidly as the revolution demanded. We could not have drawn in the peasant reserves. The rapid growth of the organisation of the workers and peasants, the powerful development of the strike struggle of the proletariat and the rapid growth of the peasant movement in 1927, all these achievements which gave great power to our Party would have been impossible if we had not adopted at the same time the tactics of the united national front, if we had stood apart from participation in the general national movement, if we had not energetically joined in the anti-imperialist struggle, if we had not attracted the broad masses to it, if we had not struggled for the leading influence in this struggle and if we had not determinedly exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of national reformism.

In India owing to the conciliatory position of the bourgeoisie, the tactic of the all-embracing united national front could not find

application even at the early stages of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. In India it can only be a question of the policy of the revolutionary bloc of the workers and the basic masses of the petty-bourgeoisie. Of course this means a bloc of the masses and not combinations of leaders. In this form it is absolutely necessary to apply the tactic of the united front in the national liberation movement in India. The essence of Bolshevik policy is to preserve and strengthen the independent class character of the Communist Party to avoid being dissolved in the petty-bourgeois sea, to paralyse the influence of the bourgeoisie on the broad masses, and at the same time create the united front of workers, peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie, utilise any temporary allies, carrying the struggle for leadership of the national movement for independence, land and freedom.

And as far as we can understand the developing conditions in India, we believe they are specially favourable to establish the hegemony of the the working class in the anti-imperialist movement if we apply the tactic of the united front.

The feudal imperialist constitution, advertised by British imperialism, has as its aim: strengthening the rule of the imperialists while adapting it to the new conditions. To attract the princes and landlords to some limited participation in the government of the country and to give some insignificant constitutional concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie and economic concessions at the expense of foreign competition that is how British imperialism is trying to rally together the forces of counter-revolution against the Indian people, and prepare for a new international war and face all intervention against the U.S.S.R. The experience of all history of the Indian national movement especially from 1919 to 1933 showed that the Indian bourgeoisie came out against the revolution and the more time passes by the more closely it begins to collaborate with imperialism. Experience has shown that the national Congress in spite of a number of peculiar features of its organisation, is the class organisation of the bourgeoisie connected with the liberal landlords, it consistently combats the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Experience has shown that the path of non-violence and passive resistance and conciliatory negotiations pursued by the leaders of the National Congress is totally bankrupt, plays into the hands of the British imperialists and only leads to a further enslavement of India. Indian experience, like our Chinese experience, once more confirms the prophetic teaching of Lenin that: in the epoch of imperialism there is no salvation for the colonial peoples except the path of the people's revolution under the leadership of the proletariat headed by the Communist Party.

The National Congress led by Gandhi called off the mass civil disobedience movement and did its best to transfer the struggle against the Constitution into the channels of peaceful reformist activity for improving the caste system, for an agreement with the Musulman priesthood and the landed gentry, etc. This is an open support for British imperialism. It is the policy of adaption to the imperialist Constitution, a policy concealed by a cloak of high sounding words. The new proposal of Gandhi to begin individual civil disobedience instead of mass action is the latest attempt to deceive the people. This "left"

gesture conceals the real plan of the leaders of the National Congress to stop the struggle of the masses at all costs and take part in the coming elections for the legislative assemblies. It is a repetition of the tactics of 1922-24. Gandhi declares himself that he has not changed, while the leaders of the National Congress are pursuing the path of the old Swaraj Party and all of them together are doing their best to crush the initiative of the masses. At the same time some of the "left" Congress leaders like Bose make the proposal to form a new party. Every Party and Group can be judged only by its deeds and not in its words. The past of Bose does not inspire us with great confidence. Bose, Nehru and their followers in the past fully supported the policy of Gandhism. We cannot forget that in 1928 Bose signed the anti-National Constitution of Motilal Nehru, the central point of which was the repudiation of the demand for the independence of India. In 1929, having formed together with Nehru the League of Independence, Bose and his friends quietly buried this League in 1930-32 when Gandhi put forward his eleven points, made a pact with Lord Irwin, etc. Bose split the trade union movement, trying to isolate the Communists, hiding behind false charges against the Communists that they were acting against the independence movement. While in reality the Communists were opposing the National Congress participation in the Round Table Conference and fought against the treacherous policy of the National Congress leaders. The "left" Congress-ites, including Bose, share full responsibility for the entire policy betrayal of the interests of the people pursued by the National Congress. At present (July 1933) in his appeal to the "third" political conference of Indians in London, Bose criticised Gandhi, stating that he proved to be incapable to make a compromise with British imperialism. In his appeal, Bose does not oppose the theory of non-violence and instead of calling on the masses for wide mass activity against the Constitution, instead of calling to start and support the movement for the non-payment of debts, taxes and rent, instead of preaching the general strike and calling for preparations for it, i.e. instead of the mass struggle, advised the masses to wait until Bose and his friends had studied the experience of other countries. Thus on the basic question whether to raise the banner of mass resistance against the Constitution or to help the leaders of the National Congress to disorganise the mass movement and make it easier for British imperialists to carry through the anti-National Constitution, Gandhi and Bose acted together, although the latter concealed himself behind "left" phrases. Bose is opposed to converting the struggle against the Constitution into a movement of millions, claiming in his appeal that there is apathy and a fall of spirits among the people. This is plainly not a correct appraisal, and we are sure that you do not agree with it.

There is no apathy among the Indian people. The increasing strikes of the workers, the peasant revolt in Alwar, the numerous actions of the toiling masses, the movement for a general strike and the non-payment movement are signs of the activity of the masses. The revolutionary people are prepared to struggle, but they have lost their faith in the treacherous policy of the National Congress and are seeking new paths, a new programme, new leadership.

All honest fighters for the independence of India, for land and freedom for the peasants, for the improvement of the lot of the workers must

follow the path and the slogans given in the platform of action of the Indian Communist Party. It seems to us that the Indian Communists will not refuse to collaborate and even make temporary agreements with any revolutionary group and organisation which is prepared or capable even for a certain period to carry on the revolutionary mass struggle for independence.

However, at the present period of mass disappointment with the policy of the National Congress, along with the appearance of national revolutionary groups outside or inside the National Congress, we see the appearance of such "oppositional" groups as the group of the renegade Roy, who, concealed by "left" phrases and a half criticism of the policy of the National Congress, came out in practice against the development of the mass revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, carry on the old policy of subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie and maintaining the leading position of the bourgeois National Congress among the masses of the people. The duty of the Indian Communists is to raise the banner of struggle against the Constitution, develop it on the lines of the mass movement, linking it up with the strike movement in defence of the immediate demands of the masses, directing it to support the general strike, non-payment of rent, debts and taxes and the liberation of the political prisoners. The duty of the Indian Communists is to call for a united front of workers, peasants, students and urban poor, and to begin to form it for the struggle against the Constitution, appealing to the rank and file adherents of the Congress to support the struggle of the workers and peasants. And expose at the same time the new attempts of the "left" national reformists to deceive the toiling masses as was done previously by the League of Independence. It would not be correct for the Indian Communists to abandon the struggle against the Constitution and limit themselves merely to the economic struggle. The comrades who take such a point of view are stepping towards a harmful sectarianism, isolate themselves from the movement for independence and do not understand the necessity to attract all democratic groups capable of marching together with the working class along even part of the path against the imperialists. It is wrong to counterpose the anti-imperialist to the strike struggle, it is necessary to conduct both at the same time. The attractive force of the Communist Party will grow, and its significance as a revolutionary factor will increase in proportion to its rising participation in the anti-imperialist struggle and its ability to take the lead in all the actions of the Indian people against the British Imperialism.

There is no need to repeat much here that the task of strengthening the position of the Communists in the working class is the primary task. Participation in the trade unions and the development of the economic strike struggle of the working class at the present time is a most important part of all the work of the Communists. Only the successful actions of Communists in this sphere can serve as a guarantee for strengthening the Communist Party itself and ensuring the hegemony of the proletariat in the general struggle of the people.

The successes of the independence struggle in our country are inseparably connected with the strike movement of the working class. The mass of the historic important revolutionary actions of the Chinese proletariat

raised the liberation struggle of our people to a higher level and laid the ground for proletarian hegemony - this decisive prerequisite of the success of the revolutionary struggle. The new era, the new upsurge of the independence struggle of the Chinese people was opened by the great strike of seamen in Hong Kong in 1922, and the famous strike on the Peking-Hankow railway in February, 1923. The strike of over half a million workers in Shanghai in the summer of 1925 formed the beginning of the great Chinese revolution. The general strike of a year and a half duration in Hong Kong in 1925-26 converted the then Canton into the basis of the Chinese national revolution. The strikes and the seizure of the British Concession in Hankow in January, 1927, by the Wuchang workers, and the three revolts of the Shanghai proletarians, eventually victorious in 1927, greatly increased the extent of our revolution and raised the leading role of the Party in it. Further, the heroic efforts of the Canton workers in December, 1927, when they declared the Canton Commune, opened the new Soviet phase of our revolution, and finally consolidated the role of hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

But we know also another example when the absence of sufficient Communist influence on the working masses, absence of a strong proletarian skeleton reduces the power of the national movement and has a negative effect on its results. This was during the famous defence of Shanghai against the Japanese invaders in 1932, when our Party, in spite of all the efforts and energetic actions which it performed was not able to paralyse the treachery of the Kuomintang and defend Shanghai from the Japanese interventionists. For this reason we are unceasingly struggling to strengthen our positions in the working class, to increase the organisation of the proletariat and develop and widen its economic and political struggle in every way. This is why you are also faced with the same most urgent task of increasing contacts with the working masses, developing their struggle and converting the proletariat into a uniting and leading force of the general national movement.

There is no doubt that the conditions for solving this task are very favourable. In the last few months the manufacturers of your country have carried on a new attack on the wages of the workers. In the textile industry of Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places, wages are being cut down by 20 to 30 percent, and the workers are being transferred from two to four looms. On the railways there is continued dismissals of workers, wages are reduced and trade unions are refused to be recognised. The working class in India is developing its resistance. Strikes are increasing. The slogan of the general strike has become a slogan of action in Bombay. Even the national reformists are compelled to recognise it.

The growing wave of the economic struggle demands from you to overcome your weaknesses at once. With Bolshevik directness we must state that the experience of the strikes in 1932-33 testifies once more that you have not yet learned to build a mass trade union organisation, you do not know how to work well in the factories, you do not organise and attract active workers into the struggle and into the Party, you do not carry on everyday organisational preparatory work, you do not take the initiative into your hands in the struggle for the unity of the working class, you do not adopt the tactics of the united front in the workers'

organisations and do not carry on work in the reformist trade unions.

We wish here to call your attention to a most serious mistake made by some Indian Communists, who confuse the role of the Party and the trade unions and are unable to take the lead in the struggle for the unity of the proletariat. It seems to us that the absence of a Communist Party explains the fact that the process of the separating out of the revolutionary wing of the proletariat in 1929-32 from national-reformism took the form of splitting the trade unions, splits provoked by the national reformist. The Red Trade Unions, which to a certain extent, owing to confusion, replaced the Party, served as the only arena on which the ideological and organisational separation of the Communists from reformism took place. Some Indian Communists were unable to understand that the struggle against reformism does not necessarily mean a split in the mass organisations and should not lead to the Communists and the class-conscious workers leaving those trade unions which are headed by reformists and national-reformists. Such a sectarian policy has only strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie and their agents. At the same time some other Communists have not understood that the work in the reformist trade unions or unity with the national-reformist trade union organisations (which you should not decline even now) presupposes a tireless struggle of the Communists against reformism, for Communist policy, for our slogans and proposals.

Agreements with the national-reformists in the trade unions, strike committees, for various campaigns and concrete mass actions, or even the unity of the Red and national-reformist trade unions in places where the latter have the masses with them, must not lead to the abandonment of the open defence and propaganda of our views and our right to criticise and expose the vacillations and treachery of the national-reformists. The failure to understand the mistake of both these views is the basic reason why some communists have not been able to take the initiative and correctly carry on the struggle for the unity of the working class. This is the basis of confusion which exists on the question of Kandalkar and Co. The struggle against Kandalkar and other "left" national-reformists does not mean refusal to work in the reformist trade unions, does not mean to refuse to carry on the tactic of the united front with working class organisations or even the joining together of the Red and mass national-reformist trade unions. This is important to understand. This is necessary to carry on, particularly at the present period of growing economic and political struggles. The success of the resistance of the workers to the attacks of the factory owners and the imperialists depends on the rapid formation of Communist organisations, the formation of mass trade unions based on the factory committees' energetic everyday practical work and the correct carrying on of the tactic of the united front, aimed at the wide mobilisation of masses of the proletariat.

The Indian Communists must strive in every way to secure the further development of the strike movement, organise and lead the economic struggles. Every effort must be used to develop political strikes, to prepare and carry on strikes at first on the local scale, on the scale of various towns and individual branches of industry, pursuing the general line of preparing and conducting general political strikes in all or many industrial centres of the country. Even while organising political

strikes it is necessary, along with anti-imperialists and other political slogans, to put forward economic demands which are close and vital for all the workers, including the most backward strata of the working class. It is necessary to begin serious work in the reformist trade unions and in every kind of mass reformist organisation, with the aim of winning over to our side the masses who are in these organisations.

"In order to be able to help the 'masses' and to win their sympathy, the support of the 'masses', we must not fear difficulties, not fear criticism, obstructions, abuse, persecution by the 'leaders' (who, as opportunists and social-chauvinists, in most cases are directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police) and work in the places where the masses are to be found" was the teaching of Lenin, and we must not forget it and neglect it, for that would be only to the benefit of our enemies.

At the same time we must in every way strengthen the class Red trade unions, must start to form factory committees, genuine elected management committees of trade unions, organise the unemployed masses around their vital demands and build up detachments of self-defence of the working class. This advice is confirmed by all our experience of struggle.

We have spoken of the tremendous importance which the strike movement has possessed and still possesses in China. But there is no doubt that in India, where the working class is more numerous than in our country, the strike as the proletarian method of struggle will still more be the means of bringing the toiling masses into revolutionary motion and will be the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like growth of decisive events.

This is why it seems to us that the Indian Communists must remember the directions given by Lenin in respect to Russia in the conditions of the upsurge of the worker's movement in 1913.

"The workers will direct their whole attention to supporting, developing and strengthening the spontaneously growing revolutionary strikes consciously for the preparation of revolts of the peasants and the soldiers .... so that all the peasants and all the troops will know about the stubborn struggles of the workers, so that even the most distant village will see that all is not quiet in the town, that their own friends have risen, that they are fighting a life and death struggle, that they are struggling for a better life, for higher wages, for the abolition of the arbitrary licence of the government, for handing over the landlords' land to the peasants, for the overthrow of the landlords' monarchy of the Czar, for the Republic. The restrained discontent and the angry murmurs of the villages, together with the indignation in the barracks must find a centre of attraction in the revolutionary strike of the workers. We must work for this untiringly, and we shall see the day when the proletariat, together with the peasants and the soldiers will overthrow the landlords, overthrow the Czarist monarchy by a national revolt."

The task of the Indian Communists consists precisely of linking up and

basing themselves on the numerous and growing forces of the proletariat, by their correct policy, winning over the majority of the working class, developing their strike struggles and mobilising around them the toiling peasants and the urban poor, all those who are prepared to struggle for the independence of India. In working untiringly in this manner, the Indian proletariat, together with the peasants, will overthrow British imperialism, overthrow the landlords by a national revolt.

The experience of our revolution, which we wish to share with you consists in the main in the struggle of the proletariat for the leadership of the Independence Movement, which is decisive for the fate of the revolution. But the hegemony of the proletariat pre-supposes the tireless work of the Party for strengthening the fighting alliance of the working class and the toiling masses of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. On the enormous territory of China, we have been able to develop and lead the struggle of the peasant masses against the landlords and the slavery of the money-lenders and the oppressions of the imperialists. At first this was achieved more easily in the places where the revolution of 1925-27 had prepared the ground. But we are making every effort to extend to all China the peasant war, led by the proletariat, so that all the Chinese peasants will be roused to the struggle and included in our influence; but in any case the legend, spread by our enemies, about the submissiveness of the Chinese masses, about their unbroken sleep for centuries, about their passivity and the impossibility of using them as a powerful reserve of revolutionary forces, their alleged lack of interest in the anti-imperialist struggle - this legend has been finally buried by the revolutionary practice of our country.

We do not doubt that you will be faced with similar achievements if you increase mass agitation among the peasants, if you organise the resistance of the peasant masses against the new attacks of the government organs and the attacks of the feudalists, if you take advantage of every peasant action, of every form of organisation of the peasant masses for contacts with them and for extending their struggles. The Communists of India must develop the movement for the non-payment of rent and taxes, must create peasant committees and committees of struggle, supporting and extending the partisan struggle. By carrying out these tasks, it will not be difficult for you in the future to rouse the struggle of the peasant masses to a higher level, to the level of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution which will sweep away the rule of the hated British imperialism along with feudalism.

The struggle for influence among the masses, the struggle for the development of the independent revolutionary mass movement cannot take place successfully unless there is a determined and consistent exposure of the entire policy and action of the National Congress, the national reformists and the national revolutionary leaders. Concealing themselves behind speeches on national unity and the general national interests, speeches about the non-class character of the National Congress, the bourgeoisie and their national-reformist agents try to utilise the hatred of the toiling masses towards the imperialist oppressors in such a way as to strengthen their (the bourgeois) influence and convert the proletariat into their appendage. We must paralyse their attempts to wake up the

masses and to exert influence on them. The agitation of our Party must be sharpened especially against the so-called "left" national-reformists, who use revolutionary phraseology with demagogic aims. The exposure of the national-reformists can only be successful if the Communist Party carries on practical work and a struggle to mobilise the masses around its slogans and partial demands. The victory of the Indian people will be impossible unless the masses are liberated from the influence and leadership of the national-reformists, unless an independent Communist Party is formed and leads the struggle of the entire people.

We have returned once again to the question of the Communist Party. But now we wish to deal with it from another angle. During the comparatively short period that our Party has existed, we have had to carry on a struggle inside the Party against Schendu-Du-ism, Putschism, Li-Li-Hsian-ism, Luchan-Lun-ism, Trotskyism, liquidatorism, etc. Only an unexampled, merciless and decisive struggle against deviations in the ranks of the Communist Party itself enabled us to find the correct solution of the complicated tasks, which were put before us by the revolution. The struggle on two fronts in theory and practice was, and is, the basis of the activity of our Party. We have carried on an untiring struggle inside the Party against the "right" opportunists and "left" putschist sectarian deviations, for ideological Bolshevik uniformity, for a correct solution of the tasks which face us, for a sound political line and the undeviating and consistent carrying out of this line.

You are faced with the task of the everyday struggle for the Bolshevisation of your ranks, to overcome definitely weaknesses and mistakes, increase the fighting ability of the Communist vanguard. You have to overcome the lagging behind of the Party organisations in respect to the tempo of development of the mass revolutionary movement. You must struggle against petty-bourgeois individualism and self-centred pride, which hinders the consolidation of the Party. You must struggle against those who deny the necessity or oppose the formation of an underground All-India Communist Party, who neglect to use legal possibilities, who occupy a tailist position, who give up the role of initiators in the strike struggle, who show any irresoluteness in exposing the Congressites and the reformist leaders, who drag the Communists away from democratic movements and the anti-imperialist struggle.

Every Party member must become conscious that there is nothing higher for him than the interests of the Party. You must convert the Communist Party into a proletarian Party, both in its composition and in regards to the role of the workers in its leading organs. You must fearlessly and systematically recruit advanced workers for the Party, active participators in the anti-imperialist and strike struggles. You must form factory Party groups, making out of every factory your fortress. You must avoid the danger of replacing the development of the mass struggle by combinations of leaders, which was the fault of many of our local Party organisations and which was the result of the Kuomintang traditions. This is a mistake of some of your Communists who follow the organisational principles of the National Congress and replace the organisation of the masses by the organisation of a small group of leaders. You must create underground and legal printed organs of the

Party which will play the role of collective agitator, propagandist and organiser of the masses. You must establish the unity of the Communist Party by the preliminary unification of scattered groups in every town and province into united local organisations, organising provincial conferences and preparing and carrying through an All-Indian Conference. In our opinion these are the chief organisational and political tasks, and unless they are carried out the Indian Communists will not be able to carry on their historically important and great role as the vanguard and leader of the toiling masses.

Dear Comrades! We feel really proud when you, in your leaflets, when speaking of the advantages of the Soviet form of government, not only refer to the experience of the U.S.S.R. but to China as well. But we did not gain these victories at once. We had to overcome enormous difficulties that steeled us in the struggle. The development of our Chinese Communist Party, the growth of the confidence of the toilers to our Party, were built up as the result, first, of the stubborn building up of our independent proletarian party, by a tireless and irreconcilable struggle for its Bolshevisation, for its ideological and organisational consolidation, by a determined struggle on two fronts ("left" sectarianism and "right-wing" opportunism) against all deviations; second, as the result of the decisive exposure and a merciless struggle against national-reformism and other imperialist and bourgeois agents; third, as the result of the struggle of our Party to widen the movement and win the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement; fourth, as the result of our efforts to organise and lead the strike movement, the economic and political struggles of the working class; fifth, as the result of bringing millions of peasants under our influence and by leading the agrarian revolution; sixth, as the result of the awakening of the masses and the consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

It would be a criminal and boasting thing, unworthy of Bolsheviks, if we considered that we had completely solved all the tasks facing us, because we have not yet succeeded to the extent necessary. But we are on the way towards this and we are firmly convinced that both you and we will solve these tasks, will ensure the victorious result in the forthcoming decisive revolutionary fights.

It would be wrong to transfer mechanically Chinese experience to India. You, undoubtedly, will take into account all concrete conditions and features which are peculiar to your movement. In China, as it is known, the revolutionary situation has developed, and on a considerable territory the Soviet revolution is developing successfully, the Chinese Red Army has achieved considerable victories.

The conditions in your country, inspite of the growing revolutionary upsurge, still do not coincide with ours. You must give correct estimation of the depth and breadth of the revolutionary movement, of the degree of differentiation of class forces, of the strength and influence of the Communist Party, so that having this determined, decide about your concrete tactical tasks, basing yourselves upon the decisions of the Sixth World congress of the C.I.

The present international situation confronts us with the most complicated and responsible tasks. British imperialism has taken the

initiative and is preparing intervention against the U.S.S.R. At the same time Japanese imperialism has occupied Manchuria and North China, and is trying to convert these territories into a base for an attack on the country of victorious proletarian dictatorship - the U.S.S.R. The contradictions between the imperialist Powers are growing, and a new world war is rapidly approaching. A powerful revolutionary front of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies is growing, widening and strengthening against the magnates of finance-capital, these provocateurs of a new world slaughter and intervention in the U.S.S.R. against these oppressors and enslavers of the toiling masses. The revolutionary upsurge is growing throughout the world. We are entering on a new period of revolutions and wars. In these conditions our Party has a serious and responsible role to play.

The task of the Chinese and Indian Communists, together with the international proletariat is to smash the plans of the imperialists, to carry on an energetic struggle for the interests of the workers and peasants, systematically strengthening the camp of revolution.

Through intense, everyday active work, the Communists every where must prepare the masses of the people. The time is approaching for decisive fights.

The foremost and most important task of the Indian Communists remains the task of uniting their forces.

Forward to the formation of the All Indian Communist Party!

With fighting Communist greetings,

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

July 15, 1933



( From: "International Press Correspondence", No. 51/ 1933, pp. 1153 - 1158).

( All emphases in original)

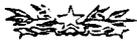


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DEFEND STALIN,  
IS AN OPPORTUNIST AND A COWARD**

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WE MUST ASSESS HIS MERITS  
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# Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism

Contributions Towards Building the Marxist-Leninist Party in India

On the Steel Foundations of the Theory of Marx, Engels,  
Lenin and Stalin:

Let us Uphold the  
Revolutionary Legacy of  
the Naxalbari Movement  
and of the CPI(ML),  
Led by Charu Mazumdar!



Also Inside

- Solidarity with Peasant Movement in Andhra Pradesh!
- True Face of Democracy in India: Counter-Revolutionary State Violence Against Naxalite Fighters.
- Oppose the Reactionary Iran-Iraq War!
- Nuclear Politics of West German Imperialism Under Attack.
- Experiences and Standpoints of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria.
- Document: 1970 Program of CPI(ML).

**SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLES OF THE SIKHS  
AGAINST THE REACTIONARY, RACIST INDIAN STATE**

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On the Steel Foundations of the Theory of  
Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin:

Let us Uphold the  
Revolutionary Legacy of  
the Naxalbari Movement  
and of the CPI(ML),  
Led by Charu Mazumdar!

**on the occasion of  
the 15th anniversary  
of the martyrdom of  
mazumdar.**



## 1. SPRING THUNDER OVER INDIA

The armed peasant uprising in 1967 in Naxalbari sub-division of Darjeeling district in West Bengal under the leadership of communistically inclined revolutionaries was the result of an ideological struggle against revisionism that had been going on in the Communist Party of India since 1962. The revolutionary comrades who had been working for long in this area, rose in open revolt, led by Charu Mazumdar, against the Party's revisionist line and politics and led an armed confrontation of peasants with the state organs for the seizure of political power.

The peasant masses seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and wicked gentry and ambushed the reactionary troops and police that went to suppress them. They trampled in the dust the reactionary government's laws which protect the landlords property and established people's courts to try and punish the local tyrants.

The uprising in Naxalbari was soon crushed by the state, but it brought in its wake a series of armed peasant revolts in different parts of the country - in Tripura, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, UP, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and so on. Some of the areas that went up in flames were Srikakulam, Debra Gopiballavpur, Birbhum, Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri.

The Naxalbari armed peasant struggle, a continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the Tebhagha and Telengana peasant uprisings, took place in the context of the international struggle against Soviet modern revisionism, led then by the C.P. of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, apart, of course, from the problem of its deficiencies and errors.(x). Internally, it took place at a time of deepening economic and political crisis in India: a rising foreign debt, increased burden of taxation on the people, rise in unemployment, intensification of the plunder of the peasantry. There was resultant wave of people's and peasant struggles, and of national liberation movements. At such a time, the Dange clique of the CPI, supporting Soviet modern revisionism internationally, rendered full support to the comprador-bourgeois, landlord government headed by Nehru. It replaced class struggle by class collaboration; it replaced proletarian internationalism by bourgeois nationalism in the case of the Indian attack against China in 1962, aimed at diverting from the internal crisis and at begging aid from abroad.

In view of this betrayal by the Dangeite revisionists a sharp ideological struggle broke out within the CPI and was waged by a number of rank and file comrades all over the country. At this time thousands of communist oriented revolutionaries were thrown into jails. In 1964, the CPI(M) split away from the CPI and constituted itself as the new anti-revisionist Party. In West Bengal, the anti-revisionists in the Party grouped themselves around Com. Charu Mazumdar, who took up anti-

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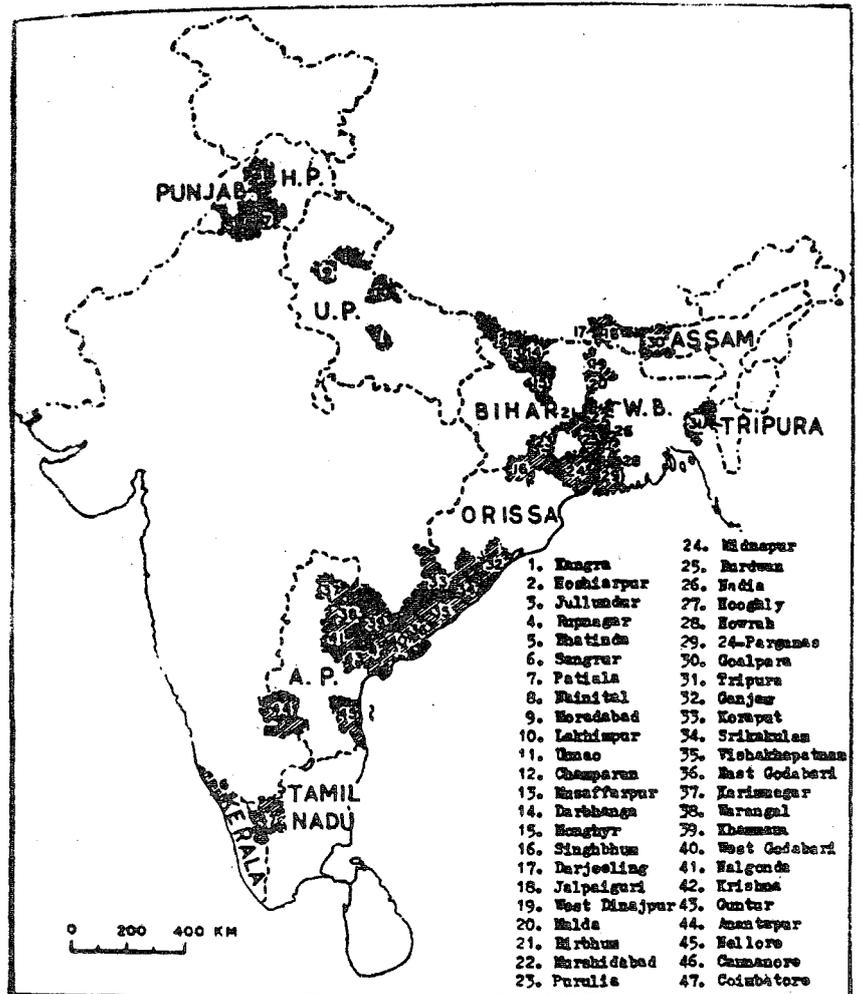
(x) See for this, "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", Issue No. 1, Nov. 1984, pp. 9-11.

revisionist positions in many questions in a series of articles between 1965 and 1967, well-known as the "Eight Documents". (x). In these articles he soon also began to expose the CPI(M) leaders, who in their writings and resolutions had begun to show themselves to be only sham anti-revisionists and, like the Danse-clique, had begun to play the role of being an appendage of the bourgeoisie, for instance, by soon taking the parliamentary path.

The hollow anti-revisionism of the CPI(M) leadership around Namboodiripad etc, was also exposed by the fact that they expelled from the Party all those fighting resolutely against revisionism. Thousands were expelled from the Party

for their so-called "anti-Party" activities. In the absence of a large-scale revolt against the revisionist leadership within the CPI(M), the necessity to form a new genuinely revolutionary Party was felt. In several states, committees to coordinate the activities of the CPI(M) rebels were formed. With the formation, in November 1967, of the All-India Coordination Committee of the Revolutionaries of the CPI(M), (which was changed 6 months later into the All-India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries), the first big step was taken towards the formation of a new revolutionary Communist Party. A Bengali weekly *Deshabrati* (Patriot) and *Liberation*, an English monthly, were started. Journals also began to be brought out in many other languages and areas of India. For eg., *Errajandas* and *Jansakti* were brought out

(x) These were published in "The Historic Anti-Revisionist Eight Documents Written by Our Respected Leader - Immortal Martyr Comrade Charu Mazumdar", brought out by one CPI(ML) fraction soon after his death. Mazumdar's views in this early period are also to be found in "Naxalbari Shiksha" (Lessons of Naxalbari) brought out by the North Bengal Bihar Border Regional Committee of the CPI(ML) soon after the historic Naxalbari struggle. The "Eight Documents" have also been published by Mass Line Publications in 1982 in both Hindi and English.



CPI(ML) pockets of operations in India in 1970, based on a map published in *Deshabrati*, April 23, 1970.

in Telugu, Lokayudh in Hindi. On 22 April, 1969, the CPI(ML) was formed out of the Coordination Committee. At the First Congress of the Party, in May 1970, the Party Programme was adopted, along with a "Political Organisational Report" and Mazumdar's note on "Political Organisational Report".

## 2. ON THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE LED BY CHARU MAZUMDAR AGAINST THE FEUDAL-COMPRADOR STATE AND AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

The 60's were the decade when the line of demarcation, though imperfectly and with weaknesses, was begun to be drawn between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. After the death of Stalin, the revisionists, the hidden agents of imperialism and reaction, had succeeded in usurping the Party and state leadership in the Soviet Union. The leading role in this fight against the modern revisionists, apart from its errors and weaknesses, (which we have touched upon in our other issues), was played then by the C.P. of China through its polemical debates with the CPSU leadership and its launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in its fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and to try and prevent restoration of capitalism in China.

In many countries, breaking away from the revisionist degenerated Communist Parties, new Marxist-Leninist Parties were formed. Ideological struggle against national and international revisionism was waged, for instance, by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey, in whose fight against the revisionists in Turkey three important documents must be mentioned: "Criticism of the Programme of the TIIKP (Aydinlik)" (Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey), "The National Question in Turkey" and "Views on Kemalism". Then there was the Indonesian Communist Party, which came out, among other things, with its important document, "Build the PKI Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia" - Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC of the C.P. of Indonesia, 1966 (Extracts from which we have published in "Under the Banner...", Issue No. 1, pp. 73-82). Out of the struggle against modern revisionism in the Philippines there emerged the excellent theoretical work by Amado Guerrero: "Philippine Society and Revolution". In Austria, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria under Franz Strobl emerged from the struggle against the revisionist degenerated Communist Party of Austria. (+)

National liberation struggles broke out in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America; in 30 countries people embarked on the path of armed struggle. In the "heartlands" of capitalism, in Japan, in some countries of W. Europe, like France and W. Germany, and in the USA, the people rose in revolt: The struggles of the Afro-American people, the working class strikes in France and Italy, the revolutionary solidarity of workers and students towards national liberation struggles in France, the militant opposition of people to the Vietnam war, especially many sections of people in the US who took to the barricades in opposition to the Vietnam war, and also unfolded armed actions against racial

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(+) See: "Documents of the Struggle Against the Revisionism of the Communist Party of Austria. 1963-1971", 1983

discrimination in the USA - all these struggles shook at the foundations of the capitalist-imperialist system.

The ideological and practical struggle led by the CPI(ML) under Charu Mazumdar against the dictatorship of the compradors and feudals in India and against the betrayal of the modern revisionists was part of this international upsurge and fight.

In the context of working in the direction of building the genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party in India, in the context of the urgent necessity of appropriating the enormous experiences of the revolutionary struggles in India and in the entire world, for the future struggle, it is necessary to re-emphasize precisely those fundamental teachings of Charu Mazumdar, which have been shamefully betrayed, ignored or falsified by the present-day leaders of the various "Marxist-Leninist" factions and groups.

It is important today, against all these diverse opportunist and reformist leaders, to occupy oneself with and study Charu Mazumdar's writings, above all because in some very central questions he was the leading figure in beginning the fight against modern revisionism and upheld correct positions in a number of questions of the revolution in India.

The fact that Comrade Mazumdar was a glorious fighter for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for communism, is not diminished by the fact that he was influenced in his writings by the weaknesses and mistakes of the world communist movement at that time. Also the fact that there were some other weaknesses and shortcomings in his theory and practice does not at all lessen the value of his steadfast fight against modern revisionism, and which must be defended against all those revisionist and opportunist leaders who claim to be the successors of the Naxalbari struggle.

The old and now the new "leaders" of the Marxist-Leninist movement have not at all used the defeats and the heavy blows dealt upon the movement by the ruling classes and their state to really deeply analyse the causes for the defeats and setbacks and to continue to hold high the banner of revolution in a consequent way. Beaten and put under pressure by the fascists, they have deviated more and more to the right.

This task of summing up the revolutionary experiences and moving forward certainly has not and cannot be accomplished by those who continue to uphold uncritically in toto all the positions held by the CPI(ML) under Charu Mazumdar (like the Rawoof group in Andhra Pradesh and the 28 July Committee of Calcutta), and not at all by those who even go to the extent of deifying Charu Mazumdar as a godman. (The Mahadeb Mukherji group in West Bengal).

And by no means can this task be accomplished by those, who, in the name of correcting errors and drawbacks, have fallen into opportunism and revisionism - like the CRC, CPI(ML), the Vinod Mishra and

People's War groups. In the name of correcting an apparent lack of "massline" under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar, these groups have definitely diverted the struggle led by them into reformist channels. In the name of the same "massline" basic Marxist-Leninist approaches to united fronts, also upheld by Mazumdar, are overthrown and the same opportunist "alliances" with diverse bourgeois and revisionist groups is entered into.

Those renegade groups which attempted to stab the revolutionary movement in the back right in the beginning, in the name of combatting the annihilation line of Mazumdar, like the Satya Narain Singh group, need hardly be mentioned in this connection, for their social-democratic role in every crisis faced by the ruling classes then and now is too well-known.

It is for the Marxist-Leninists to come forward and, upholding the revolutionary legacy of the Naxalbari movement, correcting its errors and weaknesses, to move forward and prepare for a new revolutionary tide in this country which can generate once again the same terror in the hearts of the enemy.



In the following critical appraisal of the theoretical and practical legacy of the CPI(ML), led by Charu Mazumdar, we have concentrated, apart from Mazumdar's own writings, on the 1970 Programme of the CPI(ML) for as Marx said in relation to his Critique of the Gotha Programme in 1875, a Party Programme sets up before the whole world landmarks by which the Party is measured.

This evaluation of Charu Mazumdar's writings and of the 1970 Programme is only a begin and a part of a solidarist and extensive debate on the problems of laying down the programme, the Marxist-Leninist line for the revolution in India. It is part of the incessant and painful struggle of the revolutionaries in India to grasp the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the practice of the revolution in India in accordance with its specific conditions.

In such a critique of the 1970 Programme and of Mazumdar's writings, the fundamentals of scientific communism, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, constitute the measuring rod.

The 1970 Programme of the CPI(ML) can and must also be measured against the best documents of the C.P. of India, the "1930 Draft Platform of Action" of the Indian Communists and the "1951 Document on the Path of the Indian Revolution". ( See "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", Issue No. 5, Dec. 1986, pp. 12 to 30 and pp. 31-50, along with our critical comments). Our preliminary critical comments on these documents in Issue No. 5 of "Under the Banner..." must also be seen as part of this task of working towards laying the base for the Marxist-Leninist line for the revolution in India.

While evaluating the central documents of the CPI(ML) a further useful aspect could be the comparison with the main documents of

other Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces emerging and reconstituting themselves around this time, like the C.P. of Indonesia, the C.P. of the Phillipines and the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist/Leninist).

3. KEY POSITIVE POINTS OF THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR WHICH MUST UNCONDITIONALLY BE DEFENDED.

3.1. THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR FOUGHT AGAINST THE PACIFIST-REVISIONIST SPECULATION OF THE NON-VIOLENT, PEACEFUL PATH OF THE REVOLUTION AND PROPAGATED THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER

Against the revisionist slogan and tactics of "peaceful transition to socialism", Comrade Charu Mazumdar always emphasized the necessity of armed struggle for the seizure of state power. Against the parliamentary path taken by the neo-revisionist parties, against the spreading of constitutional illusions and against all cries of "left-adventurism", the CPI(ML) under Mazumdar upheld the revolutionary principle that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun":

"Democratic revolution can win victory only through armed struggle, that is through people's war".

("March Forward by Summing Up the Experience of the Revolutionary Peasant Struggle in India", 4.12.69, in: "Chingari", Organ of Hindustani Ghadar Party (Marxist-Leninist), Vol. 4, No. 5, Special Supplement No. 1, September 1972, p. 14) (x)

"Our Party is the Party of Armed Revolution. No other path exists before the Indian people but the path of Armed Revolution."

("Resolution on Party Organisation", CPI(ML), April 22, 1969, in: "Naxalbari and After - A Frontier Anthology", Vol. II, pp. 266-67).

The 1970 Programme of the CPI(ML) also clearly states that the revolution can win victory only through People's War and that guerilla warfare will lead to the creation of a People's Army to overthrow the ruling classes. (Points 36,37).

In fact, a great contribution of the Naxalbari armed peasant up-

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(x) This special supplement of "Chingari" is a reprint of Vol. 2 of the three volume edition of Charu Mazumdar's collected writings brought out on 1 May, 1972 by the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(ML): "Collected Writings of Our Respected Leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar", Volumes 1 to 3. Many of his articles, appearing originally in Bengali in the weekly "Deshabrati", were translated and published in the English monthly "Liberation". The date given after each article, from which we have quoted here, is in each case the date of its original publication in "Deshabrati". Here it should be kept in mind that we have based ourselves and quoted from translations, which could perhaps be improved upon.

rising was that it exposed most brutally the sham revolutionism of the neo-revisionist leaders of the CPI and CPI(M), who directly joined hands with the Indian reactionaries to crush the peasant struggle with utmost military and police might.

It is also most essential to defend and propagate this principle of the necessity of armed struggle against newer variants of the revisionist-pacifist thesis of the peaceful path, for example, against the CRC reformist concept of building parallel power centres of the people which are not based on the power of arms. ("The Concept of People's Political Power - A Reexamination", Liberation, April 1982, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 17).

In opposition to reformist and economic approaches, Mazumdar propagated that the armed struggle of the peasantry is aimed at destroying the state machinery and at seizing state power to then establish the new state of people's democracy.

"To carry out the agrarian revolution (i.e., land reforms) without destroying the state machinery means straight-forward revisionism."

"So the first and foremost duty of the peasant movement today is to destroy the state machinery"...

("The Peasants' Struggle will have to be taken forward by fighting Revisionism", April 1967, in: "Eight Documents", op. cit.)

It has always been a basic teaching of Marxism, based on the experiences of the working class, especially since the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, that the existing state machinery, which is an instrument of the ruling classes to oppress the ruled classes, must be broken, smashed, that it cannot simply be taken over. In this question of the state and its destruction, Lenin had said:

"the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class". (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", 1917, CW 25, p. 393)

Thus in the basic question of every revolution, the problem of state power, the problem of destroying by force the state power of the oppressor classes, the main components of which are the army and police, and seizing power by the oppressed classes, Mazumdar propagated the correct Marxist-Leninist position.

However, it is definitely a defect that the 1970 Programme did not take up the basic point of the necessity of smashing the old state apparatus as a pre-requisite for setting up a completely new state apparatus, the task of which is to suppress by force and mercilessly the resistance put up by the overthrown oppressor classes.(x)

In this connection, it can be pointed out: It cannot be totally excluded that the reasons why the cadre were not ideologically edu-

(x) In the handling of this basic question of the revolution a comparison with the C.P. of Indonesia is useful. In its fight against the

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cated in the spirit of a protracted people's war, but that a quick victory was wrongly prophesied, can lie both in an overestimation of the revolutionary armed struggles of the people's masses, but also in an underestimation of the main components of the state apparatus in India, the reactionary Indian army, police and other para-military forces, which were more closely allied with the local armed feudal forces than anticipated.

### 3.2 THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR PROPAGATED THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION AND EMPHASIZED THE MOTIVE FORCE ROLE OF THE PEASANTRY IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The 1970 Programme correctly characterises Indian society to be semi-colonial and semi-feudal with the ruling comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the big landlords as the targets of the people's democratic revolution. It also correctly takes the peasant question, the agrarian revolution, to be the basic question of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution under the leadership of the working class. (Points 25-27). (x)

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revisionist theories of the peaceful-parliamentary path and of the "two aspects in the state", the J.P. of Indonesia asserted in a much more fundamental way the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution, the need for destroying the state apparatus. ( See "Build the PKI Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia", published by the Delegation of the CC of the PKI, p. 141). In its Programme the need to destroy the old state machinery is contained as a first main point:

"(1) To destroy completely the entire state machine of the Suharto-Nasution fascist dictatorship, the general representative of U.S. imperialism, feudal-landlord class, bureaucrat-capitalists and comprador-bourgeoisie, and to establish a people's democratic dictatorship."

("The Programme of the C.P. of Indonesia for People's Democracy in Indonesia", November 1967, in: "Build the PKI Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia", Published by the Delegation of the CC, PKI, p. 269).

(x) A few remarks in relation to the question of making the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people to be the principal contradiction in the present phase of the revolution. (Point 16 of the Programme), and in relation to a statement like: "By liberating themselves from the yoke of feudalism, the Indian people will liberate themselves also from the yoke of imperialism and comprador-bureaucrat capital, because the struggle against feudalism is also a struggle against the other two enemies". ("Political Resolution of the CPI(ML)", 1970).

We shall go into the problems of determining the "principal" contradiction in more detail in our Issue No. 8 of "Under the Banner..." We certainly think that feudal relations and remnants in India carry

Against the neo-revisionist trend of belittling the role of the peasantry in the national-democratic revolution, Mazumdar correctly characterised the peasantry, oppressed and exploited by feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, to be the "main force of the revolution" and said that the "democratic revolution is primarily an agrarian revolution". ( "Undertake the Work of Building a Revolutionary Party", "Liberation", October, 1968, "Chingari", op.cit., p. 5).

He strongly opposed the reformist and economistic practices of the neo-revisionist leadership which confined the working class movement to mere trade unionism and refused to establish the leading role of the working class in the peasant struggle as a means to forging the basic alliance of the workers and peasants under working class leadership essential for victory in the new democratic revolution.

Unlike the revisionist orientation towards basically the demands of the rich peasantry, the CPI(ML) under Mazumdar declared and carried out the policy of relying on the poor and landless peasants while rallying basically the entire peasantry in the national-democratic struggle:

"At the present stage of the revolution the entire peasantry is the ally of the working class, and this peasantry is the biggest force of the People's Democratic Revolution of India..."

("Carry On the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism", April 1967, "Eight Documents", Mass Line Publications, New Delhi, 1982, p.18)

However, in this basic worker-peasant alliance under the

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great weight, particularly in the superstructure, in the political institutions, in the state and in the sphere of ideology, which predominate in a country like India. And we would certainly like to demarcate ourselves from theoretical economists who try to analyse the question of the relationship between feudalism and capitalism in a purely economist-statistical way. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the question which aspect predominates and in which phase, the anti-imperialist or the anti-feudal, cannot in the first place be a question of the Programme of the new democratic revolution. This is a tactical question which can only be concretely determined in various phases of the revolution.

On the one hand, this is hinted at in the 1970 Programme, but it is given too much weight by taking it up in the Programme itself, where it does not belong. And in the "Political Resolution" the anti-imperialist tasks are factually reduced to the anti-feudal tasks, which will supposedly resolve themselves automatically once the other contradiction is resolved.

Precisely such an approach undermines on the one hand the anti-imperialist aspect of the new democratic revolution. But, more importantly, it fails to understand that the main question is not which aspect predominates, but is the deep understanding of the two-fold task of the new democratic revolution, the inseparable connections between the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist aspects.

leadership of the working class, Charu Mazumdar and the CPI(ML) in its Programme ( Point 30) fully correctly excluded a small section of the rich peasantry:

"Among the peasantry, the poor and landless peasants are firm allies and the main force of the revolution. They will firmly unite with the middle peasants, win over a section of the rich peasants and neutralise the majority of them. Only a small section of the rich peasants will go over to the camp of counter-revolution".  
(Charu Mazumdar, "China's Path is our Path"(x), Nov. 1969, "Chingari", op.cit., p.13)

### 3.3. THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR PROPAGATED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP WITH THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE AS ITS BASE

The 1970 Programme sets as goal the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship, the dictatorship of the workers and peasants along with other anti-imperialist, anti-feudal alliance partners(xx), which will be a part of the world socialist revolution.(Points 28-30). The working class establishes its leading role in this basic alliance by solidarity actions in the cities in support of the revolutionary struggles of the peasantry and by sending its vanguard elements to directly organise and lead the peasants' armed struggle.(Point 34 of the Programme).

Against opportunist conceptions of united front tactics, Charu Mazumdar said:

"The principal thing about a united front is that it is the united front of the working class and peasantry. Only such a united front can unite the petty bourgeoisie and can unite, even though temporarily with all those with whom unity is possible. Only a revolutionary Party can carry out this task."  
("The United Front and the Revolutionary Party", 30.5.68, "Chingari", op.cit., p.4)

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(x) We think that this slogan of "China's Path is our Path" along with that of "China's Chairman is our Chairman", popularised at a particular phase and correctly given up later, with their most definite limitations must be seen in the background of the anti-Chinese hysteria and bourgeois nationalism fomented by the Indian bourgeoisie then. However, it must be pointed out that there certainly was a tendency to understand and apply the slogan of "China's Path is our Path" in a mechanical and schematic way and not in a way which distinguished sufficiently between the general and specific features of China and also overlooked specific features of India. The slogan was not understood in the sense that the fundamental path of the victorious new democratic Chinese revolution (as indeed that of the victorious October revolution), was also "our path".

(xx) For some critical remarks on the composition of the people's democratic dictatorship propagated here see pp. 24/25, point 4.5.

He exposed the so-called "united front" which the neo-revisionists were drivelling about as being "nothing more than the ganging up of some reactionary parties to gain power. The sole object of their ganging up is to capture the ministerial guddis". (ibid., pp. 5,6). He exposed that the "united front governments" that were formed at that time in Kerala and West Bengal by the so-called "Left" parties were nothing but the unity of all kinds of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist groups and was a united front "against the workers and peasants". "As it is no longer possible for the Congress to do this, the so-called 'Left' parties have come forward to shoulder this burden in order to ensure that the reactionary forces can continue to wield power without difficulty". (ibid., p.6).

Against such "alliances" which were basically a justification for tailing behind the bourgeois forces, Mazumdar forcefully put forward that the new democratic revolution could achieve victory only:

"under the leadership of the working class in alliance with the broad peasant masses and by carrying on an armed struggle against the foreign and Indian reactionaries... This is the only Marxist understanding of the united front..."  
(ibid., p.6).

This fundamental understanding of united front tactics is of great importance and must be defended even today when we find diverse opportunist and revisionist groups again advocating and practising all kinds of "alliances" with direct and indirect agents of imperialism and social-imperialism in the name of uniting against a fascist Congress government.

#### 3.4. THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR CARRIED OUT AN EXPOSURE OF MODERN REVISIONISM AND OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The CPI(ML) under Charu Mazumdar had the historical merit of exposing the myth about the "socialist" character of the Soviet Union, after 1956, carried out by its "friends" in India, the CPI and CPI(M). It exposed the real character of the USSR's ruling clique which usurped state power soon after Stalin's death, its character of being a new bourgeoisie which was actively carrying out policies intended towards the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Since Soviet revisionism had restored capitalism at home it could do nothing but carry out an external policy of collaboration, cooperation and conciliation, as well as contention for spheres of influence, with the US and other imperialists on the one hand, and of exploitation of underdeveloped countries like India on the other, that is, it had a social-imperialist character. (x)

(x) In this context it is important to note that the element of rivalry, and not just collaboration between the Soviet and US imperialists, is wrongly underemphasized in Charu Mazumdar's writings as well as in other documents of the CPI(ML). It can be read: "Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism is today trying  
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It exposed the revisionists' propaganda that the USSR's aid to India was "real" aid, aid without strings, that it was for building up a strong public sector which would counter-balance and later command the private sector and ultimately save India from the clutches of US UK and West German imperialism. It showed that, on contrary, such "aid" served only the aim of neo-colonial penetration of the Indian economy and exploitation of the peoples, increased the strength of the reactionary forces and was directed against the liberation struggles of the peoples. ( See, for eg., "Soviet Social Imperialism's Stranglehold Over India", Nishad, Liberation, Vol.2, No.4, Feb. 1969, pp. 50ff; and "To Fight Imperialism it is Necessary to Fight Revisionism", Liberation, Vol.2, No.1, Nov. 1968, pp. 63ff). It showed the intrinsic connection between fighting revisionism and fighting imperialism, in opposition to the neo-revisionist CPI(M) leadership, which claimed that although the Soviet leadership was revisionist, the Soviet Union remained a socialist country, a member of the socialist camp.

Because of its economic, political, military and cultural control over India, Soviet Social Imperialism, along with other imperialists, was also targetted to be an enemy of the peoples of India, and which must be expropriated along with other imperialists, the bureaucrat-compradors and feudal landlords as a basic economic task of the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution. ( See Point 38(a) and (b) of the 1970 Programme).

#### 4. MAIN ERRORS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE CPI(ML) UNDER CHARU MAZUMDAR WHICH MUST BE OVERCOME

##### 4.1. INSUFFICIENT ORIENTATION OF THE CPI(ML) TOWARDS THE MAXIMUM AIMS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Although the 1970 Programme does mention that the People's

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for world hegemony"...and are shamelessly acting as agents of US imperialism". ( C.Mazumdar, "The Main Task Today is the Struggle to Build the True Revolutionary Party Through Uncompromising Struggle Against Revisionism", 12.8.1966, "Eight Documents", pp.25,26). That Soviet "aid", military or otherwise, to various countries, including India, was not seen primarily as an attempt to expand its own spheres of influence, but as an aid to US imperialism which was in a weakened state due to the Vietnam war and its internal contradictions, (See, "To Fight Imperialism it is Necessary to Fight Revisionism", op.cit., p.66) is also part of this erroneous trend within the CPI(ML) to stress mainly the collaborative role of Soviet revisionism. It is also clearly connected with the clearly wrong tendency to stress US imperialism alone, leaving out the other imperialists, as the main enemy. ( See, Charu Mazumdar, "Boycott Elections! International Significance of the Slogan", 21.11.68, "Chingari", op.cit., p. 8, where it is said, "World imperialism today is like a house which rests on a solitary pillar-US imperialism".).

Democratic Revolution must be carried forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of socialism and communism, (Points 37 and 39), there is still in the programme and in the writings of Charu Mazumdar an insufficient presentation and elucidation of the MAXIMUM PROGRAMME of the Communist Party: namely, the goal of establishing a Communist society, a classless society, by destroying all exploitation, including that of capitalism.

This maximum aim of establishing communism in the sense of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin was something that Mao Tse-tung, for eg., took care to emphasize in his writings. ( See, for eg., "Win the Masses in their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front", 1937, SW I, p. 290; or "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan", 1937, SW I, pp. 270-71).

There was a tendency on the part of the CPI(ML) to falsely concentrate on and absolutize the role of the democratic revolution. This indicates an insufficient ideological orientation towards scientific communism, which demands that one bases oneself on and works towards a future perspective.

#### 4.2. ERRORS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR IN THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The presentation of the national question in India is a major weak point in the 1970 Programme and in Charu Mazumdar's writings. The CPI(ML) under Mazumdar did not succeed in working out this question on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on this question, and keeping in view the concrete specificities of India.

Problematic statements in the programme in this question which immediately spring to the eye are: (a) Throughout the Programme it is talked about the "Indian people" and not the "peoples of India", which would be more correct in light of the multi-national character of India. (b) In Points 12 and 38(j), where it is talked about the right to self-determination of the nationalities, the right to secession which this must imply is not explicitly mentioned. (c) There is a clear tendency, or at least a lack of clarity on this question, to take India as a nation and put forth the programme of "unifying India". (See Point 38(j)). The national question, the question of the political right to form one's own nation is reduced to a question of giving equal status to all the "national" languages.

In contrast to the Programme and against the hysterical outcry of the revisionists against the conception of secession as "contributing to fissiparous tendencies and obstructing India's national integration" ("The Truth About CPI(M)", Bhowani Sen, 1972, CPI Publications, p. 20) Charu Mazumdar maintained that the "Communists must declare that every nationality has the right of self-determination, including the right to secede". ("The United Front and the Revolutionary Party", 30.5.1968, "Chingari", op.cit., p.6).

Another positive aspect in Charu Mazumdar's writings is that he

exposed the bourgeois and reactionary essence of ruling class slogans of "national unity and integration":

"There is only one aim at the root of the slogan of unity given by the present ruling class, and that is unity for the exploitation by monopoly capital..."

("Carry On the Struggle Against Modern Revisionism", April 1967, in: "Eight Documents", op.cit., p.18).

Charu Mazumdar's attack against and exposure of bourgeois chauvinism was in contrast to the support rendered to the reactionary Indian government by the neo-revisionists at the time of the Indian aggression against China in 1962, at the time of the annexation of Sikkim, the liberation struggle of the Bangladeshi people from the oppressive and exploitative Pakistani state, and in the question of the national liberation of the Kashmiris, Nagas, Mizos etc from the oppressive Indian state.

But there are to be found grave errors, weaknesses and ambiguities in Mazumdar's understanding of the national question, in its principles and in its application to India. For example, like in the Programme, in his writings, too, the multi-national character of India is not given sufficient recognition and not taken as a starting point for approaching the national question in India. Instead, the obscure concept of "unifying India" is brought forward. (See, "March Forward by Summing up the Experience of the Revolutionary Peasant Struggle of India", 4.12.69, in "Chingari", op.cit., p. 14).

In this context, Mazumdar makes the wrong statement that Communists should not lead national struggles against oppression by the comprador Indian state, like those of the Nagas, Mizos etc: "The Communists should be leaders of national struggles..." ("The United Front and the Revolutionary Party", 30.5.1968, in: "Chingari", op.cit., p.6). On the contrary, we think that it is precisely the task of the Communists to put themselves at the head of such struggles against the national oppression by the comprador Indian state.

The national question in India can be approached only on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the teachings of the classics in the national question.(x)

★On studying the writings of the classics on this question, particularly the writings of Lenin and Stalin, it becomes immediately clear that when dealing with the national question in the "prison of peoples" that Russia was ( and India definitely is), they unambiguously clarified that many nations existed within Russia, and consequently spoke about the peoples of Russia:

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(x) In this connection, in spite of some weaknesses, it can be mentioned and certainly learned from Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's writing, "The National Question in Turkey". ( in a collection entitled "Selected Writings, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya", published by Ocak Yayinlari, Istanbul, 1979). In this writing Kaypakkaya takes the fundamental teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question as a starting point and attacks the chauvinism and nationalism of the revisionists. He also tries to apply the Marxist-Leninist principles to the conditions in Turkey and outline the fundamental tasks of the Marxist-Leninists in this question in Turkey.

LENIN AND STALIN ON THE NECESSITY OF EXPRESSLY DEFENDING AND PROPAGATING THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AS THE "RIGHT TO SECESSION" IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM.

Lenin considered the question of the propagation of the freedom of secession for the oppressed nations to be a question of principle, the recognition of which so to say decided whether one remained true to socialism or not. In fact, the Russian Social-Democratic Party under Lenin in 1917 made a clear decision to replace the word "self-determination" in their programme by the precise concept of "right to free secession". This was necessary because the former had been used by the opportunists of the 2nd International, and could always be used in this way, to interpret this right to self-determination in a way which was acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"Instead of the word self-determination, which has given rise to numerous misinterpretations, I propose the perfectly precise concept: "the right to free secession".  
(Lenin, "Revision of the Party Programme", 1917, LW 26, p.175)

"Lenin broadened the conception of self-determination, interpreted it as the right of the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states."  
Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Peking, 1977, pp.73-74).

"To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism, is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce of encouraging the destruction of family ties. Just as in bourgeois society the defenders of privilege and corruption, on which bourgeois marriage rests, oppose freedom of divorce, so, in the capitalist state, repudiation of the right of self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration, to the detriment of democratic methods."  
(Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-determination", 1914, Sel. Works in 3 vols, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1977, p. 590).

"The proletariat cannot evade the question that is particularly "unpleasant" for the imperialist bourgeoisie, namely, the question of the frontiers of a state that is based on national oppression. The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for the right of self-determination means. The proletariat must demand the right of political secession for the colonies and for the nations that "its own" nation oppresses. Unless it does this, proletarian internationalism will remain a meaningless phrase; mutual confidence and class solidarity between the workers of the oppressing and oppressed nations will be impossible; the hypocrisy of the reformist and Kautskyan advocates of self-determination who maintain silence about the nations which are oppressed by "their" nation and forcibly retained within "their" state will remain unexposed."  
(Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, Theses", 1916, CW 22, pp. 147-148).

"Tsarist Russia was a prison of nations. The numerous non-Russian nationalities were entirely devoid of rights and were subjected to constant insult and humiliation of every kind...The tsarist government deliberately fanned national discord, instigated one nation against another, engineered Jewish pogroms, and, in Transcaucasia, incited Tatars and Armenians to massacre each other...The tsarist government strove to extinguish every spark of national culture and pursued a policy of forcible 'Russification'. Tsardom was a hangman and torturer of the non-Russian peoples!"

("History of the CPSU(B)-Short Course", 1938, Red Star Press Reprint, 1976, p.4. See also, for eg., Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, pp. 72-83, Peking, 1977).

★Secondly, it is a basic experience of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism that the general slogan of "self-determination" only (as in the 1970 Programme) is not sufficient, that in one's theory and practice the "right to secession" must always be defended and propagated.

Lenin had very often gone into this question that the right of self-determination can only mean the right to build one's own state and this right always be expressed as such, for otherwise it can be misconstrued in a reformist and chauvinist sense:

"Consequently, if we want to understand the meaning of self-determination of nations without juggling with legal definitions, without 'inventing' abstract definitions, but examining the historical and economic conditions of the national movements, we shall inevitably reach the conclusion that self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from other national bodies  
THE FORMATION OF AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL STATE!"

(Lenin, "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1914, See Works in 3 volumes, Moscow, 1977, pp. 568-69).

This right of the nationalities to self-determination including the right to secede must be defended most strongly today in the Indian context, too, as the only way for their solidarity and unity, when diverse revisionist and opportunist groups are joining in the ruling class reactionary slogan of "fight against divisive forces", and "threat to national integration" when faced by the struggles of the various peoples for their national liberation.

★In this connection, it is important to note that for the Marxists "self-determination" and the "right to self-determination" are different things. "Right to self-determination" means, as we have already explained, the right to form one's own independent national state. The Communists always unconditionally uphold this right to self-determination, that is, the right to form an independent state. This right to form an independent state must not be confused with "forming a separate state". While the former is upheld unconditionally by the Communists, the latter question is decided exclusively on its merits in each particular case in conformity with the interests of social development as a whole and with the interests of the proletarian class struggle

for socialism. As Comrade Lenin said:

"While recognising equality and equal rights to a national state, it values above all and places foremost the alliance of the proletarians of all nations, and assesses any national demand, any national separation, from the angle of the workers' class struggle." (Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", 1914, op. cit., pp. 580-81) (Emphasis in original).

The class-conscious proletariat considers the question from the standpoint of the development and strengthening of revolution. If secession increases the prospects for the development of revolution, the class-conscious proletariat in the country supports it, regardless of the nationality. If the secession will delay and encumber the development of the revolution (in our case the people's democratic revolution), the class-conscious proletariat shall not support it.

But the case must also be considered when secession negatively affects the revolution, but a particular nation still demands secession. In such a case the example of the Bolsheviks under Lenin can serve as a model: After the revolution was successfully carried out in Russia in 1917, Finland demanded secession and this was granted by the Bolsheviks without putting any obstructions, even though it would have been advantageous for the revolution if the Finns had decided to join the Soviet Union as a republic. Faced by the choice of accepting the decision of the Finns or of forcibly suppressing and integrating them (which is the choice of the revisionists), the Bolsheviks chose the former. Such an attitude, which is the only correct one, increased the trust of the Finnish workers and peasants in the Soviet proletariat and in this sense was certainly advantageous for the revolution of the Soviet as well as the Finnish peoples.

★While upholding the right of nations to self-determination, that is, secession, the proletariat makes a distinction between the chauvinism of the dominant nation and the narrow nationalism of the oppressed nation: The proletariat in the dominant nation combats primarily the big nation chauvinism, while the workers in the oppressed nation combat primarily narrow nationalism and propagate the voluntary union of nations. This is the only possible internationalism in the national question.

"The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in their advocating and upholding freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressing nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand, even if the chance of secession being possible and 'feasible' before the introduction of socialism be only one in a thousand...

On the other hand, a Social-Democrat belonging to a small nation must emphasize in his agitation the second word of our general formula: 'voluntary union' of nations. He may, without violating

his duties as an internationalist, be in favour of either the political independence of his nation or its inclusion in a neighbouring state X, Y, Z, etc. But in all cases he must fight against small-nation narrow-mindedness, isolationism and aloofness, he must fight for the recognition of the whole and the general, for the subordination of the interests of the particular to the interests of the general...

a little reflection will show that there is not, and cannot be any other road leading from the given situation to internationalism and the amalgamation of nations, any other road to this goal."

(Stalin, quoting Lenin in: "The Foundations of Leninism", 1924, Peking 1977, p. 83).

#### 4.3. THE CPI(ML) UNDER MAZUMDAR TOOK OVER THE ANTI-LENINIST CONSTRUCTION OF "MAO TSE-THOUGHT"

In connection with the wrong acceptance of the opportunist construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought", there is the acceptance of a "new era", the "era of Mao Tse-tung when world imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory". (Point 39 of the Programme). This construction of a supposedly new era implied a denial of the fact that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and that in this era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, Leninism retains its validity and provides the basic guide-lines for the victory of the world proletarian revolution, up to the victory of world communism.(x)

The euphoric overestimation of the struggles of the peoples of the world as well as in India is partly to be seen in connection with this construction of a "new era". In this context is to be understood Charu Mazumdar's call for liberation in the 70's. ("Make the 1970's the Decade of Liberation", 22.1.70, "Chingari", op.cit., p.16), as well as the underestimation of the protracted nature of people's war against a strong enemy, which was finally recognised through the experience of the heavy blows dealt by the enemy after the initial upsurge.

In connection with the acceptance of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" there was a tendency to schematically take over specific experiences of the Chinese revolution, for example, the military path of the Chinese revolution, the encirclement of the cities from the countryside.

Mao Tse-tung had worked out and substantiated this path of the revolution for China by means of an exact study of the political situation, of a concrete analysis of the economic and social conditions of China and the evaluation of the experience of the revolutionary war. In our opinion, the Marxist-Leninists in each country, i.e., in India, too, must ascertain on the basis of concrete studies - whereby

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(x) For a more detailed criticism of the opportunist construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" see "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", Issue No. 2, pp. 26-30.

the assessment of the Chinese revolution will be helpful - whether it is possible in their own countries to establish base areas and by means of protracted people's war encircle the cities from the countryside and in this way establish political power in the entire country.

An evaluation of the experiences of the fighting proletariat and peasant masses in all countries, including especially one's own, is absolutely essential for working out a military line which will bring victory in the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.(x)

A proletarian Party which aims at the violent smashing of state power must be very clear about the significance of the military question. Otherwise a real education of the cadre and the masses in the spirit of a violent armed revolution is not possible. Warfare, being a continuation of politics with other means has its own specific elements and laws, and, therefore, precisely "technical" questions of military warfare cannot be degraded or underestimated by the Marxist-Leninists.

"Take the military aspect. No Social-Democrat at all familiar with history, who has studied Engels, the great expert on this matter, ever doubted the tremendous importance of military knowledge, the tremendous importance of military technique and military organisation as an instrument in the hands of the masses of the people and classes of the people for deciding the issue of great historical conflicts." (Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", 1905, in: Lenin, Sel. Works in 12 volumes, Moscow, 1933, Vol 3, p.315)

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(x) The "1951 document on the path of the Indian Revolution" already made a beginning in working out some specificities of India in distinction to China in relation to this question, and must be evaluated along with others while working out the military path of the Indian revolution. Under the title "Combination of Partisan War in the Countryside and Workers' Rising in Cities", the document compares the situation with China and comes to the conclusion: "In these respects the situation in India is different. We have no army to start with, it has to be created. The transport system in India is far more developed than in China, enabling the government to swiftly concentrate big forces against partisan areas. And above all, the geographical position of India is such that we cannot expect to have a friendly neighbouring state which can serve as a firm and powerful rear. All these do not mean that partisan warfare has no place in India. On the contrary, because of the factors given earlier, partisan war must be one of the major weapons in our armoury as in the case of all colonial countries. But this weapon alone cannot ensure victory. It has to be combined with the other major weapons - that of strikes of the working class, general strike and uprisings in cities led by armed detachments of the working class. Therefore, in order to achieve victory of the popular democratic revolution, it is absolutely essential to combine two basic factors of the revolution- the partisan war of the peasants and workers' risings in the cities." ("1951 Document on Path of Indian Revolution", in: "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism", Issue No.5, December 1986, pp.35-36.

#### 4.4. FALSE CONCENTRATION OF THE CPI(ML) ON THE INFLUENCE OF ONLY THE TWO "SUPER-POWERS" IN INDIA

While talking about the grip of imperialism over the country, the CPI(ML) falsely concentrated on the two superpowers, the US and the SU imperialisms. ( See, for eg., Point 18 of the Programme). The other imperialist powers, like the British, West German and other imperialists, which were definitely very much present and constituted a target of the revolution, were not explicitly mentioned.

#### 4.5. SOME DEFECTS IN THE CPI(ML) ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE MIDDLE BOURGEOISIE IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

There are some contradictions and a certain lack of clarity on the question of the bourgeoisie in India: In the Programme, for eg., it is talked about the bourgeoisie as if the entire bourgeoisie was comprador: "The Indian bourgeoisie, comprador in nature..." (Point 4). This is not correct in spite of the greater penetration of imperialism in India and consequently more linkages of the ( or sections of the) small and middle bourgeoisie with imperialism, which, in comparison with China at the time of the Chinese revolution, reduces the possibilities of their joining up with the revolutionary anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces.

On the other hand, in contrast to the above statement regarding the Indian bourgeoisie, comprador in nature, it is mentioned in the Programme a middle bourgeoisie, which has a dual character: "They will now support, then oppose and sometimes even betray the revolution." (Point 31).

In the question of the possibility of the participation of the national ( or middle) bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, Mao Tse-tung, fully in conformity with Stalin's line and that of the Comintern, had summed up the experiences of the Chinese revolution in its first period from 1924-27 and said:

"At one time the national bourgeoisie may take part in it (the people's democratic revolution, -Authors' note) at another it may not".

(Mao Tse-tung, "Introducing the Communist", 1939, SW II, p. 289)

So it is possible that the state character of the people's democracy may be a "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants", without the middle bourgeoisie, as in the agrarian revolutionary period in China after 1927.

Thus, because the alliance possibilities with the middle bourgeoisie or sections of it can be different in different periods, what the Marxist-Leninists must lay down in a Programme for the new democratic revolution is the basic character of the state power of new democracy which will be a dictatorship of all revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and forces, the basis of which will be constituted by the alliance between the working class and peasantry.

In this dictatorship of the revolutionary classes, the middle bourgeoisie may or may not participate. This point cannot be laid down right from the beginning in the programme. It is therefore a defect that the CPI(ML) under Mazumdar laid down in the 1970 Programme that the people's democratic dictatorship will establish the dictatorship of "the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie".(Point 29). In our opinion, to lay down such a four class dictatorship of people's democracy is a schematic carrying over of the fact that in China in 1949 the state of new democracy that was established was constituted by precisely these classes.

#### 4.6. NEGATIVE AND UNDIFFERENTIATED ATTITUDE OF THE CPI(ML) TOWARDS THE EARLIER LEADERSHIP OF THE CPI

The attitude towards the old CPI is ill-considered and undifferentiated in that the entire leadership of the CPI is characterised to be traitors and agents of imperialism and feudalism from the very beginning.(See Point 6 of the Programme). According to it positive contributions were made solely by the ranks fighting at the base. Such an approach shuts out from the very beginning that an evaluation and utilisation can be made of the inner-Party struggles and of the positive starting points and approaches in central documents. Such an approach towards the old leadership is wrong in that it fails to evaluate concretely the individual leading figures making a distinction between those who were sincere and made genuine contributions in the beginning, but later degenerated, and those who from the beginning were never really Marxist-Leninists, who were at the most bourgeois democrats, but sometimes already compradors and agents of the imperialists and its lackeys. Such an approach is wrong also because the absence of a conscious attitude towards the history of the Party precludes the possibility of a conscious self-criticism of all errors and thus of the possibility of correcting and overcoming them.(x)

Though the old CPI(M) under the leadership of Mazumdar took up the ideological and practical fight against modern revisionism, this fight was afflicted with many serious errors and weaknesses. The set back suffered by the Naxalbari movement in India show up the imperative need to go much more deeper in the struggle against modern revisionism and for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

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(x) It must be mentioned here, however, that in the pages of the Party organ "Liberation" there appeared an article series by Bande Ali Khan "A New Assessment of the History of the CPI"( Liberation, Vol. 1, Nos 4,6,8 & 9, 1968). This is an incomplete assessment covering only the period from 1919 to 1934 and is not a final assessment, but aimed at generating a discussion and debate on the subject and must be scrutinised and evaluated for weaknesses, mistakes etc. Nevertheless, it does not share the Party Programme's undifferentiated and negative approach towards the leadership of the old CPI.

## THE SPARK OF AGRARIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT BE EXTINGUISHED!

Class war against landlord tyranny continues to be waged in thousands of villages in India. In May, in the villages Baghura and Dalelchak of Aurangabad district in Bihar, 700 Dalit agricultural labourers surrounded and burned down the houses of some landlords and thus put at least 13 of their class enemies to death. These landlords had been responsible earlier for the murder of 7 of their class brothers.

In the last five years more than 1000 agricultural labourers have been murdered in Bihar by the armed henchmen of the landlords and the police. The massacre of 100s in Arawal last year is still fresh in the mind of the people. The agricultural labourers live under conditions of extreme exploitation, earning barely Rs 3 to 4 a day. For any social expenditure like a marriage, or at times of a illness and often for daily consumption needs the workers are forced to borrow from the landlords at usurious rates of interest ranging from 45 to 80%. Indebtedness to the landlords is often hereditary. Under such exploitative conditions the fight against feudal and state oppression cannot but go on.



TRUE FACE OF "DEMOCRACY" IN INDIA:

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STATE VIOLENCE AGAINST NAXALITE FIGHTERS

"In all capitalist countries throughout the world, the bourgeoisie resorts to two methods in its struggle against the working-class movement and the workers' parties. One method is that of violence, persecution, bans, and suppression. In its fundamentals, this is a feudal, medieval method.... The other method the bourgeoisie employs against the movement is that of dividing the workers, disrupting their ranks, bribing individual representatives or certain groups of the proletariat with the object of winning them over to its side. These are not feudal but purely bourgeois and modern methods, in keeping with the developed and civilised customs of capitalism..." ( Lenin, Coll. Works 20, p. 455).

In our country, at a moment of crisis for the ruling classes, confronted by the challenge of the Naxalite movement, "liberal" techniques of persuasion rapidly gave way to feudal, medieval, autocratic methods of persuasion. The crux of comprador Gandhian ideology came to the fore: non-violence with regard to imperialism, violence towards the people:

- Activists and sympathizers of the CFI(ML) were subjected to a variety of tortures in police custody to make them "talk". Methods used included: beating up by several police-men at the same time, burning skin by lighted cigarettes, introduction of bottle/iron rod into the anus, electric shock treatment, stripping, raping of women activists, making the people sit on lighted heaters and more "sophisticated" methods of brain washing and intravenous injections of Fentathol, the so-called truth serum.

- Undertrail prisoners, arrested under DIR ( Defence of India Rules) and MISA ( Maintenance of Internal Security Act) or various criminal charges, numbering more than 30 to 40,000, had to put up with grossly overcrowded and insanitary conditions in jail. This along with horrible and insufficient quantity of food made many of them fall seriously ill but they were not allowed to avail of proper medical care.

The prisoners were completely cut off from the people. No political contents were allowed in the letters. No close friends, only relatives were allowed to visit them. Anti-establishment newspapers and magazines were prohibited. They were not allowed exercises, to sing revolutionary songs, to hold political discussions and were not allowed to write anything political. These were the conditions in at least some of the jails. 51 Naxalite prisoners were kept in chains in Hazaribagh jails, some of them for periods of more than two years.

- Undertrail prisoners can be indefinitely detained and many thousands have been done so up to today. The government can take its own time for investigating alleged offences and the courts cannot compel it to put the accused up for trial within a time limit. Court hearings can be put off and dragged on endlessly on the flimsiest of pretexts at the request of the prosecution. There are numerous cases when prisoners ordered released, because the charges against them failed, were re-arrested on the very premises of the court under new charges. Often a charge is not even necessary because, under one or the other emer-

gency regulation, a person can be detained without the benefit of a trial.

● In the end police, military and para-military forces were deployed on a large scale. Vast areas were declared "disturbed" and no outsiders were permitted to enter. Search and destroy missions in the Vietnam and Afganistan style were conducted, guided no doubt American, Soviet and other intelligence agencies. Mass murders were carried out by hired mobs. In the summer of 1971 whole groups were killed publicly at Beliaghat, Barasat, Noapara and Howrah. The worst massacre occurred in the Cossipore-Baranagar area of Calcutta on August 12-13, 1971. An armed mob of 1000 went on a rampage in an area of over 2 square miles, dragging pre-planned targets from their homes and killing them brutally in public. This went on for 17 hours during which more than 150 young people were butchered. There was no police on the scene and nothing happened to the killers afterwards.

● The number of political prisoners in the Indian jails is increasing day by day. Many hundreds of people's fighters are still languishing in the government's dungeons for more than a decade. Many of them are even now "undertrials". Even after the declared end of the "emergency" hundreds of so-called Naxalite prisoners have been killed in so-called "encounters". ( See article on Peasant Movement in Andhra in this issue, p.47 ). In recent times many Sikh youth have also been killed in Punjab in the name of so-called "encounters". A revealing feature of the continuing war on the Naxalites has been the institution of the "conspiracy cases". The provisions in the Indian Penal Code were used 50 years ago by the colonial powers in an attempt to strangle the communist movement. It is significant that it is still being evoked in several states in India.

This is the nature of "democracy" in India, so loudly trumpeted about by the ruling classes and their imperialist masters.

More precise information needs to be collected on political prisoners in India today and their conditions. Responses in this regard are welcome from our readers as well as concrete suggestions and proposals towards a movement for the unconditional release of political prisoners.

*"I will sprinkle my blood drop by drop  
As the seed for the liberation of this land.*

*Though I am in prison, I am not a slave  
If I am shaken or slashed  
I will rise like a wave again and again"*

*- Chechabandaru*



**document**

**1970 Program Of CPI(ML)**

PROGRAMME  
of the  
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)  
*Adopted at the PARTY CONGRESS held in May 1970*

1. Our beloved country is one of the biggest and most ancient countries of the world inhabited by 500 million people. Ours is an agrarian country, a country of the peasant masses, hard-working and talented. They have rich revolutionary traditions and a glorious cultural heritage.

2. The British imperialists conquered India and established their direct rule some 200 years ago and since then the history of our country has been a history of ceaseless struggles waged by the heroic Indian peasantry against British imperialism and feudal oppression. The First War of Independence in 1857, a war fought by the peasantry and rebel soldiers, turned into a conflagration engulfing the whole of the vast country, inflicting many humiliating defeats on the imperialists and shaking the very foundations of the alien imperialist rule. This great uprising of the Indian people failed owing to the betrayal by India's feudal princes.

3. Since then India has witnessed innumerable armed peasant revolts. However, these revolts failed as there was no scientific theory and no revolutionary leadership capable of leading them to victory.

4. The Indian bourgeoisie, comprador in nature, intervened to divert the national liberation struggle from the path of revolution to the path of compromise and surrender. Beginning from the Champaran peasant struggle, the Gandhian leadership representing the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie and feudal class, with its ideology of '*ahimsa satyagraha*', passive resistance and '*charkha*', sought to tailor the national movement to serve the interests of the British imperialist rule and its feudal lackeys.

5. The Great October Revolution brought the ideology of Marxism-Leninism to our country and the Communist Party of India was born. However, despite tremendous opportunities, the leadership of the working class could not be established over the national liberation struggle as the leadership of the Party refused to fight Gandhism and the Gandhian leadership and to take to the path of revolution. The leadership refused to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Indian revolution. It refused to integrate the Party with the heroic masses, chiefly the revolutionary peasantry, and to forge a revolutionary united front. It refused to learn from the great liberation struggle of the Chinese people led by the CPC and Chairman Mao Tsetung and to take to the path of armed struggle.

6. On the contrary, the leadership of the CPI consciously trailed behind the leadership of the Congress and betrayed the revolution from the very beginning. The leaders of the CPI were agents of imperialism and feudalism. Despite the treachery of the leadership, the Party ranks stood with the

suffering people, led many class battles and made untold sacrifices for the cause of the Indian proletariat.

7. The smashing defeat of the fascist powers at the hands of the world people led by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Great Stalin and the world-shaking victorious advance of the Great Chinese liberation struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao brought about a new alignment of forces the world over. Imperialism was very much weakened and the national liberation struggle of the colonial people surged forward like a torrent throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, threatening to sweep imperialism and its lackeys away.

8. An unprecedented revolutionary situation overtook the Indian sub-continent too. The mighty movement for the release of 'Azad Hind' prisoners, powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations by students all over India, the great *Tebhaga* and *Bakasht* struggles, the anti-feudal struggles in the princely states, the powerful struggle of the P&T workers, the armed revolt of the R.I.N. ratings along with rebellions in the Air Force and the Army and the police revolt in Bihar, the great solidarity actions of the working class and the beginning of the historic armed peasant struggle in Telengana brought the imperialist rule in India almost to the verge of collapse.

9. Faced with such a situation, the British imperialism pressed into services its tried agents—the leaders of the Indian National Congress, Muslim League and of the CPI with a view to crushing this revolutionary upsurge of the Indian people. The country was partitioned amidst communal carnage and the Congress leadership representing the comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords, was installed in power while the British imperialists stepped into the background. The sham independence declared in 1947 was nothing but a replacement of the colonial and semi-feudal set-up with a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one.

10. During these years of sham independence the big comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and big landlord ruling classes have been serving their imperialist masters quite faithfully. These lackeys of imperialism, while preserving the old British imperialist exploitation, have also brought U. S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist exploiters to fleece our country.

11. They have mortgaged our country to the imperialist powers, mainly to the U. S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. With the weakening of the power of British imperialism the world over, the Indian ruling classes have now hired themselves out to U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Thus instead of two mountains, British imperialism and feudalism, the Indian people are now weighed

down under the four huge mountains, namely, imperialism headed by U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital. Thus, India has turned into a neo-colony of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The ruthless exploitation and oppression by these four enemies of the Indian people have created unprecedented miseries, sufferings and calamities. Millions are struggling on the brink of death. Several millions go hungry, naked, houseless and unemployed.

12. In the name of 'national integration,' these enemies of the people have been suppressing the genuine rights of all the nationalities and national and religious minorities. The right of self-determination is being denied to the Kashmiris, Nagas and Mizos. Equal status to all the national languages is being denied and Hindi is being sought to be imposed on the people by them.

13. Our country is the country of the peasant masses who constitute over 75 percent of its population. They are the most exploited people of our country living in conditions of semi-starvation and absolute pauperisation. In India's semi-feudal economy, 80% of the land is concentrated in the hands of the 20% of the landowners, i.e., 'rajahs', landlords and rich peasants, while the starving peasantry constituting the rural population has no land or very little land.

The landless and poor peasants have to turn over their annual harvest in the form of rent to the extortionate usurious capital continues to fleece the peasantry. The exploitation of peasants is the order of the day. Social discrimination against the scheduled castes including the lynching of Harijans, the oppression of the middle classes, is continuing unabated. The semi-feudal land relations have transformed our country into a land of perpetual famine, as a result of which millions of people die of starvation every year.

In a brief, out of all the major contradictions in our country, that is, the contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand and our people on the other, the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, the contradiction between capital and the working class and the contradiction within the ruling classes, the one between the landlords and the peasantry, i.e., the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people is the principal contradiction in the present phase.

17. The resolution of this contradiction will lead to the resolution of all other contradictions too.

18. While preserving and perpetuating the semi-feudal set-up, the big comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and big landlord ruling classes have become pawns in the hands of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

19. The phenomenal increase in the total quantum of foreign capital, the heavy remittances of profits abroad, thousands of collaborationist enterprises, total dependence on imperialist "aid, grants and loans" for capital goods, technical know-how, military supplies and armament industries for building military bases and even for markets, unequal trade and P.L. 480 agreements have made U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism the overlords of our country.

20. U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have brought the vital sectors of the economy of our country under their control. U. S. imperialism collaborates mainly with private capital and is now penetrating into the industries in the state sector, while Soviet social-imperialism has brought under its control mainly the industries in the state sector and is at the same time trying to enter into collaboration with private capital.

21. U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism do everything possible to foster the growth of comprador-bureaucrat capitalism for continuing their unbridled exploitation of the Indian people.

22. The much-trumpeted "public sector" is being built up by many imperialist exploiters for employing their capital and for exploiting the cheap labour power and raw materials of our country. The public sector is nothing but a clever device to hoodwink the Indian people and continue their plunder. It is state monopoly capitalism i. e., bureaucrat capitalism.

23. With their octopus-like grip on India's economy, the U. S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists control the political, cultural and military spheres of the life of our country.

24. At the dictates of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, India's reactionary ruling classes pursue a foreign policy that serves the interests of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction. It has been tailored to the needs of the global strategy of the U. S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to encircle Socialist China and suppress the national liberation struggle raging in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, of which Vietnam has become the spearhead. India's aggression against Socialist China in 1962 and her continual provocation against China since then at the instance of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, her support to the Soviet attack on China, her tacit approval of Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, her dirty role in supporting U. S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people prove beyond a shadow of doubt that India's ruling classes are faithful stooges of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

25. These hard facts irrefutably prove the semi-colonial character of our society, besides its semi-feudal character.

26. As the obsolete semi-feudal society acts as the social base of U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and as it facilitates also the plunder of our people by comprador-bureaucrat capital, the problem of the peasantry becomes the basic problem of the Indian revolution.

27. Therefore, the basic task of the Indian revolution is to overthrow the rule of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism. This determines the stage of our revolution. It is the stage of democratic revolution, the essence of which is agrarian revolution.

28. It, however, is not the old type of democratic revolution but a new type of democratic revolution, People's Democratic Revolution, as it forms a part of the world socialist revolution, ushered in by the Great October Revolution, and as such, it can be successfully led by the working class alone and by no other class. The working class is the most revolutionary class and the most organised advanced detach-

ment of our people.

29. This revolution will establish the dictatorship of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class. They, together, constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. It will be a state guaranteeing democracy for 90 percent of the people and enforcing dictatorship over a handful of enemies. That is why it is People's Democracy.

30. The main force of the democratic revolution led by the working class is peasantry. The working class fully relies on the landless and poor peasants and firmly unites with the middle peasants and even wins over a section of the rich peasants while neutralizing the rest. It will be only a tiny section of the rich peasants that finally joins the enemies of the revolution. The urban petty-bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals of our country are revolutionary forces and will be a reliable ally in the revolution.

31. The small and middle bourgeoisie, businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies of the democratic revolution. They will now support, then oppose and sometimes even betray the revolution. Their dual role in the revolution arises because of their contradiction as well as unity with the enemies of our revolution.

32. Thus, in order to carry the democratic revolution through to the end it is necessary that a Democratic Front of all these classes is built up under the leadership of the working class.

33. This Front can, however, be built up when worker-peasant unity is achieved in the course of armed struggle and after Red political power is established at least in some parts of the country.

34. It must be understood that the working class can and will exercise its leadership over the People's Democratic Revolution through its political party, the Communist Party of India (M-L). It also performs its vanguard role by launching struggles on political issues, both national and international, by solidarity actions in support of the revolutionary classes, mainly, the revolutionary struggles of the peasantry and by sending its class-conscious vanguard section to organise and lead the peasants' armed struggle.

35. The path of India's liberation, as in the case of all other colonial and semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, is the path of People's War. As Chairman Mao has taught us, "*The Revolutionary war is the war of the masses ; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them.*"

36. The working class can wage a successful People's War by creating small bases of armed struggle all over the country and consolidating the political power of the people. This is possible only by developing guerilla warfare which is and will remain the basic form of struggle throughout the entire period of our Democratic Revolution.

37. As Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out, "Guerilla warfare is the only way to mobilise and apply the entire strength of the people against the enemy." Guerilla warfare alone can

unleash the initiative and rouse the creative genius of the Indian people, make them perform miracles, function in various ways and can enable them to effectively co-ordinate those ways. Thus guerilla war alone can expand the small bases of armed struggle to large, extensive areas through mighty waves of People's War and develop the People's Army which will overthrow the reactionary rule of the four mountains in the countryside, encircle and capture the cities, establish the People's Democratic Dictatorship all over the country and resolutely carry it forward to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism.

38. The People's Democratic State will carry out the following major tasks :

(a) Confiscation of all the banks and enterprises of foreign capital and liquidation of all imperialist debt.

(b) Confiscation of all land belonging to the landlords and their redistribution among the landless and poor peasants on the principle of land to the tillers ; cancellation of all debts of the peasantry and other toiling people. All facilities necessary for development of agriculture to be guaranteed.

(d) Enforce eight hours a day, increase wages, institute unemployment relief and social insurance, remove all inequalities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

(e) Improve the living conditions of soldiers and give land and job to the ex-servicemen.

(f) Enforce better living conditions of the people and remove unemployment.

(g) Develop new democratic culture in place of colonial and feudal culture.

(h) Abolish the present educational system and educational institutions and build up a new educational system and new educational institutions consistent with the needs of People's Democratic India.

(i) Abolish the caste system, remove all social inequalities and all discrimination on the religious ground and guarantee equality of status to women.

(j) Unify India and recognise the right of self-determination.

(k) Give equal status to all national languages.

(l) Abolish all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous assessments and adopt a consolidated progressive tax system.

(m) People's political power to be exercised through Revolutionary People's Councils at all levels.

(n) Alliance to be formed with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world under the leadership of the CPC.

39. The Democratic Revolution in India is taking place in the era of Mao Tsetung when world imperialism is heading for a total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory. Our revolution is a part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has consolidated socialism and proletarian dictatorship in China into the reliable base area of the World Revolution. Our revolution is taking place at a time when the great Ninth Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC—the Congress of unity and victory—has tremen-

dously inspired the international proletariat. It is taking place at a time when the CPC, headed by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, is leading the international proletariat to fulfil its historic mission of emancipating the whole of mankind from the rule of imperialism and reaction and establishing Socialism and Communism on this earth. We are a contingent of this great army of the international proletariat.

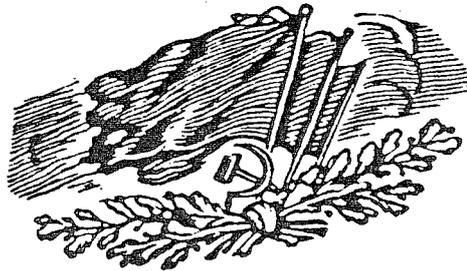
40. The CPI(M-L) is placing the Programme of People's

Democratic Revolution before the Indian people and dedicates itself to this great revolutionary cause. The Party is confident that the granite unity of our people with all socialist and oppressed nations, particularly the Chinese people, will bring about the victory of the Indian revolution, which as Chairman Mao has predicted, "will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind" and will ensure the world-wide victory of Socialism.

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( From: "Naxalbari And After, A Frontier Anthology", Vol. 2, Calcutta 1978, pp. 275-284 )



**Support the Just Struggles  
of the Sikhs against the  
Reactionary and Racist  
Indian State !**



## I. THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE SIKHS STRIKES HEAVY BLOWS AT SENSITIVE SPOTS OF THE COMPRADOR-FEUDAL INDIAN STATE

State genocidal violence against the Sikhs of Punjab started with Operation Bluestar in June, 1984. This was followed in Nov. 1984 by pogroms organised against the Sikhs in different parts of India. In Punjab, which was occupied by the Army, CRP and BSF forces, there was carried out systematic terrorisation, killings and jailings of thousands of Sikh youths under the lying pretext of fighting "terrorism" and "extremism". Now, with President's rule again declared in Punjab, there is a renewed attempt to throttle even more forcibly the just struggles of Sikhs against the reactionary and racist Indian state.

The ruling classes in India are in a state of frenzy faced by the challenge of the Sikhs, their fight for a state of their own. The heroic Sikh masses who have a long progressive and revolutionary tradition, a long history of fight against state tyranny, have exposed three essential weaknesses of the ruling classes:

1. Only the armed struggle of the people's masses can really hit out at the arrogance and the vital nerve centres of the ruling classes.
2. It is the mass of the peasantry in Punjab, as in India in general, which in opposition to parliamentary chatter, can lend real force to the armed struggle for smashing the Indian state.
3. A union of the various peoples of India in one state is not the highest objective. In those cases where it is desired by the various peoples, the RIGHT TO SECESSION must be guaranteed and realised.

The issues of armed struggle, agrarian revolutionary struggle and the right to secession have been squarely posed by the Sikhs fighting in Punjab. And the ruling classes, feeling threatened to their very core by the challenge posed by the raising of these basic issues by the Sikh struggle, fear nothing more than the fact that the oppressed and exploited masses of the Indian peoples should enthusiastically follow the example of the Sikhs and take up the fight against the oppressive Indian state, for smashing and overthrowing it, with the utmost self-sacrificing consequence.

That is why it is a central task of all true revolutionaries in India to arouse feelings and actions of solidarity towards the fight of the Sikhs. Outside Punjab it means seeing through the deceptive ruling class ideologies of Hindu and other chauvinisms and sharpening the class and national struggles against the oppressive Indian state, thus weakening it and improving the chances and helping the struggle of the Sikhs. Only in this way truly fraternal feelings between the oppressed and exploited peoples in India can be aroused and strengthened.

## II. HINDU CHAUVINISM: CHIEF IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUMENT OF REACTIONARY RULING CLASSES TO DIVIDE THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AND DISRUPT THEIR CLASS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLES

The principal ideological weapon used by the reactionary ruling classes to divide the oppressed and exploited peoples of India is the rousing of Hindu chauvinism. This weapon is not only used by the BJP, the Party of the Hindu fascist organisation, RSS, but also by other

bourgeois parties: It is also the weapon of the Congress, which deceptively tries to project itself as being secular, democratic and progressive and puts the blame for communal conflagrations solely on imperialist policies of divide and rule, on the "foreign hand", which is trying to weaken and destabilise India, to break up its "territorial unity and integrity". This is now also the weapon of the revisionist parties, the agents of the ruling classes, as their propaganda in the recent elections in Kerala and West Bengal brought to light.

The bias towards Hindu and upper caste predominance has been very much institutionalised in all the organs of the state - like the mili-

#### SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO SIKH STRUGGLE

In the late 60's and early 70's, the "green" counter-revolution was introduced in the Punjab, as in some other areas of India. On the one hand, it was the response of the imperialists and the comprador state to the anti-feudal struggles of the peasantry in Punjab as well as in other parts of India before and especially in the course of the Naxalbari struggle.

On the other hand, it also served the purpose of extending the market for the imperialists. The prices of the inputs for agriculture such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, machinery etc., produced by the imperialists, mainly American, or with imperialist collaboration, were fixed increasingly higher than the prices of agricultural produce, which are centrally fixed by the comprador government's Agricultural Price Commission at much below the actual cost of production. This has led to a large-scale indebtedness of the peasantry to the government to the tune of crores of rupees. Moreover, the peasantry is also overburdened by all kinds of taxes.

The so-called prosperity of the masses in Punjab as a result of the "green revolution" is a myth propagated by the Indian state. The absence of radical land redistribution has led to a concentration of land in the hands of a few landlords and rich capitalist upper caste farmers. The meagre land reforms that were enacted after 1947 mainly enabled the occupancy tenants to become peasant proprietors. The vast majority, who were tenants-at-will, mainly lower caste, were evicted by the landlords and were reduced to the status of landless labourers.

Differentiation among the peasantry with growing impoverishment and proletarianisation is an on-going process. The rural proletariat, mainly lower-caste, lives in sub-human conditions. Indebtedness of the labourers to landowners, money lenders and village shopkeepers has considerably increased during the "green revolution" period, and is contracted mainly for consumption needs and marriage and other ceremonial occasions. Part of this loan is also on hereditary lines which indicates an element of bondage.

Punjab has been developed mainly as a granary: a supplier of food-stuffs and raw materials for industries situated elsewhere in the country or abroad. Minimal industrial development has taken place and is mostly small-scale in character. This legacy of the colonial division of labour has been maintained even under neo-colonial conditions by the comprador-feudal Indian state.

tary, police, administration, legal superstructure and educational institutions etc.

But arousing Hindu chauvinism is complemented by other forms of chauvinism which the ruling classes use to divide the peoples and disrupt their class and national struggles: upper caste chauvinism towards the lower castes, chauvinism of the various peoples towards one another, particularly towards other neighbouring nationalities, for eg., Bengali chauvinism towards the Nepalis in Darjeeling, Marathi chauvinism towards the Konkani people in Maharashtra and so on. Then there is North Indian chauvinism towards the peoples of South India, racism of the "fair-skinned" towards the "dark-skinned".

### The Bourgeois Slogan of "Communal Harmony"

Of course, it is the policy of the hypocritical bourgeoisie to foment chauvinism and then to appear on the scene as the peace-brokers, call for harmony between the various religious communities and arrange peace marches. Many such peace marches and "movements for communal harmony" are sponsored by the state, the big business men, the bourgeois and revisionist parties, such as the "Committee for Communal Harmony". These movements in no way target state terrorism, or uphold the just struggles of the Sikhs, but try to reinforce the picture painted by the central government about Punjab: that it is a handful of Sikh "terrorists" and "extremists" who are disturbing "communal harmony", the harmony between the various religious communities, and disrupting India's unity and integrity and who have to be isolated.

The state also utilizes the efforts of diverse neo-revisionist CPI"ML" groups inside and outside Punjab for preserving the "unity" and "integrity" of the country against "secessionist" movements as that of the Sikhs. These groups, ranging from the C.P. Reddy group to that of the Satya Narain Singh group, Jaikara and others propagate that the situation in Punjab is created by the "communal" politics indulged in by some parties.

Firstly, such an approach does not target Hindu chauvinism to be the chauvinism of the majority religious group, which acts as a base for the chauvinisms of the minority religious groups to flourish. It does not take up the general problem of minority religious groups which are not only increasingly discriminated against, but are also becoming the target of genocidal attacks by the Hindu fascist organisations and by the state. It does not expose the arousing of majority Hindu chauvinism by the feudal-comprador state as a means for it to disrupt national and class struggles. It leaves completely out of purview this reactionary state which is the source of all chauvinist and racist politics, the fact that the state needs to arouse these feelings for its very survival, in order to divert from the real enemy. It leaves out the fact that without fighting against all forms of chauvinist and racist ideologies, against a policy of discrimination and pogroms, without a support for the just struggles of the religious minorities, the working class cannot undertake its revolutionary task of leading the fight for smashing the reactionary Indian state. Without such a fight there can be no internationalism and fraternal unity between the various

RSS Brand of Hindu Fascism

The General Secretary of the Hindu fascist organisation, RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) declared some time back: "No more vivisection of India even if it means civil war". ("Organiser", Feb.15/87, p.5)

This is the war cry of Hindu fascist organisations which are calling for and preparing for a forcible crushing of the struggle of the Sikhs. The Hindu organisations are arming themselves for waging just such a "civil war". The arming of Hindu fascist organisations is projected to be a necessary act of self-defence, as a "backlash" and response to the arming of the other religious communities.

Hindu chauvinist ideology regards only Hindus to be true patriots and Indians. "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan" is their slogan. It exhibits assimilationist tendencies towards the other religions and is intolerant of their separate existence from the "main body". Sikhism is thus completely denied existence as a separate religion, but is regarded as being a part of Hinduism itself. Contrary to all materialist interpretations of Sikhism as representing in religious form the anti-feudal struggles of the traders and peasants during the Moghul period, it is misrepresented by Hindu chauvinist ideology to be a movement to defend Hindus against Muslim tyranny.

The ideology of Hindu chauvinism is revanchist and expansionist. The entire Indian sub-continent is considered to be its home and any "separatist" or "secessionist" movement totally condemned. Revanchist ambitions are nurtured towards Pakistan. The formation of "linguistic" states itself, hard-won through people's struggles, is seen to be as poisonous and disruptive and as something that has aggravated the demand for the "right of self-determination" and the "right to secession". In fact, the BJP, the parliamentary wing of the RSS, is on the one hand asking for a Presidential form of government, a more centralised form of government than at the present, and that the country be divided into zones doing away with the present "linguistic" states.

Apart from this crude, fascist form of Hindu chauvinism, there are also more subtle and liberal variants, which also have to be exposed. An example is Subramaniam Swamy's statement (Lok Dal leader) that the crisis in the country cannot be overcome by Nehru's brand of effete secularism or by the RSS brand of Hindu chauvinism, but that the Hindus have to look at their rich heritage and promote an enlightened Hindu revival ("Onlooker", February 15/87).

peoples and minorities, which is not forced but based on guaranteeing and realising the right to secession.

The Revisionist Parties, too, Spread the Poison of Hindu Chauvinism

The revisionist parties of the CPI and CPI(M) are playing the role of one of the biggest props for maintaining the rule of the reactionary big bourgeoisie and for defending the present enforced territorial integrity of the country.

Instead of exposing the role of the state as one essential source of chauvinist and racist ideologies and fighting them, the revisionist parties also resort to the fanning of Hindu chauvinism and target mainly the minority religious groups and ask them to separate religion from politics. Their entire wrath and propaganda is directed against the "terrorism" of the Sikhs and not at all against state terrorism. In fact, true

to their social-fascist nature, they are supporters of Army suppression of the struggles of the Sikhs.

Such an attitude towards the oppression of the Sikhs on the part of our revisionist "Marxists" is comparable to a situation when people, who called themselves "Marxists," but as the German fascists burned down the synagogues of the Jews, organised pogroms and systematic gassing in Auschwitz, called out: of course, religion is the opium of the people and must be destroyed! It is very evident that such people could only have been handmaidens of the German fascists, if not themselves fascists.

To divert from the genocidal policies of the state and from the just resistance of the Sikhs against state oppression and terrorisation, they, in tune with the propaganda of other bourgeois parties raise the slogan about the "foreign hand", the "imperialist conspiracy", particularly the US imperialists who are allegedly behind the struggle of the Sikhs and instigating them to "destabilise" India and "break its territorial integrity".

On the role of imperialism: when it suits their own interests the imperialists support the ruling bourgeoisie in its divisive and oppressive politics. In no case they are interested in the development of any just and genuine struggle anywhere. At the same time, they try to keep their finger in the pie and influence the development of the movement along reactionary and pro-imperialist lines. It is a fact that such movements are always sought to be utilised by one or another imperialist to expand its sphere of influence, against which one must be vigilant.

But to talk only about imperialist conspiracy means to shelter one's own ruling classes and their state in their politics of terrorisation and suppression. To be able to fight against politics of discrimination and oppression one has to fight above all against the racial and chauvinist politics of one's own ruling classes, against chauvinist and racist ideology in the minds of the people, which, of course, the revisionists would never like to do. Though one's own ruling classes are dependent on imperialism as a whole, it should also be clear that the two are not one and the same. At the same time, it is necessary to show imperialism's own interest in and practise of divisive and **racial** politics, that it actively supports it and incites nations against one another. One fights against the racial politics of both one's own reactionaries as well as that of imperialism.

### III. PEOPLES OF INDIA, SUPPORT AND LEARN FROM THE JUST ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE SIKHS AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY!

The armed struggle of the Sikhs against the reactionary and racist Indian state, which is pursuing a genocidal policy against the Sikhs as well as other religious minorities like the Muslims, must be supported whole-heartedly by all democratic and freedom-loving people in India. The poison of Hindu and other chauvinisms must be repudiated which try to blind and divert the peoples from the real oppressor, their common enemy, the comprador-feudal Indian state. The people must

### Marxism and the Question of Religion

The SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS FEELINGS AND RIGHTS of the broad masses of the people stands in a fundamental contradiction to Marxism-Leninism, which sees the roots of religious feelings among the masses above all in their social misery, in their oppression and exploitation.

"We must be extremely careful in fighting religious prejudices; some people cause a lot of harm in this struggle by offending religious feelings. We must use propaganda and education. By lending too sharp an edge to the struggle we may only arouse popular resentment; such methods of struggle tend to perpetuate the division of people along religious lines, whereas our strength lies in unity. The deepest source of religious prejudice is poverty and ignorance; and that is the evil we have to combat."

(Lenin, "Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women", 1918, Vol. 28, p. 181)

The stand of the proletariat in the question of religion is that religion must be declared to be a private affair in relation to the state. The state should have nothing to do with religion, the religious institutions should have nothing to do with state institutions. Every individual is free to follow any religion or no religion, i.e. to be an atheist. Any legal or other inequalities or suppression on the basis of one's belonging to a particular religion are impermissible. Complete separation of the state from religion, of education from religion is the demand of the proletariat. This is part of the struggle for political freedom and democracy. The proletariat fights against persecution on the basis of religion without making any concessions in the question of separation of religion from the state, in the question of religion to be a private affair.

This is done without for a moment concealing its own atheistic approach and fight for a scientific and materialistic outlook. But this fight against the religious fog is carried out only by the method of persuasion, by the weapon of the word. This includes explaining the true historical, economic and political sources of the religious opium, which must constitute an important aspect of the Marxist-Leninist party's work on the ideological front.

At the same time, it must be clear that the true emancipation of the oppressed and exploited peoples from the religious stultification can only come gradually and with and through their revolutionary struggles against their exploiters. "... only the class struggle of the working masses could, by comprehensively drawing the widest strata of the proletariat into conscious and revolutionary social practice, really free the oppressed masses from the yoke of religion". (Lenin, "The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion", 1909, Vol. 15, p.403). That is why the Marxists in the first instance lead the fight against misery and exploitation. They lead the masses on the path of social revolution, the path of overthrowing economic slavery, which alone is the true source for the religious befogging of the minds of the oppressed and exploited peoples.

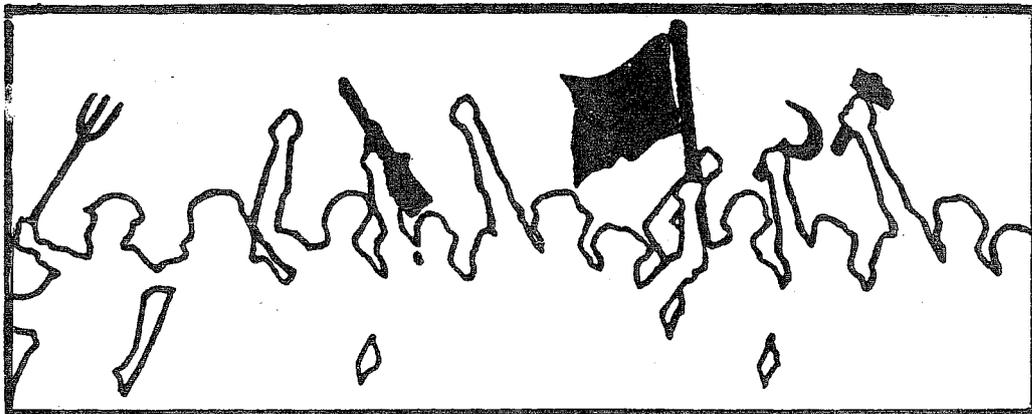
lend their fighting support for the just demands of the Sikhs: Release all political prisoners, including the Jodhpur detainees! Punish the guilty for the November 1984 massacres against the Sikhs in Delhi and other cities! Revoke all "anti-terrorist" and black laws in Punjab! Withdraw the army and other para-military units from Punjab! The Punjab river waters belong to Punjab alone! Equal rights for all religions in India! Stop all discrimination and massacres against the Sikhs and other religious minorities!

The support of the just struggles of the Sikhs is the main thing for the Marxist-Leninists and all justice-loving and freedom-loving peoples. Nevertheless - in the interest of improving the prospects of the struggle - they must repudiate some reactionary trends within the movement of the Sikhs. This approach is self-evident for Communists, for in such struggles where the proletariat and its Party do not as yet lead the movement politically and ideologically, then the danger is very great that reactionaries, and even imperialist forces can succeed in killing and dividing the struggle of the masses of the people for their emancipation.

One such reactionary trend among the Sikh groups, which is being repudiated by all revolutionary and progressive Sikhs, is that instead of targetting mainly the reactionary Indian state, its main instruments, the army and the police, sometimes also innocent Hindus are targetted, with the aim of either forcing them to flee from Punjab, or putting them under pressure to become "Sikhs" by growing their beards etc -all with the aim of creating a theocratic Sikh-dominated state. Such basically fascist methods must unconditionally be rejected by any truly revolutionary Sikh who has even a particle of respect for the great struggle of the Sikhs for emancipation from tyranny. This is essential not just because of this or that victim among the Hindus, but also because of the moral contamination of one's own ranks with the mindless poison of self-adulation and chauvinism.

The peoples of India must support the struggles of all the oppressed and exploited in Punjab: the struggles of the peasants and the workers and peasants against exploitation by the imperialists and the compradors allied with them; they must support the struggles of the Dalit and lower caste landless and agricultural workers against their social and economic exploitation by the landlords and money lenders.

DEATH TO THE REACTIONARY INDIAN STATE!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF ALL OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED IN INDIA!



SOME POINTS OF VIEW TO INITIATE A SERIOUS DEBATE ON THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB

Whoever has been following the standpoints of various groups both in and outside Punjab on the struggle of the Sikhs as well as on the struggles in Punjab in general is confronted with many questions.

It is not the aim of this contribution to present answers to these questions. For this our study is not yet sufficient and deep enough. Nevertheless in the following we shall try to articulate some of these questions more precisely, correct some wrong approaches to the questions as well as raise some new questions which have not been paid sufficient attention to so far.

What Does the Right to Secession, Given Only to Oppressed Nations, Have to do with the Sikhs, who constitute "only" a "Religious Group"?

The background to this question is the fact that many groups among the Sikhs are putting forward the demand for SECESSION from India, are demanding Khalisthan. While examining the manifold arguments and discussions in relation to this demand there emerge an entire series of controversies and problems, about which one has to be aware, before one is able to deal with this question in a more differentiated and profound way.

In the first instance it must be recognised that there is indeed a distinction between the demand for the secession of Punjab and the demand for Khalisthan. For the Sikhs in Punjab constitute a religious community which forms only a part, though the majority, of the total population.

If the term "nation" is used in a Marxist sense (x), then it cannot be said that the Sikhs constitute a nation, though this may be asserted by this or that group of Sikhs. For belonging to a particular religion certainly does not constitute a characteristic of a nation. So when the Marxists in general recognise the right to self-determination, the right to secession, it cannot automatically be followed from this that this right is also valid for the demand of Khalisthan, a state constituted on the base of religion. But saying this by no means solves the problem. OTHER ARGUMENTS can be and indeed are brought forward to support the demand for the formation of Khalisthan.

- It is a fact that the C.P. of India supported the demand for Pakistan, and incidentally also for Sikhistan, a Sikh homeland, for some time in the 1940s. The formation of Pakistan, which was accompanied by mutual massacres of Hindus and Muslims and a large scale emigration from both countries at the cost of immense human misery, could serve may be more as a negative example, as something which should not be

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(x) Stalin had characterised "nation" in the following way:

"A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."  
(Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question", 1913, SW 2, p.307)

repeated (x). Even then, it can and must be asked, whether with a stronger development of the revolutionary forces, or under the leadership of revolutionary and democratic forces, with more firm guarantees and rights for religious minorities as well as for those holding Communist viewpoints, the formation of the state of Pakistan could well have been the correct thing at that time. While trying to answer this question, it is absolutely essential to analyse the concrete circumstances, the exact correlation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in the given situation, as well as to what extent the Communists themselves had made mistakes, which helped the reactionaries.

- In this context, the case of the formation of Israel can also be brought up. It is relevant to understand the similar, but not exactly the same, case of the Jews, who in the formation of the state of Israel were supported at that time not only by the socialist Soviet Union, but by the entire world communist movement. The case of Israel, where, too, the question of religion was important, cannot simply be explained and substantiated on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination. The Soviet delegation agreed to the formation of Israel in the UNO after other solutions to the problem had proved themselves to be unrealisable.

Even though today Pakistan and Israel form part of the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution, it was not necessary that from the beginning it was bound to be so. Under a democratic and revolutionary leadership things could have been different.

- In this connection it is also important to grasp more profoundly that in the case of the Sikhs, as well as in the case of other religious groups in other countries, religious conflicts can very well be and very often are connected with national elements. We can take the example of the Armenians in Turkey, who were persecuted both as Christians and as a national minority. We can also take the example of the Jews in Eastern Europe and under Tsarism in Russia, who were cruelly persecuted, and thus although they were a religious community also had the characteristic of being a national minority. For this reason they had their own autonomous area "Birobidjan" in the socialist Soviet Union later, though they had never constituted a nation of their own.

From the above it can be concluded that the Sikhs do not enjoy the right to secession as a nation. However, this does not mean, considered from other aspects and examined more thoroughly, under certain circumstances, depending on what forces are leading the movement - whether they are revolutionary and democratic - the demand for Khalistan could not be supported and realised. This would be from the perspective of trying to reduce tensions and conflicts among the people which help the class enemy. It would be with the perspective of advancing the voluntary unity of the peoples for the common struggles against exploitation and oppression.

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(x)

While rejecting the concrete accompanying phenomena of the formation of Pakistan, the pogroms and massacres etc, the Marxist-Leninists in India have to combat all forms of big-Indian chauvinism in the direction of lamenting the "division" of India and the reintegration of Pakistan with India today.

From the History of the Sikhs

The Sikh sect, founded at the beginning of the 16th century, constituted at first the opposition of the traders and partly the usurers of the North Indian cities against the feudal order. The founder of the sect, Nanak (1469-1538) and the Gurus ( verbatim: the teachers) after him, who were the heads of the sect condemned not only the cast system and proclaimed equality of all Sikhs before God, but also preached the renunciation of violence and oppression by the Padshahs. The Padshahs, particularly Akbar, enfeoffed in the 16th century the Gurus of the Sikhs with large areas of land. Their aim was to exploit the influence of the Sikh chiefs over the common people in their own interest. So the succeeding Gurus of the Sikhs were transformed into peculiar religious feudal lords who enjoyed unlimited influence over the members of the sect. At the beginning of the 17th century, the claims of the Sikh Gurus to not just spiritual but also temporal power led to the first clash with the Moghul administration.

From the second half of the 17th century onwards, in the period of the sharpening of the class contradictions, the class composition of the Sikh community and the aims of its movement also changed. The main forces of this movement were now the ruined peasants and artisans. After some splits the sect was rid of traders and usurers, and the armed anti-feudal struggle began. Under Guru Gobind Singh ( 1675-1708) power went to the Khalsa, the Sikh community. Caste distinctions within the Sikhs were eliminated and the break with orthodox Hinduism was completed. The Sikhs began the armed struggle for a "real government" in order to become the masters of their own land.

The members of the sect began to be persecuted. In 1705 the joint military forces of the Moghuls and the Hindu Rajas defeated the Sikhs and captured their fort Anandpur. Gobind fled. Shortly before his death in 1708 he named the peasant Banda to be his successor and entrusted him with the legacy of continuing the struggle against the Moghuls. ...

In 1710 a new great uprising of the Sikhs blazed up, at whose head stood Banda, and which could be defeated by the Moghuls only with difficulty in 1715. Banda was executed and tens of thousands of Sikhs were tortured to death. The movement of the Sikhs became weaker, but did not die out. ...

The disintegration of the state of the Moghuls was exploited by the Sikhs and Marathas. Armed units of the Sikhs now fell upon the land of the Mohommedan feudal lords and the Indian Rajahs and conquered cities and entire districts of Punjab. The power of the army chiefs of the Sikhs, the Sardars, grew. ...

The process of class differentiation among the Sikhs strengthened. The army chiefs of the Sikhs, the Sardars, took possession of enormous estates and appropriated special rights in the feudal exploitation of the non-Sikh peasants ...

(Excerpts from "History of India", Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Series History and Philosophy, Volume 44, Moscow, Berlin. Translated from the German edition, pp. 26-31).

- In the case of the demand for the secession of Punjab, though it still has to be critically examined and put forward whether all the criteria of a nation apply to it, it is yet more easy to understand in this case, than in the case of the Sikhs, that in this area the historical process of the formation of a nation in the struggle against feudalism and imperialism has begun, that it has a common economic and geographic territory, a common language Punjabi (x) and common culture peculiarities.

Seen from this aspect, the demand for the secession of Punjab has its justification, which does not mean that the Communists support this demand under all and any conditions. In any case, a possible secession of Punjab under revolutionary and democratic leadership, or with a stronger development of revolutionary forces, certainly contains within it the possibility that all religious groups in it would enjoy equal rights.

On the Thesis: Is not the Sikh Question the Result of the Divisive Manoeuvres of the Reactionary Ruling Classes?

Let us state right from the beginning that this is a very dangerous half-truth.

On the one hand it is certainly true that divide and rule, incite one section of the population against another on the basis of religion and caste etc, was earlier the policy of the British imperialists, as accurately pointed out by Marx, and is now the practice of the reactionary ruling comprador-feudal classes of India - just as it is of reactionaries all over the world.

An exposure of divisive manoeuvres is certainly important, particularly if the revolutionaries have not succeeded in making clear enough to the fighting people their actual enemy, the state of the ruling classes. For then, it is certainly the case that the Sikhs will fight the Hindus, the Nepalis the Bengalis etc. It has to very clearly be understood that the SUCCESS of the ruling classes' manoeuvres of divide and rule is at the same time the FAILURE of the activity of the revolutionaries.

But once this manoeuvre of divide and rule enjoys a certain measure of success, what becomes very important is that, while exposing the manoeuvres of divide and rule of the ruling classes, there must also be the CORRECT SUPPORT of the struggles of the oppressed against the oppressors. The divisive policies of imperialism and the comprador-feudal classes cannot simply be opposed by propagating the "unity of the peoples of India" against their enemies. The real existing divisions between various sections of the working people must be grasped and a correspondingly correct politics must be followed.

The slogan, we must be united against the reactionary ruling classes, very often serves to gloss over the element of internal oppression of one people, or section of people, by another. Pious wishes and slogans

(x) Though under the influence of reactionary Hindu organisations, a large part of the Hindu population in Punjab has been officially denying its mother tongue, Punjabi, in various censuses.

of unity are a mere skipping over of the reality of deep wounds and mistrust that have been caused by the pogroms, the discrimination and other oppressive acts, above all by the state, but supported by the people sunk in the prejudices of Hindu chauvinist ideology. Indeed, in such a situation, such slogans of unity can be directly harmful because they will be understood to be mere hypocrisy.

That is why, though as Communists we desire and fight for the unity of all the oppressed and exploited in India for the revolution, we cannot simply make the slogan of the "unity of the peoples" to be the main slogan and aim, as we have already mentioned right at the beginning. That is why we have to make the question of VOLUNTARY unity and mutual interest in supporting the revolution stand in the foreground! In the context of the Sikh movement, it is precisely by making far-reaching concessions in the question of the wish for secession that it is possible to heal these wounds with time and to arrive at precisely the goal of unity against the entire old world of exploitation and oppression by means of the process of separation in this or that form.



**focus on andhra**

**Solidarity with  
Peasant Movement in  
Andhra Pradesh**



## 1. STATE CNSLAUGHT AGAINST PEASANT STRUGGLES IN ANDHRA

Speaking of the repression unleashed on the Paris Commune by the French bourgeoisie, Karl Marx had said:  
 "The civilisation and justice of the bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand out as undisguised slavery and lawless revenge."  
 ("The Civil War in France", 1871, in: Marx and Engels, Sel. Works, Vol. II, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p.235).

In history, it is everywhere the ruling classes, the exploiters, who are the first to bypass all their own laws and resort to violence by using in a massive way their coercive state apparatus of the police and the military against the just struggles of the people - and then howl about the revolutionary violence unleashed against them by the masses. In Andhra, too, this universal truth has been manifesting itself:

Ever since a peasants' movement, which already had a long and glorious tradition, flared up once again here in many areas since 1978, led mainly by the People's War group, but also by others such as the C.P. Reddy and D.V. Rao groups, against the tyranny and exploitation of the landlords, mainly upper caste, the state has come down with a heavy hand. The landless and land poor have been struggling for land and against feudal forms of exploitation like Vetti (unpaid labour), Mamul (customary exactions), untouchability, rape of every mature girl as a matter of right etc. The agricultural labourers have been fighting for minimum wages; the girijans (tribals) against exploitation by the non-tribal landlords, money-lenders, merchants, forest and revenue officers and the police; the workers (for eg., in the Singareni coal mines) have been agitating for better working conditions and wages.

In the struggle areas of North Telengana - Karimnagar, Adilabad, Warangal, Khamman and Nizamabad - in other areas, like East Godavari, Mehboobnagar, Nalgonda, Medak etc, as well as in some areas of the surrounding states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, state and central police, military and para-military forces have been deployed to crush the so-called "Naxalite" menace. Many areas have been declared "disturbed" and armed police camps have been set up in different parts of these districts.

Terror is sought to be created among the people by destroying standing crops, fruit gardens, arresting thousands of students and youth in the villages, combing and patrolling villages at night, opening fire on whomsoever they come across. Tribal and peasant women have been raped by policemen and tribal hamlets burnt down.

In the Telengana districts, people are regularly picked up, kept for long periods in illegal detention, tortured severely and implicated in false cases. Villages are raided, people are gathered en masse

and beaten mercilessly. Democratic functioning of any sort is made impossible for the organisations of the rural poor. Candidates put up for Assembly elections by a "CPI(ML)" group were harassed at every step. Their campaign meetings were followed by raids on the village and beating of people. The campaigning cadre ( and the candidate himself in Warangal) were arrested. Conferences of Agricultural Workers Unions were forcibly prevented at Rajahmundry, Khammam and Aler. People campaigning for the conferences were arrested in large numbers, beaten up severely and implicated in serious cases. Permission to hold public meetings, originally granted by a Court or police, were cancelled at the last minute and prohibitory orders were promulgated and the gathering assaulted. On the other hand, the police went around and organised election at gun point in some districts in the 1978 elections when the People's War group had given a call for boycott of elections.

Assaults, arrests and killings of civil liberties activists has also become a regular feature. Dr. A. Ramanadhan, Vice-President of AFCLC (Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee), and Lakshma Reddy, a civil liberties activist, were murdered by the police.

All this is accompanied by an attack on committed intellectuals and writers, too. Ch. Venu and Varavara Rao, working editor of Srjana and Secretary of RWA ( Revolutionary Writers' Association) have been repeatedly arrested. Hemlata, editor of "Srjana" was arrested and charged with sedition for publishing articles on the issue of police atrocities.

Various black laws have been enacted recently, like the Police Bill, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities ( Prevention) Act and have been used to throttle the just struggles of the people. Besides this, many revolutionary activists have been killed in so-called "encounters" with the police.

Extra-state private landlord goonda armies, condoned, protected and nurtured by the state are also used against the people. The leading role in such extra-state violence is played by the Hindu-chauvinist organisation, the RSS ( Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), along with its mass organisations like the ABVP, BKS, BMS and BJP. ( Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad; Bhartiya Kisan Sangh; Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh and Bhartiya Janata Party).

## 2. ANTI-PEOPLE UNITED FRONT OF THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST PARTIES

Whatever the ruling Party, this has been and is the fate of the people who rise against tyranny and exploitation, right from Telengana to Srikakulam up to Indravelli and Karamchedu today.

The situation of the people under Nizam autocracy in the British Raj was not changed in the least by the marching in of the Indian army, sent in by Nehru, and the forcible integration of the former Hyderabad state into the so-called independent and democratic "Indian Union". The ruling landlords only changed their allegiance to the Congress Party and also to the CPI and CPI(M), wherever these had a stronghold. The Telugu Desam Party under N.T. Rama Rao, which came on the political

scene in 1983 under the deceptive garb of upholding the "self-respect of 6 crore Telugu people" has proved itself in practice to be equally a government of the reactionary comprador and landlord classes. All its anti-Centre talk did not prevent it in approaching and using Central help - Rs 22 crore and a few battalions of the CRPF - to crush the peoples' struggles.

In fact, in this task of wiping out the so-called "Naxalite menace", there has been remarkable unanimity among all the various "opposition" parliamentary parties as well as the so-called "Marxist" parties, CPI and CPI(M). For all its weaknesses, which can and must be overcome, the spectre of the Naxalite movement still haunts the ruling classes. In a public meeting organised by the BJP in 1984, in which all the other parties including CPI and CPI(M) participated, there was an unanimous demand that responsible people in the villages ( meaning the landlords) should be given arms to defend themselves against Naxalites. There is no question of even condemning the state and extra-state atrocities against the people on the part of these pseudo-Marxists. According to them these are justified reactions on the part of the state against "left-adventurist" politics, nay, a politics of murder.

There has been both a stick and carrot approach to the struggles of the people. The Nehru government during the Telengana armed peasant struggle had on the one hand resorted to large-scale killings and on the other had sent Vinoba Bhave, in the name of the Bhoodan movement, to divert the attention of the people. Successive governments that have come to power after this, under this or that political party, have continued to try and hoodwink the people by enacting several laws on land reforms etc, but the problem of land to the tiller and subjugation to imperialism have remained as before. Rama Rao introduced cheap populist charity measures like free bus travel for children, mid-day meals, two rupee a kilo rice etc, whereby even these minute crumbs to enslave the people could not be properly distributed!

Apart from this, there have been attempts to divert and divide the people by fomenting caste struggles and also, utilising the uneven lop-sided development of the various regions of Andhra, a feature of neo-colonial economic and political development, to incite the people of various regions against one another.

### 3. OUR MAIN CRITICISMS OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR GROUP LEADING THE ANTI-FEUDAL STRUGGLES IN ANDHRA

The People's War group, under the leadership of Kondapalli Seetaramaiah, has been the main leading and organising force in the anti-feudal struggles in Andhra since 1974. Some other groups emerging from and parallel to the splintering of the CPI(ML) in the early 70s, like the C.P. Reddy group, Nagi Reddy's UCCRI ( Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries in India) etc, have also been involved in and led many struggles in these areas, but, faced by state repression, have deviated even more to the right and have taken the path of capitulation and legalism.

It is precisely still a task, which must be undertaken, to examine the positions of all these groups more closely, particularly how and with what evaluations and criticisms they emerged from and parallel to the CPI(ML) after the first upsurge of struggles in the wake of Naxalbari had been defeated. The experiences of these groups, particularly those of the People's War group, have to be critically studied to draw lessons from their mistakes.

Our criticism here of certain key aspects of the line of the People's War group is meant to overcome errors and draw lessons from them. This is particularly important in view of and in esteem and regard for the enormous sacrifices and selfless courage of the thousands of fighters, activists and sympathizers in the movement, who have been facing the onslaught of the state apparatus and have very often become martyrs in this cause:

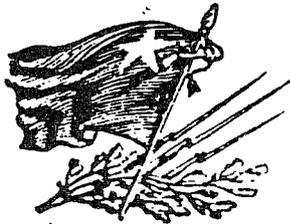
1. The People's War group, though fighting against certain excrescences of modern revisionism, has itself abandoned the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, as represented by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and accepted the construction of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" to be the Marxism-Leninism of present times. It has thus failed to repudiate the completely false and basically revisionist attacks against Comrade Stalin.
2. It claims to be fighting against the modern revisionist Deng-clique, as part of the fight against modern revisionism, but it has not broken fully with Deng's revisionist and opportunist "three worlds scheme". It continues to uphold, along with its practical consequences, the "theory of the superpowers", whereby the Soviet Union is pointed out to be on the offensive. This is a dangerous tendency which not only minimizes the danger of US imperialism, but also that of other big imperialist powers, like the Japanese, West German and British imperialisms, both world-wide and in India. As part of the revisionist framework of the "three worlds theory" is also its thesis that governments of "3rd world countries" can, under present conditions, play an "anti-imperialist" role, too.
3. It continues to uphold the 1970 Programme of the CPI(ML) under Charu Mazumdar as having chalked out basically the correct line and strategy for the Indian revolution, and as not containing any serious errors and weaknesses of line which must be overcome. (See in this issue "On the Steel Foundations of the Theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin: Let us Uphold the Revolutionary Legacy of the Naxalbari Movement and of the CPI(ML), Led by Charu Mazumdar", pp.4-25). Underlying this uncritical approach towards the 1970 Programme is the insufficient appreciation of the need to analyse, on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the roots of the failures and setbacks in the international communist movement, exemplified in the restoration of capitalism in all erstwhile socialist societies. There is an insufficient appreciation of the fact that the Marxist-Leninists in India must evaluate the history of their movement on a firm Marxist-Leninist basis to be able to overcome its weaknesses and drawbacks and move towards the goals of people's democracy, socialism and communism.

4. The People's War group has also mechanically taken over the military path of the Chinese revolution of protracted armed struggle, whereby the villages are liberated first and the towns and cities, to be the military path of the revolution in India. This has been done without making a concrete analysis of the concrete economic, political and social conditions in India, and without a proper evaluation of the experiences of the armed struggles conducted so far in India, while learning from such experiences of other countries, including particularly that of China. This goes against even Mao Tse-tung's own method while chalking out the path of the Chinese revolution.

Only by making a real and deep-going self-criticism of the experiences of the revolutionary movement in our country and world-wide on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, it is possible to build a genuinely revolutionary party in India, which is capable of working out a correct strategy and tactics to lead the exploited and oppressed peoples in India towards establishing a People's Democratic State on the path towards socialism and communism.

Long Live the United Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of India  
Against the Comprador-Feudal State!

Red Salute to the Martyrs killed in the Battle against the Class  
Enemy!



# On the International

**Front:-**



# Oppose the Reactionary Iran-Iraq War!

## 1. IN WHOSE INTEREST, THIS WAR?

For seven long years now, since September 1980, the two reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq have been at war with one another causing the death of hundreds of thousands, leaving many more wounded and homeless.

What is at stake in this war are the regional hegemonial ambitions on the part of the ruling cliques in both countries, whether this is presented in the "socialist" and "progressive" ideological garb by the Iraqi Ba'th Party, or under the mask of Islamic fundamentalism, of fighting a "holy war" to liberate the Arab world from the Zionist-US clutches, as propagated by the Khomeini-regime in Iran. More importantly, the war has helped to consolidate a fascist regime on the home front, especially in the case of Iran after the Shah was overthrown by the Iranian people.

The war is being waged by two so-called "non-aligned" countries; in fact, Iraq has been one of the early founder members of this movement. Iran, which joined this movement only in recent years has, in view of its war aims, certainly found useful the "progressive mask" of the non-aligned movement, as well as its function as a forum for negotiations and bargaining in its own expansionist interests. "Non-aligned" countries are supposedly "anti-imperialist", for "peace", for "democracy", for "disarmament", for "peaceful settlement of disputes", for "development" and for "justice". Of course, this war - the longest, most destructive and costly war in the Middle East since World War II - tears the mask off these claims.

None of these two supposedly "anti-imperialist" regimes is capable of even surviving, leave alone carrying on such a costly and destructive war to realize their regional ambitions, without the active support and aid of the various big, and also small, imperialist powers, who are also interested in stabilising fascist and reactionary regimes against the struggles of the peoples.

The fact has already amply been exposed, even in the bourgeois press, that the seven years long war has meant superprofits in weapons dealing for the munitions industries of the Soviet Union, the US, France, West Germany, Austria, Italy and so on. This in spite of the mask of "neutrality" worn by most of these imperialist powers, or their handwringing that they are quite helpless and pushed to the sidelines as far as this war goes, or their lip-service, paid in the background of the anti-war sentiments of the people all over the world, that the two belligerents should now at long last come to a cease-fire agreement; whereby, one or many of them involved in the war will see to it that it is their interests first and foremost which are served

in the terms of it. But till then they make merry and prop up their economies hit by recession through the build up of the armaments industry.

Apart from the enormous profits - to the tune of billions of dollars - reaped on the ashes of this war, each imperialist big power is also pursuing its strategic aims in rivalry with the other powers. Local wars, such as that between Iran and Iraq, serve the imperialists' aims of preparing for bigger wars, for world wars over spheres of influence. After the Arab-Isreali wars, the war between Iran and Iraq has been a very welcome weapons testing ground for the various imperialist powers to try out and perfect their weapons systems and war strategies. Such local wars have the added advantage that they do not involve the "risk" of sacrificing their "own" soldiers or armies ! That is one reason why one finds military experts and attachés in one or even both countries to maximally utilize the experiences of the war to their own ends.

What is at stake for the imperialists is the control over the oil fields and the sea lanes in and around the Gulf. As long as oil continues to dominate all the sources of energy, the Gulf, and particularly the Strait of Hormuz, has immense strategic importance. Iran, which controls the Strait of Hormuz ( and has often threatened to blockade it), with its enormous oil reserves, its long border with the Soviet Union, ( which under the Shah had long been used by the US for spying on the Soviet Union and Afganisthan) has, since the overthrow of the Shah and the upsurge of Islamic fundamentalism, become a source of anxiety and contention for the various imperialist powers.

Any hopes and ambitions ( or illusions) on the part of the reactionary regimes in Iran or Iraq to rise to regional power status, of course, with the help and support of this or that imperialist power, has not borne much fruit so far. The weapons suppliers, with their varied methods of control over the use of the weapons in an actual local war, have been able to, in their own interests, prolong the war without a decisive win for either side so far. With both countries now heavily indebted to the imperialist countries because of the war expenses and damage done to their economies, they have already and will be made to make more and more concessions to the imperialist powers they have been beholden to for "aid" in carrying out this war.

Many imperialist powers, like the US, France, Britain, Austria, etc, have used this war to increase their collective naval presence in the Indian Ocean area. The US, with the minimum of publicity, has strengthened its Rapid Deployment Force in the area and has concluded agreements with Pakistan regarding the use of air and naval facilities with the aim of making Pakistan into a frontline state in its "security" network in this region. Iran's behind the scenes rapprochement with the various imperialist powers, including more and more the US, too, has been extensively exposed already. The war has also caused pro-Western shifts in the foreign policy of the earlier more pro-Soviet inclined Iraqi regime, particularly in the crucial Palestine-Israel issue.

The various Gulf states have been made to recycle billions of petro dollars in Western imperialist interests by making them support the Iraqi war effort through massive loans and by selling them the idea that the acquisition of sophisticated weapons would solve their security interests. With the result that between 1971 and 1981 itself their arms expenditure had escalated from 84 to 838 billion dollars! Weapons dependency also became a means to influence their foreign policy stances. These arms expenditures are undertaken by regimes writing "development" on their banners and are more often than not used for their "internal" security needs to suppress the just struggles of the much oppressed and exploited people at home.

It is all these "non-aligned", "peace-loving" countries whose ruling cliques are so very vociferous in their pseudo-denunciations of imperialism and their arms build-up, who call for disarmament and reduction, if not elimination, of "superpower" rivalry at various international forums ( of course by means of negotiations, peaceful persuasion etc, and not by the violent overthrow of world imperialism), which through their own regional rivalries and interest in suppressing the struggles of their own people at home, contribute towards the arms build-up and preparations for bigger and more destructive wars, led by the imperialist big powers. Thus they form an integral part of the barbaric world imperialist system and must be overthrown as part of it.

## 2. CAN THE WAR-MONGERING INDIAN RULING BOURGEOISIE EVER BE A PROMOTER OF PEACE IN ANY REGION?

India, a leading member of the "non-aligned" movement, has played a major role in calling for a negotiated peace settlement between the two warring countries, but, of course, to no avail. For, it cannot be that countries which are themselves aligned towards and dependent on one or more of the big imperialist powers, as all of the countries of the so-called "non-aligned" world are, should want to, or have the power, to break out of the arms race nexus being spun around them, in actual fact with their own connivance and willing collaboration.

This brings us to the heart of the so-called "non-aligned" movement, which, for all its anti-imperialist pretensions, is only a tool to divert the wrath of the oppressed peoples away from the imperialist system and save it.

Can a bourgeoisie, such as the Indian big bourgeoisie, ever be a defender of peace in any region, when itself it arms itself to the teeth with the help of the various imperialist powers in the interest of aggression at home and towards its neighbouring countries to further its expansionist aims. In fact, it also has an eye on the Gulf region and considers Iran to be a major rival there. In fact, at the behest of the Soviet Union, the Indian government has also supplied arms and military expertise to Iraq.

If at all the Indian bourgeoisie is interested in an end to the war it is because its economic interests are hurt by it. India has many projects in Iraq, both public and private, in the areas of construction, water supply, sewage, housing, railways and labour supply contracts as well as management, supervisory and consultancy contracts. There are about 34 companies engaged in various projects with around 35,000 Indians employed in them and otherwise as skilled and unskilled labour. The remittances sent by them as well as by workers from other Gulf countries and elsewhere have meant valuable foreign exchange for the Indian government to pay for its imports from imperialist countries. The war has had the effect of shrinking the market and increasing competition among the various firms there, whereby firms from imperialist countries gain an edge over those from economically weaker dependent countries because their governments can subsidise them through a critical period. For eg., the French companies, whose government is one of the biggest arms suppliers to Iraq, were provided 1,600 million dollars by French banks to cover Iraq's payments to them, which the Indian government was not able to do for its Indian companies, and these then lose out in the competition with stronger imperialist countries.

In no case however is the Indian government concerned about the conditions under which migrant labour from India is forced to work in this country: The social position of the unskilled migrant labour is at the bottom of the working class; they are hired on a temporary basis, face the threat of deportations, are paid lower than the local workers, no minimum wage legislation applies for them, they are subject to exploitation and harassment by agents, live in abysmal housing conditions and do not have any civil or human rights. In fact, the representatives of the Indian government in that country collude with the fascist Iraqi government in suppressing any revolts on the part of migrant labour to fight for their rights and better living and working conditions.

### 3. FRATERNISATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF IRAN AND IRAQ AT THE FRONT! TRANSFORMATION OF THE REACTIONARY WAR INTO A REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR TO OVERTHROW THE FASCIST REGIMES IN BOTH COUNTRIES!

The only possible revolutionary line under the conditions of a war which is unjust and reactionary on the part of both the warring sides is the fraternisation of the people's masses of Iran and Iraq at the front, the line of mutual support in the struggle for overthrowing their own respective chauvinist regimes.

If we examine and learn from the historical experiences of the revolutionary working class movement, we will find the outstanding example for such a revolutionary line, under conditions of an unjust war on both sides, in that of the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership in the first imperialist war. Stalin had summed up the lessons of this struggle in the following way:

" In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary renunciation of revolution and their treacherous slogan of preserving 'civil peace' in time of war, the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of 'converting

*the imperialist war into a civil war.* This slogan meant that the labouring people, including the armed workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniform, were to turn their weapons against their own bourgeoisie and overthrow its rule if they wanted to put an end to the war and achieve a just peace.

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of *'the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war.'* This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government.

The Bolsheviks maintained that the lesser evil for the people would be the military defeat of the tsarist government in the imperialist war, for this would facilitate the victory of the people over tsardom and the success of the struggle of the working class for emancipation from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars. Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in *all the belligerent countries.*"

("History of the CPSU(B) - Short Course", 1938, Red Star Press Reprint, 1976, p. 167).

Instead of taking this line there are unprincipled and opportunist sections of the Irani "opposition" ( like the C.P. of Iran) and of the Iraqi opposition which fraternise with the respective other reactionary regime in the name of "opposing" the war. Such a line must unconditionally be condemned as a b e t r a y a l of the struggle of the workers and peasants in both countries. By means of its "help" to the Iranian opposition, the Iraqi regime, for eg., wants to demoralise the opposition, use it for its reactionary war and above all prevent the fraternisation of the peoples of Iran and Iraq at the front. Instead of the mouse exploiting the elephant, it is the opposite that takes place.

A proletarian-internationalist alliance between the working class of India and that of Iran and Iraq can only rest on a revolutionary line. According to Lenin:

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is - working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception."

(Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution", 1917, CW 24, p. 75) ( Emphases in the original).

For Iran, Iraq and India this is the line of the people's democratic revolution for smashing the state apparatus of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal lords through the revolutionary war of the peoples of each country under the leadership of their respective proletariat and its Party with the clear aim of establishing the dictatorship of the workers and peasants.



# Nuclear Politics of West German Imperialism under Attack!

The West German government's insistence on going ahead with building a reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf, in spite of numerous protests, has triggered off a deeper debate on the nuclear politics of West German imperialism.

A gigantic atomic energy programme was launched by the West German state under the Social-Democrat regime of Schmidt: Atomic power plants and reprocessing plants were planned and built. Ostensibly all this was done for the purpose of generating and guaranteeing energy supplies for the needs of the population and also for the purpose of creating further employment opportunities. But none of these arguments present the real reasons behind the West German state's concern for sticking to its programme of building a reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf.

## Production of Atom Bombs and Preparations for War

There are, of course, the economic interests of the participating firms involved in the project - like Siemens and others - which shall amass enormous profits. But, apart from this, the main aim of the entire project at Wackersdorf is the extraction of Plutonium, which, as is well-known, is the base for making nuclear weapons.

Though this aim is officially hotly denied, there can be no doubt about its truth. The possession and production of nuclear weapons lies in the logic of a system which is constantly arming itself, which is constantly perfecting its army and already possesses the most modern weapons system. Can it be that a country which is managing the production of nuclear weapons in countries like South Africa, India and Israel, should not itself possess such weapons. It certainly cannot be a coincidence that the reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf will be ready to start production in 1995, the year in which the treaty banning the production of nuclear weapons in West Germany comes to an end.

In a leaflet distributed by Gegen die Strömung ( Organ for building the Marxist-Leninist Party in West Germany) on 18/19 May 1986 at Wackersdorf in West Germany it is rightly pointed out: The dangers of a nuclear, radioactive pollution emanating from the Wackersdorf plant, on which the anti-nuclear energy movement in West Germany is concentrating at the moment, is only one aspect of the problem. The struggle has to be directed more consciously, though in an objective sense it already is, against the systematic and extensive production of nuclear weapons by West German imperialism, which, after its defeat in the Second World War, has once again emerged as a big

imperialist power and has become an independent source of war, and which is carrying out war preparations (definitely also without the cooperation of and against the USA and other big imperialist powers) in the struggle for a renewed division of the world.

The Chernobyl Catastrophe and Intensified War Preparations of West German Imperialism

In recent times, the nuclear catastrophe at Chernobyl in the USSR has been an immense indictment of the profit-oriented, social-imperialist system in the USSR. It exposed completely the degradation of a system which is oriented towards realizing maximum profits and not towards the well-being of the working people: For days on end the population in the Ukraine, the other republics and the "fraternal countries" were not informed about the catastrophe and its implications. The fact that the Soviet Union sells to the West European countries natural gas at big profits, instead of using it for supplying its own energy needs, that it goes in for atomic energy when it does not need to do so at all, shows that, just like the other imperialist countries, what it is most concerned with is profit and war preparations.

West German imperialism, however, tried to utilize the Chernobyl catastrophe to its own ends: All kinds of contradictory and confusing statements were issued through the press and media and the population was made to pendulate between being panic-stricken and underestimating dangers.

But the main aim of the West German state behind the deliberate disinformation campaign and childish advices, apart from the fact that it really does not have any remedies against nuclear pollution, was that it wanted to put across a programme of exercises in civilian security and practice emergency relief measures. All of which actually serve the aim of preparation for war!

The imperialist state, though it puts up a show of concern for the health of the masses, is not the least concerned about it. It does not in the least have any plans of giving up its own nuclear programme. Instead, it trains the population to respond to such directions as: "Leave the radio on", "Follow the instructions", "remain in your flats", "Close the windows" etc. At the same time, it keeps the army ready to be used against the population, but in case of (nuclear) war to keep "peace on its home front".

Chernobyl was also used to arouse West German chauvinism in a sickening manner: When Minister for Research, Riesenhuber says: "The wind is blowing towards the North - No danger", what does he mean? No danger for whom? No danger for the Scandinavian population? What about the populations of Ukraine, of Poland? Are they not human beings? The idea behind this is: "The whole world may go up in flames, but Germany, it must remain". The same chauvinism is to be glimpsed behind statements like: "A catastrophe like this could happen only in Russia, but never in Germany."

The leaflet distributed by Gegen die Strömung calls for solidarity with the working peoples of other countries affected by radioactive pollution, which can be arrived at only by combatting this German chauvinism, which is always used by the ruling class as part of its ideological preparation for war.

### The Working Class Must Step Forward

The leaflet exposes the pro-state roles of the parliamentary parties of the Social-Democrats and the Greens: The Social-Democratic Party which today pretends as if it played no role in carrying out the nuclear program of the state; the reformist Greens who try to weaken the struggle and direct it into the wrong channels by their slogans that "one only needs to elect the correct party" and then "everything will be alright", or that "one must unconditionally use peaceful methods".

Only a militant, determined and independent struggle will be able to achieve any results: In this struggle the working class, especially those working in the nuclear power plants, which has been suffering under the "blessings" of the capitalist system - through wage cuts, mass retrenchments, work accidents, oppression in the factories etc - must come forward and build the backbone and leading force in this struggle.

All partial struggles must serve the preparation for proletarian revolution and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the overthrow of the capitalist system under the leadership of the working class, the smashing of the state of West German imperialism in a civil war, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the world-wide establishment of socialism and communism can build a real alternative from this completely rotten system of imperialist exploitation and oppression.



CS Gas Attack against Demonstrators. This poison gas was also used in the Vietnam War.

# **EXPERIENCES AND STANDPOINTS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA**

We are publishing below the "Message of the Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ to the International Marxist-Leninist Movement" of 1981, as well as a short resumé about the MLPA, its emergence and experiences in the fight against modern revisionism, sent to us by the Comrades of the MLPA.

## FROM THE LETTER FROM THE COMRADES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Dear comrades,

It is with great pleasure that we follow your invitation to write about the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria for your journal "Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism".

In the interest of mutual learning and exchange of experiences of the Marxist-Leninists from different countries, we would like to above all deal with some aspects of the development and experiences of the MLPA's struggle against modern revisionism in Austria in the following.

Reactions towards the 20th Congress of the CPSU within the Communist Party of Austria and the Emergence of "Rote Fahne"

The foundation of "Rote Fahne" and later of the MLPA are directly connected with the immense shock, also within the CPA, that was caused by the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956, when the Khrushchev revisionists highly officially began their frontal attack against Marxism-Leninism.

The decisive leaders of the C.P. of Austria enthusiastically welcomed the "turn", introduced by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Indeed, one had the impression that they had already been waiting for this "signal" for a long time in order to give vent to their own revisionist ambitions, which had still been under some check till then.

Among the most conscious Party cadres, particularly among the old communists from the time of the 3rd International, all this aroused bitterness, anger and an indignation, which can hardly be described. Many honest and self-sacrificing communists, who during their lifetime had resisted even the most poisonous attacks of the class enemies and had remained steadfast even in the dungeons and concentration camps of fascism, now resigned, withdrew into their private lives and gave up.

Many others remained members and also functionaries of the Party, but their earlier readiness for action, their revolutionary elan, their trust in the inevitable victory of revolutionary cause was gone. We could win again only very few among them for the revolutionary struggle, when we started the organized struggle against modern revisionism seven years later.

It became apparent that in this sense by no means time was working in our favour, that as time passed, the resistance against revisionist betrayal necessarily increased. It turned out, however, that one must not lose time, that at once it had to be opposed in an open and organized manner. It had to be branded, exposed and combated openly and publicly, in a systematic and organized manner. Otherwise the initial anger against the revisionist betrayal would subside, people would get used to it and the revisionists would have time to crush and strangle any spontaneous resistance against their betrayal. In 1956, the Krushchev-revisionists were relatively weak, and they later even admitted this. Seven years later, they and their minions already had the situation rather well in hand.

The revisionist Party leaders naturally did everything to prevent the formation of resistance and opposition against the revisionist cancerous ulcer in the Party using all possible manoeuvres.

But the fact that seven years had passed without organized resistance against the 20th Congress and the positions, which it tried to impose on the entire world movement, all this was primarily the consequence of lack of clarity, political-ideological and theoretical weaknesses which existed also among the most conscious Party cadres. We complained about the donkey's kick given to Stalin by creatures who a short while ago had effusively idolized him. We shook our heads about the completely unprincipled methods of the 20th Congress instead of directing the utmost attention to its extremely revisionist content! Consequently the Krushchev revisionist betrayers had innumerable possibilities of manoeuvring and could even afford to declare here and there that they, too, could not agree with certain methods and forms, but that one should not cast away the good with the bad, one should recognize and defend the correct tendency, especially "correction of the old, fateful faults" etc.

The antirevisionist forces gained clarity about the revisionist contents proclaimed at the 20th Party Congress of the Khrushchevite CPSU only step by step in the following years and which were above all at stake.

In summer 1963, some small circles of dissatisfied cadres within the C.P. of Austria, which partly had already existed since the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, but had so far not been able to bring themselves to undertake concrete actions, to get in contact with one another and discuss the possibilities of common action. Although

no agreement could be arrived at in the discussions taking place between the members of the circles, at least a group of persons got to know one another who were of similar opinions and who soon came together to form a new group.

This group published on October 5, 1963 the first issue of "Rote Fahne", which set itself the task to be the platform and meeting-point of the Marxist-Leninist forces in Austria. On the basis of an intensive work of the "Rote Fahne", which lasted more than three years, on February 12, 1976, the MLPA could be founded.

#### The Struggle of the "Rote Fahne" against Revisionism within the C.P. of Austria

Some comrades were of the opinion that one should simply declare the existing Party to be revisionist, let it go to the devil, and immediately build a new, revolutionary Party. This viewpoint, however, did not win through. It was correctly opposed with the following argument: In order to found a Marxist-Leninist Party, it does not suffice to call in a meeting or simply pass a resolution. Although it would not have been difficult to come together with some people and proclaim the foundation of the new Party, it was important to really assure the Marxist-Leninist perspective, which was only possible in the course of a longer intensive ideological struggle. Moreover the founding of the Party should have a certain resonance, should have a biggest possible echo and should not take place without any notice by the progressive forces, but in the course of a broad discussion with them about the necessity of such a party, the tasks, aims etc. That is why the point of time of founding a party is not completely without any interest, as some were thinking, but depends a lot on choosing the most favourable point of time.

Therefore, in the beginning, the "Rote Fahne" was published as an organ of the anti-revisionist struggle within the C. P. of Austria. The main slogan of the first issue of "Rote Fahne" was according to that: "Don't Abandon the Party to the Revisionists!" Hereby there could be no question saving the C.P. of Austria as a whole. The degeneration of this Party was already very much advanced and inner-Party-democracy had already been reduced to a mere formality. The commanding heights of the Party and especially its financial sources were completely under the control of a small arch-revisionist clique. Basically the problem was and could only be not to leave the Party to the revisionists without any struggle.

In that situation setting oneself such a task was correct and necessary. It was also successful to a certain degree, for we did not only succeed in winning individual comrades for the struggle against revisionism, but also in temporarily mobilizing entire local organisations, in 2 cases also district organisations of the C.P. of Austria against the revisionist Party leadership. That is why it was comprehensible that the General Secretary of the CPA, Fürnberg, urged the "Rote Fahne" followers during a meeting to be

so "decent" as to leave the Party, whose line they didn't accept. They should better found their own Party instead of carrying out "subversion" within the CPA.

Nevertheless it can't be denied that the founders of "Rote Fahne" did not fully recognize the extent of the degeneration of the CPA. They strongly overestimated the possibilities of their struggle within this party. These illusions are not expressed so much by the slogan mentioned above, as by the fact that for a long time we saw the decisive, if not the nearly exclusive reservoir within the CPA, from where we had to recruit the forces and cadres for the struggle of the "Rote Fahne". This orientation which was actually predominating even in the time of the founding of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (more exactly speaking till 1969), contributed to the fact that outside the ranks of the old party, for a long time, we did almost no work for winning new forces and so we missed a lot of possibilities, which could be used much more easily by petty-bourgeois groups. This wrong orientation, still laid down in the "Political Declaration of the First Party Congress of the MLPA" in March 1969 was expressly rejected at the Second Party Congress of the MLPA in March 1971.

#### The Organizational Break with CPA-Revisionism and the Significance of the Foundation of the MLPA

The 19th Congress in 1965 with its extremely revisionist resolutions and the confirmation of having excluded the RF-activists, sealed the irretrievable revisionist degeneration of the C.P. of Austria.

After the 19th Party Congress, within already long discussion in the RF-collective the line won through that it should be directly aimed at founding a new Marxist-Leninist Party. The first step in this direction was the forming of a "preparatory committee for establishing the Communist Party of Austria" on June 12, 1965. The next organizational first step towards founding the Party was the building of the organization "Marxist-Leninists of Austria (MLA)" on May 1, 1966. Finally, on February 12, 1967\*, the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPA)" was founded. The founding conference adopted the programmatic declaration "The MLPA - its Essence and its Aims" (the

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*\*) The 12th of February is an important date in the history of the Austrian working-class, because on the 12th of February 1934, the workers rose against fascism in an armed resistance. After several days of heroic fights, the armed fighting workers were crushed by the police and the army. The workers, the majority of who were still under the influence of Social-Democracy, were shamefully betrayed by the Social-Democrat Party leaders and the Party apparatus. The young Communist Party of Austria was however still too weak to decisively take over the leadership of the struggle.*

*The MLPA has published several brochures and articles on the evaluation of the political and military experiences and lessons of the 12th of February 1934.*

errors and weaknesses of which were corrected in 1981, in its new version at the 3rd Party Congress of the MLPA), as well as the Party statute and a series of decisions and resolutions.

The foundation of the MLPA was an important act although in the beginning it was more a propagandistic one. The propagandistic significance primarily consisted in documenting before the working class and the international revolutionary movement that the CPA had ceased to be the revolutionary party of the working class in Austria, that the break with the modern revisionists was irreversible, could not be bridged over or be mended.

While internally discussing the question of the point of time for founding the MLPA and the necessary or unnecessary preconditions almost passionately and in a highly emotional manner, the actual questions of Party-building went much too short. We discussed far too little which central tasks had to be tackled and resolved in order to step by step meet the demands for really making advances in the process of Party-building.

Particularly in the period before the foundation of the MLPA, partially also after that, we followed far too little the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the necessity to wage an open and public inner-Party ideological struggle, which we had to pay for very dearly in the following years.

#### The Necessity of the Struggle for the Ideological Break with Modern Revisionism in the Newly Founded MLPA

The activists of the "Rote Fahne", the founders of the MLA and later the MLPA certainly had the unmistakable notion, even though this was not general and pronounced, of having already ideologically broken with modern revisionism before they had broken organisationally with the CPA, that is to say that the working out of the ideological foundations, the clear ideological and theoretical demarcation from revisionism was already more or less solved. They assumed that by defending the central theses of the "25-Point-Proposal" of the C.P. of China and its "Comments" under the conditions of Austria, there was already drawn a fundamental and sufficient line of demarcation from modern revisionism. And now, as far as theory was concerned, it was important to develop the already existing base in the direction of a concrete analysis of the situation of class-struggle in Austria.

This was an error of grave consequence, because the "Proposal" and the other documents of the "Great Polemic" were afflicted with serious mistakes of principles, and, on their basis, it was not possible to make an all round break with modern revisionism.

This evaluation and attitude was at the same time a culpable underestimation of the necessity to acquire, master and defend Marxism-Leninism in our own ranks. Most of the activists from the "Rote

Fahne" had been members and cadres of the CPA for a long time, in which already for a long time revisionism had prevailed. That is why they themselves had inevitably to be full of starting-points, components and in part even entire complexes of revisionist conceptions and attitudes, which could only be smashed in a long and hard principled struggle for the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, consciously led in its own ranks.

Especially in the connection with the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Russian and other Warsaw-Treaty-troops in 1968 it could be seen, how deep such revisionist views in part went among the members and cadres of the MLPA. Some of them from the MLPA fell into the trap of the pro-socialimperialist revisionists and their deceiving manoeuvres and slid down to the catastrophic wrong viewpoint of actually supporting the Russian social-imperialists as the "smaller evil" in comparison to the western imperialists and the pro-Western "Euro"-revisionists. The 2nd Party Congress of the MLPA, in 1971, was to a significant extent dedicated to the struggle against revisionist illusions in general and against illusions about the role of the socialimperialist Kremlin-leaders in particular.

The insufficiently deepened struggle against the ideology of modern revisionism in our own ranks finally also formed fertile soil for the rise of newer, in part very important mistakes. The most significant one among them, before 1971, was undoubtedly the taking over of the propaganda of the so-called "Mao Tse-tung-Thought". After 1971, the already existing starting points led to the taking over of the "Theory of the Three Worlds", which is completely incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, even if we did not propagate this theory in all its consequences.



The real depth of the problems and consequently the whole dimension of the tasks before us in the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism against the modern revisionists was begun to realize by us only after Mao Tsetung's death, after the complete seizure of power by the Teng-Hua-revisionists in China, as well as in connection with the revisionist development of the Party of Labour of Albania and the nearly complete disintegration of that what until then had been regarded to be the "Marxist-Leninist world movement".

document

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**Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!**  
**Proletarier aller Länder und unterdrückte Völker, vereinigt Euch!**

# Rote Fahne

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MESSAGE  
 OF THE  
 THIRD PARTY CONGRESS  
 OF THE  
 MLPÖ  
 TO THE  
 INTERNATIONAL  
 MARXIST-LENINIST  
 MOVEMENT

THE STANDPOINT OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA



May/June 1981

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After a long span of time full of far-reaching developments, the MLPÖ held its Third Party Congress in May/June 1981. A voluminous agenda laid before the Congress, the central point of which was a self-critical analysis of the work and struggle of the Party during the past ten years, as well as a critical and self-critical assessment of the basic problems that emerged before the whole world Marxist-Leninist movement.

After a thorough collective study and a long period of heated discussions, the Party Congress drew the necessary conclusions, laid down important guidelines for our work in the period ahead and elaborated the basic tasks of the MLPÖ for the coming period.

In light of the experiences and newly-won knowledge during the recent years, the Party Congress revised the Programmatic Declaration and the Constitution of 1967 and effected the necessary amendments.

The Party Congress paid special attention to the situation in the world revolutionary movement and elaborated detailed standpoints.

The Party Congress concluded its deliberations with new elections for the Central Committee, the Secretariat as well as the Secretary-General of the MLPÖ.

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The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ sends all Marxist-Leninist Parties, Organisations and forces of the world its heart-felt revolutionary greetings and assures them of its firm solidarity and bond in the joint struggle against Imperialism and Reaction, for the victory of the Proletarian World Revolution, for the worldwide triumph of Communism.

The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ considers itself duty-bound to inform the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of the world about the most important positions that were laid down and endorsed as resolutions by the highest organ of the Party.

I.

1 The Party Congress emphatically underlined that the sole foundation of the whole theory and practice of the MLPÖ could only be the integral teaching of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as the principled demands of Proletarian Internationalism. Their consistent defence in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism in all their manifestations is a question of life-and-death, a question of to be or not to be for a proletarian party. The Third Party Congress enjoined the entire Party to take firm note of this crucial foundation of its existence and activity in order to be better able to comply with it in the whole future work of the Party.

2 The Party Congress stressed forcefully the undiminishing necessity of preserving the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory above all against modern revisionism. This is particularly valid for an offensive defence of the splendid work, which is and remains of highest topical value, of Comrade Stalin, against all attacks and slanders of the modern revisionists and their

hangers-on. The experiences of the recent years show that, as before, modern revisionism — with Khrushchev revisionism as its basis — is still the main ideological danger in the world Marxist-Leninist movement. In the weakening of Marxist-Leninist forces, the betrayal on the part of Khrushchevite modern revisionism surely played the most momentous role. It is the most polished-up and dangerous variety of present-day opportunism; it dealt the world communist movement the deepest wound.

Proceeding from this, the Party Congress also counter-posed itself to the view that the revisionist "Three Worlds Theory" should be handled as something completely different from modern revisionism of the Khrushchev variety. On the contrary, the "Three Worlds Theory" originated as a variant of modern revisionism which, in all essentials, employs the same manoeuvres as Khrushchev-Breshnev revisionism and shares its fundamental broadsides against Marxism-Leninism.

**3** After the death of Mao Zedong and after the elimination of all revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists in the Communist Party of China, the Deng-Hua revisionists led the revolutionary China of Mao Zedong, which stood for more than two decades in a common front with the forces of Proletarian World Revolution, down the dark path of complete counter-revolutionary degeneration in a short time, and liquidated all revolutionary gains of the Chinese people. In particular, the revisionist rulers in China restored the country's dependence on world imperialism, and without a restraint are offering and selling out shamelessly the rich manpower and natural resources of China to International Capital.

The Party Congress stressed the necessity of sharply denouncing the vile treachery of the Chinese revisionists as well as all other revisionists in front of the international proletariat and the working class of our own country in order to remove all illusions about the detestable role and the counter-revolutionary character of these revisionists.

At the same time the Party Congress rejected the false notion that during the life-time of Mao Zedong, "everything was in order" in China, until, that is, after his death, the counter-revolution came to power through a "putsch". All these conceptions, according to which the revisionist deviations in the Chinese Communist Party's line "first acquired influence after the death of Comrade Mao Zedong", express a dangerous underestimation of the extent and depth of the problems, and must therefore be rejected. According to the understanding of the Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ, the roots of the revisionist deviations in the line of the Chinese Communist Party can be traced back over a long period of time that encompasses a part of Mao Zedong's life-time, and some of his own conceptions contain such coupling points to these deviations.

**4** A special relationship existed between the MLPÖ and the Party of Labor of Albania, a revolutionary solidarity forged in our common struggle against modern revisionism and world imperialism. The struggle against the theses of the revisionist "Three Worlds Theory" initiated at the VIIth Party Congress of the PLA in 1976 had, and still has, great significance for the MLPÖ and the whole world movement. After the counter-revolutionary sabotage measures of the Chinese revisionists, the MLPÖ took up its stand, as all Marxist-Leninist forces of the world did, decidedly on the side

of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This arose out of bed-rock proletarian solidarity and in the hope that, Albania, as the only still remaining socialist country in the world, would place all her potentiality as the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the base area of Proletarian World Revolution, to render its greatest possible contribution to overcome the crisis of the world Communist movement.

However, these hopes vanished very quickly. Particularly since 1978, the MLPÖ has been following with great concern the turn of the PLA onto a radically wrong line in decisive spheres:

● Instead of initiating and demanding a serious debate concerning the roots of the present victory of the Counter-revolution in China, after the severance of aid from China and after the publication of Enver Hoxha's book "Imperialism and the Revolution" in 1978, the PLA executed a 180-degree turn against China, which threw aside all hitherto existing assessments of the role of Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Revolution, and broke into unqualified hate-tirades against everything "Chinese", which in essence does not at all differ from the primitive attacks of the Khrushchev-Breshnev revisionists against Mao Zedong and the CP of China of that time.

● Instead of conducting a fearless, open and solidarising debate in the spirit of Leninism within the ranks of the world communist movement over the prerequisites of a principled unification of the communists internationally, the PLA went down the path of "father party", sabotaged all attempts of thorough, factual analyses, and in fractionist ways tried to impose its false conceptions on an international scale.

● Instead of actually deepening the struggle against the "Three Worlds" revisionism initiated in 1976, and, in addition to it, verifying one's positions in the struggle against modern revisionism in order to break with all errors and half-measures, the PLA held on to its errors and even further systematised them, during the course of which it grounded its rejection of every criticism upon the assertion that the PLA has never ever made any essential mistakes.

● In its foreign policy, the PLA wheeled around to a more and more opportunistic line, which finds its most concentrated expression in the propagation of the so-called "independent national States", for instance, in the scandalous support extended to the Khomeini regime in Iran, and other lack of principles.

● At the same time, in the internal policy of Albania the succession of continued blatant violations of the norms of democratic centralism as well as of giving a public account before the masses are multiplying, a serious criticism is becoming more and more impossible, the poison of self-exaltation and self-flattery, bureaucracy and alienation from the masses spreads.

Therewith, the PLA has put on stake not only the greatest part of its excellent international reputation among the revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists in a very brief period, it also brought on the greatest of dangers for the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialism in Albania. Therewith, it has caused grave and continually growing damage to the international communist movement.

The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ considers it an urgent duty of proletarian internationalism to criticise openly and publicly the grave errors and deviations of the PLA, be it in internal or external policy fields. Not only is this our obligation to the international proletariat, but also to the Albanian working class and the entire Albanian people, for the retention of these mistakes and adherence to the revisionistic direction of development of the PLA's line are in the long run incompatible with the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania.

5 The Party Congress counterposed itself to the internationally discernible tendency which rejects the revisionist "Three Worlds Theory" in words but in reality retains its essential foundationstones as the basis of political line.

● This applies to the "theory of superpowers", which runs counter to the Leninist theory of imperialism as a system of several imperialist great powers, takes such dangerous great powers as the West German, French, English and Japanese imperialism out of the firing line, and in general has the tendency to wage struggle not against world imperialism with all its component parts and hangers-on, but to reduce this struggle against one, two or three "super powers".

● This applies to the thesis of the "international main enemy" of the proletarian world revolution in the shape of just one, two or three "super powers", which diverts from the thesis that in each single country the main enemy is the imperialist bourgeoisie or the forces of internal counter-revolution allied with imperialism, which hold State power in their hands in the country in question. As the experience of recent years has graphically demonstrated, the opportunistic thesis of "international main enemy" of the proletarian world revolution therewith formed a direct bridge to open social-chauvinism.

● Lastly, (we have already mentioned this) this applies to the propagation of so-called "independent national States", which actually are neo-colonial, dependent States of comprador bourgeoisie and big landowners.

The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ states in all openness that the retention of these opportunistic positions manifests itself among the forces led by the PLA, who completely condemn Mao Zedong and the CP of China under his leadership, as well as among those who condemn the PLA as counter-revolutionary and in their turn uncritically glorify Mao Zedong and the CP of China of his time.

The Party Congress assesses this vision of a purely superficial break with "Three Worlds" revisionism while retaining its fundamentals and essential bridges as a particularly acute danger in the present-day international Marxist-Leninist movement. It underlines the necessity of combating and smashing completely the "Three Worlds Theory" and all its component parts as a variant of modern revisionism.

6 After the death of Mao Zedong, and particularly after the publication of Enver Hoxha's book "Imperialism and the Revolution", the question of the assessment of Mao Zedong and the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought" as well as the questions standing behind

were the grounds of renewed differentiation and splits among the forces referring to themselves as Marxist-Leninist.

The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ stresses that, between the stand towards the category of so-called "Mao Zedong Thought" on the one hand, and the assessment of the person and work of Mao Zedong on the other, a strict distinction must be made.

The Party Congress resolutely rejects the definition of "Mao Zedong Thought" as the "Marxism-Leninism of a new epoch" or as "a new stage of Marxism-Leninism", for it is scientifically untenable and sets itself directly counter to the unrestrictedly valid definition of Leninism as the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The MLPÖ rejects the concept "Mao Zedong Thought" not only when it goes hand in hand with the construction of a "new epoch", but quite independently of how it is defined. The present-day ideological struggle in the world communist movement shows more and more distinctly that propaganda of "Mao Zedong Thought" as "concentration of Marxism-Leninism on a new stage", etc. combines itself with the unfortunate notion that, Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has not withstood the test of the historical experiences of the last 50 or more years, that it was "inadequate" even if not entirely "incorrect" and, accordingly, must be "supplemented" or entirely "corrected" by "Mao Zedong Thought". That's how the revisionist betrayal is more or less covertly blamed on Marxism-Leninism itself, in particular, on the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of Comrade Stalin, instead of being recognised as a consequence of the revising, disdain for, and violation of this theory.

At the same time, the Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ declares that precisely the anti-Leninist construction of the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought" must also be rejected in order to be able to make a correct appraisal of Mao Zedong. For only by proceeding from Marxism-Leninism itself, i.e., the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, can we make a correct appraisal of the content of Mao Zedong's work, by contrasting his theory and practice, so far as they are available to us, with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

With regard to the assessment of Mao Zedong, the Third Party Congress decided on the following directive: We defend the comprehensive and undeniable Marxist-Leninist heritage of Mao Zedong, in particular, his splendid Marxist-Leninist work concerning the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in China, as well as his contributions to the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism and his excellent role in initiating the Cultural Revolution in China. At the same time, we criticise his revisionist errors, in particular, his stand towards the national bourgeoisie, which is in fundamental contradiction with Marxism-Leninism, in the socialist stage of the revolution, which came out in high relief in his articles around 1956-57, which he himself, unfortunately without a public self-criticism, later corrected, or tried to correct, in greater part.

Proceeding from this bed-rock assessment, the Party Congress declares that, of necessity, both the understanding of those who simply condemn Mao Zedong as opportunist, who, in doing so, do not draw any demarcation lines with the Khrushchev-Breshnev revisionists anymore; and the opinions of those who uncritically glorify Mao Zedong and therewith also sanction his grave errors and recommend their imitation, must be combated.

## II.

**7** Against all varieties of opportunism and social-chauvinism, the Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ underlines that, indeed, Austria is no big power, but, for all intents and purposes, it is an imperialist country, a country in which the bourgeoisie does not and cannot have any progressive potency whatsoever. The main political task of the revolutionary forces in Austria, their nearest strategic aim, is the accomplishment of the proletarian revolution and the immediate erection of the dictatorship of the proletariat after its victory.

Accordingly, our line stands in irreconcilable opposition to our "own" imperialist bourgeoisie, with which there can be no "community of interest" in any field whatsoever. At the same time, the Party Congress stresses emphatically that the preparation and accomplishment of the proletarian revolution in Austria is impossible without unreserved support exactly for the peoples oppressed or jointly oppressed by our "own" imperialism. The point of gravity of the proletarian internationalist education of the proletariat in Austria must lie in the struggle against the chauvinism of our "own" bourgeoisie, which is the main enemy and target of the proletarian revolution.

The MLPÖ opposes to the treacherous social chauvinist catchword of the "defence of the fatherland", the Leninist watchword of turning the imperialist war into civil war to overthrow the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie. It underlines the undiminishing topicality of the theory and tactics of Leninism, in particular, also in the questions of war and peace as well as of the proletarian revolution.

**8** The Party Congress notes that, as before, the MLPÖ finds itself in the first of the phases of Party building pointed out by Lenin and Stalin. The Party Congress confirms that, in accordance with the state of development of the Party and taking into account the concrete situation in Austria, exactly the main tasks of the Party building pointed out by Lenin and Stalin in this period stand at the central point of Party work: Elaboration of the revolutionary program (Program and foundations of tactics), forging of communist cadres, creation of a solid bolshevik organisation, propaganda as the basic form of work.

The Party Congress underlined the great significance of the "Rote Fahne" ("Red Flag"), the Central Organ of the MLPÖ, for Party building and placed the task of effecting changes, taking into consideration our present possibilities and priorities, for the "Rote Fahne" to fulfil its function as collective propagandist, collective agitator and collective organiser ever better.

Proceeding from the development and the experiences of the Party as well as their self-critical analysis, proceeding from the complicated situation of the world communist movement, the Party Congress confirmed the decisive role of the elaboration of revolutionary theory, which today represents the key link amongst all component parts of Party building. In particular, the Party Congress underlined that the further elaboration of the political and ideological line can make progress, that our contribution to the solution of the most important problems of the international Marxist-Leninist movement will only then be posit-

ive if we are to take the defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as the starting-point of our work.

The Party Congress stressed that the solution of the great fundamental problems which stand before the entire world-wide communist movement is also an indispensable precondition to be able to solve the questions of the revolution in our country on a principled basis.

At the same time, the Party Congress declared that, in proportion to the progress of theoretical work on the basic international ideological questions, in future more efforts must be undertaken in order further to work out the problems of our own revolution, the specific features of our own country.

The Party Congress declared that the guiding star of the Party must at all times be the unity of theory and practice, of the science of Marxism-Leninism and practical revolutionary activity, whereby, under "practice", not only the practice of mass work is to be understood but, above all, also the practice of Party building in a comprehensive sense.

### III.

9 The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ pointed out that, after the Khrushchev revisionists' betrayal, after the degeneration of the glorious Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin into a social-imperialist great Power, after the revisionist degeneration of former People's Democracies as well as nearly all traditional communist parties in the capitalist countries, and after the present complete degeneration in China, the world communist movement today finds itself in one of its gravest crises, if not the gravest overall, since its inception.

The direct expression and immediate consequence of this grave set-back of the proletarian world revolution and the international Marxist-Leninist movement is the unprecedented yawning gap between the objective revolutionary possibilities created by the rising mass struggles in a series of countries on the one hand, and the level of revolutionary subjective factors on the other, which can only be created and developed by the communist parties but which is enormously lagging behind owing to their catastrophic state.

10 The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ underlined that the struggle for the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, in the face of the present-day state of the world communist movement, must above all be a struggle for a principled ideological and political foundation, for an international general line on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

This struggle demands a deep-going self-critical verification of the entire struggle against modern revisionism since Stalin's death, it demands the creation of a principled Marxist-Leninist platform which has not obtained in the struggle against modern revisionism upto this day.

As the Party Congress pointed out, the resolutions of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, which are claimed to be the common platform of the world Marxist-Leninist movement, are absolutely unsuitable and unaccept-

able for this purpose. These resolutions are thoroughly infused with the treacherous ideology of the Khrushchevite XX. Party Congress of the CPSU. It is true that, then, anti-revisionist forces managed to remove some out-and-out revisionist passages from the draft resolutions and to put certain, mostly very general held Marxist-Leninist positions into the text, yet they stand there beside expressly revisionist positions, by which means they are largely devaluated, and even assume the character of an alibi. Despite a series of by-itself correct, Marxist-Leninist passages, the documents of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 do not contain a Marxist-Leninist line, hence they must be criticised and rejected. In addition, the resolutions of 1957 and 1960 de facto even served to disseminate with the highest authority the ideology of modern revisionism in the entire world communist movement. The harmful role of these resolutions was all the more lasting as their rotten, unprincipled compromising nature was not uncovered either by the CP of China, or by the PLA, or by any other Party of our world movement in the following years.

The documents of the "Great Polemic", too, above all, the "Proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement" amongst them, could not do justice to the demands on an international Marxist-Leninist general line.

The "Proposal" and its "Comments" are documents of the beginning struggle against modern revisionism which, however, failed to develop any really Marxist-Leninist line for the forces of the Proletarian World Revolution. The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ see their gravest shortcomings and faults, which were all the more dangerous as there was never any genuine discussion and critical arguments over the "Proposal", in the following:

- In the "25-point proposal" and the Nine Comments belonging to it, with the propaganda of the alleged possibility of "two ways" of revolution, one peaceful and the other non-peaceful, on which it was necessary to prepare oneself, in a dangerous manner a deviation was made from the fact that only the violent revolution of the armed proletariat could smash the bourgeois State apparatus, and establish and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat;

- in these documents, inadmissably, the struggle against the U.S. imperialism was declared as top-priority for all countries of the world, whereby, in an opportunistic manner, the decisive question of every revolution was evaded: the question of which imperialist power, or which counter-revolutionary forces allied with imperialism in any given country hold the State power in hand and therewith represent the main enemy of any given revolution;

- in these documents, over the question of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in the countries dependent on imperialism, wherein the masses languish under the yoke of the comprador-bourgeoisie and the landlord class, the problem of a thorough-going agrarian revolution was not tackled;

- furthermore, in these documents Comrade Stalin was unjustly and without evidence criticised, and therewith the revisionistic attacks of the modern revisionists on Stalin were not really repelled, but in a certain way they were even provided with more ammunition;

● in these documents was presented as the "absolutely obligatory rule" of relations between Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties the expression of criticism exclusively internally, which deeply contradicted Marxism-Leninism, the practice of Lenin and Stalin as well as the Comintern, and had catastrophic results that are active down to the present.

**11** The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ stressed that the historic pressing tasks emerging before the whole international communist movement demand energetic theoretical struggle, a struggle against all and every distortion and deviation, a struggle that has as its goal the full and consistent re-establishment of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as a consistent application of them to the fundamental tasks of all detachments of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

The Party Congress expressed its conviction that all attempts wishing to bring about the unity of the world-wide Marxist-Leninist movement without carrying out this ideological-theoretical work, without a long phase of ruthless ideological struggle to break through to the ground of Marxism-Leninism, are doomed to failure:

● The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ resolutely rejected the attempt on the part of the PL of Albania and the group of Parties and Organisations unprincipledly following it simply to identify their own small, moreover inhomogenous and unstable, rather crumbling circle with the world Marxist-Leninist movement, and by wanting to join their "unity", that the already existing or just newly-formed parties, organisations and groups referring to themselves as Marxist-Leninist, so to say "enter" their ring while they just accept the former's prefixed judgements and biases without criticism and submit without resistance to the norms and methods which the PLA laid down that are very often diametrically opposed to the Leninist-Stalinist norms;

● the Party Congress counterposed itself also to the anti-Leninist project that wants to establish the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement not on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but on the foundation of the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought" as the allegedly up-to-date "concentration" and "further development" of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in such fundamental questions as the Party, the mass line, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc;

● the Party Congress at the same time also rejected the useless attempt that today already wants to unite the world's communists on the basis of an "international program" proposed by one or another Party. This means wanting to take the second step before the first because today a consensus does not exist yet over the basic principles, the foundation, of such a program, and the struggle must be waged over this issue before the task of a useful program can be tackled;

● furthermore, the Party Congress condemned the harmful undertaking to wipe off the table the debate around the basic questions of Marxism-Leninism, of the Proletarian World Revolution generally, whilst the stand towards imperialist war alone is made up to be the decisive criterion of the unification of communists internationally.

The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ particularly stressed that the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement has as its prerequisite the struggle against opportunism in all its forms of manifestation, and that it is necessary to conduct this struggle also inside the world communist movement. All endeavors to unite the world's communists on organisational ways without creating the ideological-political prerequisites for it can only increase the confusion, can only add a new dimension to the existing fragmentation.

**12** The Third Party Congress of the MLPÖ declared with all determination that the unity of communists of all countries can be achieved only through the consistent application of the method and norms of Leninism.

No fear of criticism and self-criticism, no manner of concealment of errors, no hushing up of delicate questions, no cover-up of shortcomings through the pretence of everything is in best order, by way of which any and every living thought is blunted and the revolutionary education of the Party on the basis of its own mistakes is inhibited, no fear of disclosing one's own mistakes and practising self-criticism because they could be exploited by opponents against the party of the proletariat — such are the characteristic features of the method of Leninism, which must be strictly taken as the basis in relations between communist parties.

Both with regard to the form and irreconcilability of the struggle against opportunism and with regard to the norms of relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, the example of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as the revolutionary heritage of the Third International must be revived.

Proceeding from this, the Party Congress particularly condemned the so-called "norms of exclusively internal debate", the recognition and enforcement of which in the Meetings of 1957 and 1960 meant a significant victory for modern revisionism. This "norm" completely contradicts the method of Leninism, the principle of open and public criticism and self-criticism in fundamental questions, the necessity of the revolutionary education of the communists, revolutionaries and the broad masses in general in open struggle against opportunism. Experience demonstrates: who fears open debate defends a rotten cause!

The Party Congress declared itself unrestrictedly in favor of open and public debate in the world communist movement and condemned all forms of intrigue and secret diplomacy. What is needed is a frank debate in which every participant develops his positions, reasons them out and accurately demarcates from other views.

The Party Congress demands an open debate around the general line of the international communist movement, an open discussion of the results of the struggle against modern revisionism, an open discussion around the appraisal of Mao Zedong, a factual analysis and solidarising criticism of the line of the PLA, an open debate around the necessities of the struggle for a principled unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

**13** The Party Congress salutes all initiatives for international talks and meetings,

- provided that these are scrupulously prepared, that the documents of all sides are made available in good time;
- provided that realisation of such conferences, the selection of the participants not rest on foul diplomatic tricks, but meet well-grounded and verifiable criteria;
- provided that the preparation and accomplishment of such meetings and conferences, indeed, satisfy organisationally the obligatory rules of revolutionary vigilance in the face of the class enemy, but ideologically be nothing "secretive", on the contrary, guarantee unlimited revolutionary publicity;
- provided that ideological contradictions be not hushed up but frankly stated, and that it be possible to criticise publicly the participant forces.

**14** The MLPÖ extends to all revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces in the world the invitation to take issue with us, to study our standpoints critically, to acknowledge or refute them, to lead the debate over them to points where agreement of understanding prevails and where not.

The MLPÖ on its part spares no pains to facilitate this great and for our entire world movement vital international discussion through translations of our most important policies and documents, but also specially important materials of other Parties.

X X X

The Third Party Congress gave expression to the deep conviction of the MLPÖ that the true Marxist-Leninist forces of the whole world will bring about their firm ideological, political and organisational unity in the ruthless struggle against modern revisionism, against every sort of opportunism, in the struggle for an uncompromising defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Based on the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism, in unshakable trust in the international proletariat, with the certainty of the inevitability of the destruction of World Imperialism and the victory of the Proletarian World Revolution, the communists of the entire world undoubtedly will be in a position to create the conditions on the basis of which alone can be founded a new Communist International.

LONG LIVE THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN, THE SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT !

DOWN WITH MODERN REVISIONISM AND EVERY SHADE OF OPPORTUNISM !

FOR THE PRINCIPLED UNITY OF THE WORLD MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE TEACHINGS OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND STALIN !

DOWN WITH WORLD IMPERIALISM - LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION !

PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !

PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE !

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM !



## THE SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA

Austria is a highly-industrialized, capitalist country. Although it is not a big imperialist power, it belongs to the *imperialist* countries - according to the state of development of its productive forces as well as on the basis of its historical development, tradition and role.

In Austria, a dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie with parliamentary trimmings rules, which is headed up by finance capital. Corresponding to these conditions, the main political task of Austria's revolutionary forces and their immediate strategic goal is that of carrying out the *proletarian revolution* and the direct establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Despite Austria's clear position and role within the world imperialist system, there are several important *particular* characteristics of the economic and political structure of the country which can be traced back to the historical development of and the concrete conditions in Austria. These particularities have to be recognized and correctly assessed in order to wage the class struggle successfully, in order to utilize all possibilities to attain the goal of proletarian revolution and to successfully carry it out.

Austria is one of the *smaller* imperialist powers and has a relatively low rank in the hierarchy of the imperialist countries. This rank does not only mean that the possibilities of the Austrian imperialist bourgeoisie are limited, rather this also presents the Austrian bourgeoisie with particularly effective possibilities, as well as determines the particular form of its imperialist politics.

One-fourth to one-third of Austria's industry is *directly* in the hands of *foreign* imperialists (this is a high percentage for an imperialist country) and other significant sections of industry are under their control. In several particularly important branches of industry the share of foreign capital is practically dominant. The share of foreign capital investment in the electric industry is higher than 50% and according to official figures, is over one-third in the machine construction branch and textile industry (and this does not consider that an undeterminable section of the Austrian capitalists do not actually own capital, but are used as "owners of capital" by the real owners, the foreign imperialists).

Among the foreign imperialists who control or own large sections of Austrian industry as well as non-industrial sections of the Austrian economy, for example trade, the *West German* bourgeoisie stands in the foreground. American imperialism is in second place with a share of less than one-half of that of the West German bourgeoisie. The generally uninterrupted penetration of the Austrian economy by the West German imperialists (in the face of the slowly declining participation on the part of the U.S.) is accompanied by a likewise continuously increasing domination of Austria's foreign trade by W.Germany (W. German share of the entire Austrian exports has reached about 30%, and has already exceeded 43% of the entire Austrian imports). This situation is also expressed in the extremely

strong and direct *political* influence of W. German imperialism in Austria. The "connection functions perfectly", proclaimed a leading paper of W. German capital, satisfied on the occasion of the W. German President's visit to Austria in February, 1979.

All of this means that the Austrian working class and the entire Austrian working population will be confronted not only with their direct main enemy, the imperialist Austrian bourgeoisie, but also with further important enemies, and particularly important among them is W. German imperialism.

In comparison with most of the other imperialist countries, the level of concentration of the industrial proletariat in Austria is *not* very high and has demonstrated for a longer period of time the tendency to stagnate. From a total number of approximately 2.7 million wage workers, only about 270,000, that is 10% work in large industrial factories with more than 500 employees. The relatively large share of small and middle industry as well as of the non-industrial sector of the economy in general - which is made clear in the fact that approximately 8% of Austria's gross national product comes from the tourist trade (this figure is significantly higher than similar figures from other typical European tourist countries; 3/4 of the overnight visits of foreigners are paid to W. Germany) - point to a difficult period regarding the consciousness and the organizational capability of the Austrian proletariat and offers favorable conditions for the development of opportunist and revisionist tendencies of all types.

Following the annexation of Austria by Hitler's Germany in 1938, a decisive section of the Austrian heavy and basic industry - which had already been under the control of German imperialism to a large extent - became "German property" and after the end of the war was treated as such by the Allies in their settlement discussions. In order to save this industry "from usurpation by the Soviet occupation forces", as it was later openly stated, the Austrian bourgeoisie made use of several comprehensive *nationalization* measures in 1946. Contradictory to the propaganda connected to this maneuver (which the Austrian revisionists also partially accepted), this does not mean that the toiling Austrian people have any type of control over these factories or that they are less exploited or have more rights working in them than in private capitalist factories. It is much more the case that the Austrian state runs these firms in the interests of and according to the needs of general capital, and that they guarantee that the existence of these factories strengthen the arch-reactionary state-capitalist aspects of the Austrian ruling system.

Although Austrian *agriculture* contributes only a bit more to the gross national product than the tourist trade, there are 350,000 farms in Austria of which 60% belong to small farmers (to some extent semi-proletariat) and 30% belong to middle farmers. The existence of 300 large landowners (owners of more than 100 hectares of land) results from the fact that the bourgeois democratic revolution was never carried through to its complete end. (Of these 300 large landowners over 500 are owners of more than 1000 hectares of land each). All of this illustrates the Leninist thesis on the necessity of the worker-peasant alliance and emphasizes that even in Austrian villages, great revolutionary potential exists, and that the Austrian proletariat as the leading and most massive force in the socialist revolution, cannot be victorious if it does not win the masses of small farmers and semi-proletariat, its decisive allies.

In Austria *national* questions play, in several respects, an important role.

A firm and deep-rooted *chauvinism* exists in Austria which is demonstrated in the brutal politics of assimilation, particularly with respect to the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities and in an aggressive chauvinist arrogance towards all oppressed peoples, particularly towards those peoples and nations which were nationally oppressed and exploited in the old Habsburg Austro-Hungarian peoples' prison, and those who are today in Austria as foreign workers from less developed countries.

This chauvinism is connected in many cases to a strong tendency of the *German* nation, which more or less openly denies the national independence of the Austrian people, and considers them to be "part of the German nation", thereby acting today as the direct tool and political-ideological forerunner of W. German imperialism, just as it did in the past.

If the Austrian working people do not want to forever be the pawns and victims of the imperialists' interests, Austria's progressive and revolutionary forces must fulfill their important task of recognizing and defeating this deep-rooted chauvinism as well as W. German nationalism, which are closely connected and which mutually influence one another.

In 1955 when the agreement of state was signed and the occupational force withdrew, Austria declared its "long-lasting *neutrality*" which has, of course, never prevented the Austrian ruling class and its governments from carrying out an imperialist and pro-imperialist foreign policy of a particularly reactionary brand. On the other hand, the Austrian bourgeoisie uses Austria's formal "neutral" status and its geographic location to make Austria a center of imperialist world politics; the Austrian bourgeoisie enthusiastically volunteers to be a *broker*, negotiator and representative, particularly for the western big imperialist powers. The attempts to make Austria the dealing grounds for the big powers, the preferred meeting place for both open and secret meetings, and to place the largest possible sections of the UNO apparatus and its subsidiary organizations in Austria can also be viewed along these lines.

Although the ruling classes, supported by the revisionists of all types, attempt to paint these efforts in a positive light for the Austrian working population, by claiming that their success would bring Austria "well-being and security", these political undertakings are directly opposed to the interests of all peoples fighting imperialism and at the same time, directed against the Austrian working people as well. In connection to these strivings, the state's repressive instruments are expanded and armed; special armed formations are built and civil-war-like training exercises are carried out to meet the "security requirements" of the visiting foreign dictators; in addition to this, entire hordes of members of foreign secret services, police forces, body guards and "gorillas" are constantly streaming into Austria. At the same time increasing pressure is put on the workers not to disturb the "peace" and "security" requirements of the various Carters, Breshnevs and Schmidts, etc., or that of the UNO-officials, through strikes, demonstrations, etc. On the other hand "neutral" Austria has already sent Austrian soldiers into so-called international "crisis areas", such as to the Middle East, and there they are used as the armed expanded long arm of imperialism. The Austrian

national army is being enlarged to be used for civil war at home and as an imperialist tool abroad.

Because of the low level of proletarian class struggle, the Roman pope recently called Austria an "island of the blessed". The Austrian ruling class and their Social-Democratic executives do everything not only to spread this lie internationally, but also and in particular, to convince the Austrian working people of this. But the facts tell a completely different story.

Despite a relatively high *average* standard of living (which also includes the multi-millionaires) when compared with the lesser industrial countries, several hundred thousand people live on the edge of poverty or even below the poverty limit in Austria. Among all of the European capitalist countries, Austria has the highest suicide rate.

Regarding the much-quoted "peace and order", even the officially manipulated statistics speak a clear language: More than 1500 judges and district attorneys, who are supported by more than 7000 justice-related civil servants deal with over four million cases per year and carry on approximately one-half million criminal proceedings per year while 10,000 people are constantly imprisoned in the 48 jails and prisons in Austria, not to mention the many thousand free on "probation" and those who are constantly under police observation.

The Austrian police and gendarme-apparatus includes 27,000 officials, is one of the relatively strongest police forces in Europe and encompasses more than at the time of Dollfuss/Schuschnigg Fascism. In view of this, the fact that the Austrian national army has not yet been enlarged to the extent that other European military machines have, takes on a less important meaning, mostly because the national armed forces are being systematically and rapidly enlarged and modernized. The whole type of training taking place in the armed forces, the arch-reactionary tradition of the Habsburg Army and the Hitler Army which is stubbornly maintained, the composition of the officer corps and generals - all of this shows the deeply counter-revolutionary, anti-working class character of these forces. Just as they shot into the homes of the Austrian anti-fascist working-class fighters in 1934, these forces are primarily an instrument for the violent repression of the masses. It is an unconditional task of the revolution to completely smash these armed forces as well as all other armed formations and organs of power of the existing state - in order to clear the way for the building of a new, socialist society.

Ever since the sealing of the state agreement, Austria has become one of the most important centers of East-West trade. Nearly 500 firms from western imperialist countries, including 100 W.German firms have their offices in Vienna for managing trade with the East, not to mention the Austrian firms which further represent several hundred western imperialist firms, particularly in the Comecon market. Around 50 trade offices from the revisionist countries are also in Vienna.

Except Finland, Austria, of all the capitalist countries, has the largest quota of trade with the revisionist countries. In this, it is noteworthy that the revisionist "KPÖ" (Communist Party of Austria) directly owns or is co-owner of a significant part of the inland eastern trading companies, to the extent that it possesses key positions in this sector and rakes enormous profits from this.

It is largely interest in maintaining and expanding this profitable capitalist economic empire which kept the KPÖ leadership - after several instances of wavering between "Euro-Communism" and Krushchev revisionism - completely loyal to the Krushchev-Breshnev clique. The revisionist KPÖ is an unmistakable agent of Russian social-imperialism and it carries on at the same time many functions as an agent of the Austrian imperialist bourgeoisie and fits very well into its game.

Many of these and other particularities render special *parasitic* characteristics to the prevailing capitalist system in Austria and contribute to the increased strengthening of this parasitism. The high rate of exploitation of the working class at home, which is based on high productivity, as well as the considerable number of foreign workers employed in Austria (mostly from Yugoslavia and Turkey); the direct exploitation of the working class and the working people of other countries through typical *export of capital* (generally to Turkey, Greece, South Africa and also to Latin America); and finally the participation in the entire world system of exploitation, gives the Austrian bourgeoisie the chance to use part of its profit and super-profits to buy off the relatively small section of the working class in order to cultivate and maintain a strong *worker aristocracy* as the backbone of the ruling "Socialist Party", which with 720,000 organized members, in a country of 7 million residents is the relatively strongest Social Democratic Party in the world. The super-profits make it possible to create a favorable atmosphere for the success of the Austrian bourgeoisie's demagogic propaganda that workers and bosses have common interests and that they therefore are joined in a type of "social partnership", that the most favorable conditions for the further growth of well-being and the maintenance of "social peace" are to be found in the complete rejection of proletarian class struggle, of strikes, etc. - all in order to keep "peace and order". These efforts go beyond the worker-aristocracy and the already corrupted sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. The relatively long-lasting situation of a "boom" - which was caused by a series of factors - contributes only temporarily to the effectiveness of this demagoguery.

Of course, things cannot *in the long run* remain as they are. The general laws of capitalism are applicable to the Austrian capitalist social order as they are for capitalist systems everywhere and otherwise in the world imperialist system. In Austria, the capitalist social order is also ripe for its overthrow; the *objective* conditions for a proletarian revolution exist. It is, however, decisive here, to bring the *subjective* factor to the level of the possibilities and necessities created by the objective conditions.

(Excerpt from: "About the Situation and the Tasks of the Revolution in Turkey, Austria, West-Germany and West-Berlin, Joint Declaration of the CPT/ML, MLPA, Against the Tide, West-Berlin Communist", 1980)

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(Charu Mazumdar, "March Forward by Summing Up the Experience of the Revolutionary Peasant Struggle of India", Dec. 1969).

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## Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum

Der **Verlag Olga Benario und Herbert Baum** wurde gegründet, um eine Lücke zu schließen, die in den letzten Jahren immer deutlicher wurde.

Es geht darum, einen Verlag zu schaffen, der parteiisch ist, sich **bewußt auf die Seite der Verdammten dieser Erde** stellt und deshalb sein **Verlagsprogramm internationalistisch** gestaltet, als einen ersten Schritt für die solidarische Auswertung und die Propagierung der Erfahrungen der internationalen revolutionären Kämpfe.

Es geht darum, durch die Gestaltung des Verlagsprogramms ganz bewußt und **solidarisch an die wirklichen kommunistischen Traditionen anzuknüpfen**, an die wirklich revolutionäre internationale kommunistische Bewegung zur Zeit von Marx und Engels, Lenin und Stalin, an die positiven Erfahrungen der antirevisionistischen Kämpfe gegen den Chruschtschow- und Breschnew-Revisionismus.

Es geht darum, gegen die bürgerliche Wissenschaft die **Tradition des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus zu propagieren**. Deshalb ist der Nachdruck der grundlegenden Schriften des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus in verschiedenen Sprachen ein Schwerpunkt des Verlages.

Mit der Gründung und der Arbeit des Verlags Olga Benario und Herbert Baum soll ein Beitrag geleistet werden, um im Kampf gegen den Imperialismus überhaupt und den deutschen Imperialismus insbesondere der Verwirklichung des Mottos von Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht näher zu kommen:

„**Nichts vergessen, alles lernen!**“

★★★

**Olga Benario**, geboren am 12.2.1908, kämpfte als Mitglied des Kommunistischen Jugendverbandes Deutschlands (KJVD), der Jugendorganisation der KPD, in der Weimarer Republik gegen den aufkommenden Nazismus und gegen die regierende reaktionäre Sozialdemokratie, gegen den deutschen Imperialismus. Im April 1928 war sie führend an einer erfolgreichen bewaffneten Aktion zur Befreiung eines bis zu seiner Verhaftung illegal lebenden KPD-Genossen aus dem Berliner Polizeipräsidium beteiligt.

Olga Benario flüchtete vor dem deutschen Polizeiapparat in die Sowjetunion, wo sie zu einer wichtigen Mitarbeiterin der Kommunistischen Internationale wurde. In deren Auftrag ging sie 1935 nach Brasilien, um den Aufbau der KP Brasiliens zu unterstützen.

1936 wurde Olga Benario in Brasilien verhaftet, an die Nazis ausgeliefert und ins KZ Ravensbrück verschleppt, wo sie den „gelben Stern“ tragen mußte. Trotz Folter und Kerkerhaft hat sie

keinerlei Aussagen gemacht – weder bei der Polizei des reaktionären brasilianischen Regimes noch bei der Gestapo. Olga Benario kämpfte als „Blockälteste“ im KZ Ravensbrück für die Verbesserung der Überlebenschancen der Häftlinge und gegen die Demoralisierung. Im April 1942 wurde Olga Benario in der Gaskammer von Bernburg von den Nazis ermordet.

Der Name Olga Benario steht

- ★ für den militanten und bewaffneten Kampf der kommunistischen Kräfte, für den Kampf um die proletarische Revolution;
- ★ für den praktizierten proletarischen Internationalismus;
- ★ für den konsequenten antinazistischen Kampf, der auch unter den schlimmsten Bedingungen, selbst in einem Nazi-KZ möglich ist.

**Herbert Baum**, geboren am 10.2.1912, war Mitglied des KJVD und gründete 1936 mit anderen Antinazisten eine Widerstandsgruppe, die später als Herbert-Baum-Gruppe bekannt geworden ist. Die Herbert-Baum-Gruppe nahm mit jüdischen Widerstandsgruppen und Gruppen von Zwangsarbeiterinnen und -arbeitern aus anderen Ländern Kontakt auf und führte mit ihnen gemeinsam einen illegalen Kampf gegen die Nazis.

Die Herbert-Baum-Gruppe organisierte Maßnahmen, um jüdische Menschen vor der Deportation und Ermordung in Nazi-Vernichtungslagern zu retten.

Die militante Aktion der Herbert-Baum-Gruppe gegen die antikomunistische Nazi-Ausstellung „Das Sowjetparadies“ am 13. Mai 1942 in Berlin, bei der ein Teil der Ausstellung durch Brandsätze zerstört wurde, fand weltweit Beachtung.

Einige Wochen später wurde Herbert Baum und fast alle anderen Mitglieder der Widerstandsgruppe aufgrund Verrats verhaftet. Herbert Baum wurde am 11. Juni 1942 von den Nazis durch bestialische Folter ermordet, ohne etwas an die Gestapo preisgegeben zu haben.

Der Name Herbert Baum steht

- ★ für die Organisation einer internationalistischen antinazistischen Front in Deutschland;
- ★ für den Kampf gegen den nazistischen Antisemitismus und gegen den industriellen Völkermord der Nazis an 6 Millionen Juden und Jüdinnen;
- ★ für den Kampf gegen den Antikommunismus und für die Solidarität mit der sozialistischen Sowjetunion zur Zeit Stalins.

Die Namen Olga Benario und Herbert Baum stehen für die Tradition des antifaschistischen und revolutionären Kampfes der wirklich kommunistischen Kräfte.

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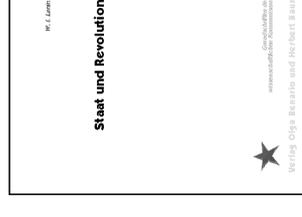
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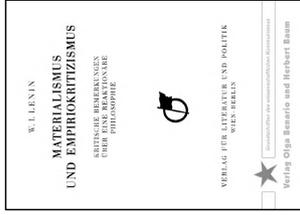
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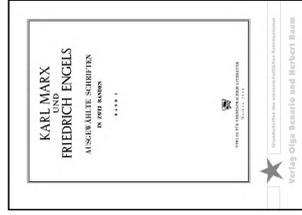


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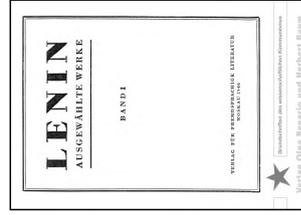
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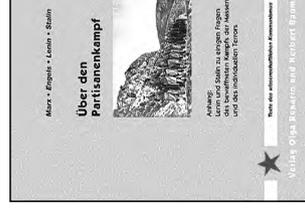
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union zusammengestellt worden und  
behandeln die Grundlagen und Grund-  
fragen des Partisanenkampfs, sie sind  
Ausgangspunkt für eine umfassende  
Analyse der Partisanenkämpfe gegen  
den Nazifaschismus sowie eine Waffe  
im Kampf gegen den revisionistischen  
„friedlichen Weg zum Sozialismus“.  
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**Programm der  
Kommunistischen Partei Rußlands (Bolschewiki) – 1919  
Programm der Kommunistischen Internationale – 1928**  
Anhang: Statut der KJ, Lenin über das Programm der KPR(B) und  
Stalin über das Programm der KI

Das Programm der KPR(B) von 1919 war das Programm der ersten  
siegreichen proletarischen Revolution; das 1928 verabschiedete Pro-  
gramm der Kommunistischen Internationale (KI) bildete die program-  
matische Grundlage der international in allen Erdteilen anwachsenden  
kommunistischen Weltbewegung – die programmatische Arbeit der  
kommunistischen Kräfte international und in Deutschland wird immer  
wieder auf die gründliche Diskussion dieser beiden Dokumente zurück-  
kommen müssen.

241 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 10 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-19-6



Dokumente von  
Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin,  
der Kommunistischen Internationale  
und Clara Zetkin  
**Die kommunistische Revolution und  
die Befreiung der Frauen**

Im Mittelpunkt dieser Zusammenstellung  
steht die Frauenfrage als Frage der pro-  
letarischen Revolution, als Frage des  
Kampfes für den Sozialismus und Kom-  
munismus. Es finden sich u.a. Texte über  
die Ursprünge der Unterdrückung der  
Frau, die Perspektive ihrer Befreiung so-  
wie über Probleme und Fragen der kom-  
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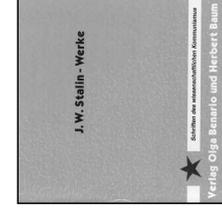
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**J. W. Stalin**  
 Ein kurzer Abriss seines Lebens und Wirkens

Unbestreitbar trug die sozialistische Sowjetunion unter der Anleitung Stalins den Hauptteil dazu bei, dass das nazifaschistische Deutschland besiegt wurde. Stalin hat, bildlich gesprochen, Hitler das Genick gebrochen! Allein aus diesem Grund müssten alle demokratischen Kräfte, die den Nazifaschismus hassen, sich ernsthaft mit dem Leben und Werk Stalins beschäftigen.

Vor allem ist unbestreitbar, dass Stalin fast 30 Jahre an der Spitze der sozialistischen Sowjetunion und der kommunistischen Weltbewegung gestanden und gewirkt hat. Gleichzeitig hat Stalin als Theoretiker eine Reihe grundlegender Werke und Schriften verfasst, die gerade angesichts enormer Rückschläge der kommunistischen Weltbewegung eine starke Waffe im Kampf für die Revolution sind und sein können.

Das Buch soll ein Beitrag sein, um mit den bürgerlichen und antikommunistischen Vorurteilen und Verleumdungen aufzuräumen und inhaltsvolle Kenntnisse zu vermitteln, um ein vertiefendes Studium der Originalschriften Stalins zu erleichtern.

409 Seiten, Offenbach 2003, 15 €  
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W. I. Lenin / J. W. Stalin  
**Über die Arbeiteraristokratie**  
 Anhang: Marx und Engels über die Arbeiteraristokratie im vormonopolistischen Kapitalismus

Eine besondere Schicht der Arbeiterklasse – die Arbeiteraristokratie – wird mittels der Extraprofitte, die die Imperialisten aus den Werkstätten anderer Länder herauspressen, bestochen. Die Texte behandeln u.a. die ökonomischen Wurzeln und die Rolle der Arbeiteraristokratie als soziale Basis des Opportunismus in der Arbeiterbewegung, als Schrittmarker von Reformismus, Rassismus und Chauvinismus.

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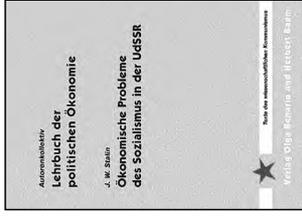
Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalinds  
**Grundlegende Merkmale der kommunistischen Gesellschaft**

Im ersten Teil des Buches werden antikommunistische Verleumdungen zurückgewiesen, die das Ziel des Kommunismus als bloße Utopie verleugnen, die nie zu erreichen ist. Es wird erklärt, daß Kommunismus für die Ausgebeuteten und Unterdrückten leicht zu begreifen, logisch und vernünftig ist, daß Zielklarheit über die kommunistische Gesellschaft heute unerlässlicher denn je ist, weil sie die nötige Kraft und Ausdauer für den Kampf gegen den Klassenfeind gibt. Denn der Feind ist noch stark und muss erst besiegt und niedergeworfen werden, denn der Kommunismus ist „das Einfache, das schwer zu machen ist“.

Der zweite Teil besteht aus kommentierten Auszügen aus den Werken von Marx, Engels, Lenin und Stalin über grundlegende Merkmale der kommunistischen Gesellschaft. Das Studium des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus im Kampf für den Kommunismus, im Kampf für den Aufbau der kommunistischen Partei, anzuregen und zu unterstützen – das ist ein Ziel dieses Buches.

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415 Seiten, Offenbach 1999, 15 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-35-6



W. I. Lenin / J. W. Stalin  
**Hauptmerkmale der Partei neuen Typs**

In dieser Textzusammenstellung werden grundlegende Merkmale der kommunistischen Partei gedrängt und sehr allgemein dargelegt. Es geht auch sehr detailliert vor allem um die so wichtige Frage, wie innerparteiliche Demokratie unter den Bedingungen der Illegalität, des strengen Zentralismus in der kommunistischen Partei maximal entwickelt und ausgedehnt werden kann.

143 Seiten, Offenbach 2000, 5 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-22-6

## Texte des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus

M. Glasser/A. Primakowski/B. Jakowlew  
**Studieren – Propagieren – Organisieren**  
 Drei Texte zu den Arbeitsmethoden von Marx, Engels, Lenin und Stalin aus den Jahren 1948 und 1951

Kernpunkte der kommunistischen Arbeitsmethoden werden vor allem anhand ihrer Umsetzung in der Praxis des revolutionären Kampfes der Bolschewiki erläutert. Es wird eine sehr genaue Anleitung der kommunistischen Studienmethode gegeben, mit dem Ziel, daß die theoretische Arbeit wirklich der Praxis dient.

170 Seiten, Offenbach 2001, 8 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-20-2



Béla Fogarasi  
**Dialektische Logik**  
 mit einer Darstellung erkenntnistheoretischer Grundbegriffe (1953)

Béla Fogarasi arbeitet die wesentlichen objektiven Gesetzmäßigkeiten des wissenschaftlichen, richtigen Denkens heraus, entlarvt gleichzeitig die Betrügereien der Reaktion auf logischem Gebiet, die damit die Ausbeutung verschleiern und rechtfertigt, und schafft somit ein Instrument für die Unterdrückten im Kampf gegen Imperialismus und Ausbeutung.

430 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 15 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-12-7



## Texte internationaler revolutionärer Erfahrungen

Unter der Redaktion von Gorki, Kirow, Molotow, Shdanow, Stalin, Woroschilow  
**Geschichte des Bürgerkrieges in Rußland**

Die Vorbereitung und Durchführung des bewaffneten Oktoberaufstandes in den wichtigsten städtischen Zentren, Petrograd und Moskau, der Verlauf der Revolution an der Front und die Organisation und Sicherung der Revolution nach dem siegreichen bewaffneten Oktoberaufstand 1917 – all das wird auf kommunistischer Grundlage analysiert und in lebendiger, detaillierter Art und Weise geschildert.

**Band 1: Die Vorbereitung der proletarischen Revolution** (1937)  
 Vom Beginn des Krieges 1914 bis Anfang Oktober 1917  
 540 Seiten, Offenbach 1999, 20 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-15-8

**Band 2: Die Durchführung der proletarischen Revolution** (1949)  
 Oktober 1917 bis November 1917  
 750 Seiten, Offenbach 1999, 25 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-16-5



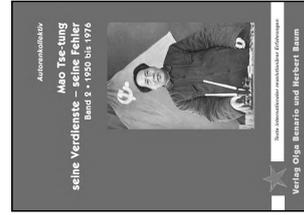
Autorenkollektiv  
**Mao Tse-tung seine Verdienste – seine Fehler**  
 Bei diesem zweibändigen Werk handelt es sich um eine Einschätzung der Lehren Mao Tse-tungs anhand seiner Werke.

Im ersten Band wird die Zeitspanne von 1926 bis zum Sieg der antimperialistisch-demokratischen Revolution in China 1949 behandelt. Es geht um Mao Tse-tungs Positionen zur antimperialistisch-demokratischen Revolution, zum Volkskrieg in China und um seine Ansichten zur sozialistischen Revolution.

Im zweiten Band stehen die Einschätzung der Lehren Mao Tse-tungs in der Zeitspanne vom Sieg der antimperialistisch-demokratischen Revolution in China 1949 bis zu seinem Tod 1976 im Mittelpunkt, vor allem seine Ansichten zur sozialistischen Revolution und zur Diktatur des Proletariats. Dabei wird auch auf Fragen der proletarische Kulturrevolution eingegangen.

In beiden Bänden werden die Ansichten Mao Tse-tungs sowohl gegen die revisionistischen Fälscher als auch gegen seine falschen Freunde kritisch ausgewertet.

**Band 1: 1926 – 1949**  
 400 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 18 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-14-1  
**Band 2: 1950 – 1976**  
 240 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 13 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-036-8



## Texte internationaler revolutionärer Erfahrungen

Autorenkollektiv  
**Zur „Polemik“**

Die revisionistische Linie des XX. Parteitags der KPdSU (1956) und die grundlegenden Fehler der berechtigten Kritik der KP Chinas (1963)

Der „Vorschlag zur Generallinie der internationalen kommunistischen Bewegung“, den die KP Chinas 1963 im Kampf gegen die revisionistische Linie des XX. Parteitags der KPdSU (1956) veröffentlichte, hat die wesentlichen, grundlegenden Fragen der programmatischen, strategischen und auch taktischen Arbeit der kommunistischen Bewegung in vielen Fällen treffend und glänzend behandelt. Aber diese Dokumente haben auch gravierende Mängel und Fehler. Die aufgeworfenen Fragen und inhaltlichen Bestimmung des Kommunismus, der Diktatur des Proletariats und der sozialistischen Demokratie, Fragen der Zurückweisung der Verteufelungen der Theorie eines „friedlichen Weges“, Fragen des Kampfes gegen den europäischen Chauvinismus sind heute ebenso aktuell wie damals. Es geht darum, all den revisionistischen Verfälschungen klare programmatische Grundlagen, wirklich kommunistische Fundamente entgegenzustellen.

630 Seiten, Offenbach 2003, 30 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-70-7



Zu diesem Titel sind ergänzende Materialien-Bände erschienen:  
**Dokumente zum des Kampfes der Kommunistischen Partei Chinas gegen den modernen Revisionismus 1956 – 1966**

**Teil I: Dokumente aus den Jahren 1956 – 1963**  
 346 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 28 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-44-8  
 Hardcover: Offenbach 2002, 53 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-62-2

**Teil II: Die Polemik über die Generallinie der internationalen kommunistischen Bewegung (1963)**  
 320 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 25 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-46-2  
 Hardcover: Offenbach 2002, 50 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-64-6

**Teil III: Dokumente aus den Jahren 1963 – 1966**  
 320 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 25 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-46-2  
 Hardcover: Offenbach 2002, 50 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-64-6



## Texte internationaler revolutionärer Erfahrungen

### Die Selbstkritik der KP Indonesiens im Kampf gegen den „friedlichen Weg“ der modernen Revisionisten

Fünf wichtige Dokumente des Politbüros des ZK der PKI von 1966/67

Die KP Indonesiens erlitt 1965 eine katastrophale Niederlage. Das im Oktober 1965 an die Macht gelangte faschistische Suharto-Regime schlichete im Auftrag des Imperialismus und der einheimischen Ausbeuterklassen Hunderttausende Kommunistinnen und Kommunisten und andere fortschrittliche, antimperialistische Menschen hin. Inmitten der blutigen Konterrevolution 1965/66 unterzog die PKI daraufhin ihre Linie einer tiefgehenden selbstkritischen Analyse. Die Linie der Vorbereitung auf angeblich mögliche „zwei Wege der Revolution“, auf den angeblich „friedlichen Weg“ und den nichtfriedlichen Weg, wurde dabei als Keim der Fehler der KP Indonesiens in den revolutionären Kämpfen von 1945 bis 1965 erkannt.

Die 1966 vom Politbüro des ZK der PKI vorgelegte Selbstkritik ist ein bis heute herausragendes Dokument des Kampfes gegen den modernen Revisionismus. Denn es ist das historische Verdienst dieser Selbstkritik, den „friedlichen Weg“ der modernen Revisionisten und das Konzept der „zwei Wege“ von Grund auf verworfen und die gewaltsame Revolution als allgemeingültige Gesetzmäßigkeit verteidigt zu haben. Zugleich war die Selbstkritik der PKI eine nötige Kritik, wenn auch nicht namentlich, an grundlegenden Fehlern der berechtigten „Polemik“ der KP Chinas (1963) gegen die revisionistische Linie des XX. Parteitags der KPdSU (1956).

Im Zentrum der Selbstkritik der PKI steht die prinzipielle Haltung zur gemeinsamen Revolution und zum Staatsapparat der herrschenden Klassen. Darüber hinaus geht es um grundlegende Fragen der antimperialistischen, demokratischen Revolution in Indonesien wie die Frage des Volkskriegs, die Notwendigkeit einer tiefgehenden Agrarrevolution und die besondere Haltung zur „nationalen Bourgeoisie“.

148 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 8 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-037-5

Autorenkollektiv

### Kritik des Buches von Enver Hoxha „Imperialismus und Revolution“

Enver Hoxhas 1979 veröffentlichtes Buch „Imperialismus und Revolution“ ist das zentrale Werk, das die Abkehr der Partei der Arbeit Albanien vom wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus zeigt. Das Kernstück der vorliegenden Kritik ist der genaue Beweis, daß Hoxha bei seinen Angriffen auf Mao Tse-tungs Linie in der chinesischen volkdemokratischen Revolution die Linie Lenins und Stalins angreift und gleichzeitig oft wörtlich nur wiederholt, was korrupte revisionistische Professoren in der Sowjetunion Breschnevs gegen Mao an Lügen und Verfälschungen fabriziert haben. Vor allem aber ist diese Arbeit ein Teil der unbedingt nötigen Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte der kommunistischen Weltbewegung, in der Zeitspame vor 1989, vor Gorbatschow. Anhand von vier Themenkomplexen zeigt die Analyse von Hoxhas Buch, daß im Grunde der moderne Revisionismus, der nach wie vor die Hauptgefahr für eine sich neu formierende wirklich kommunistische Weltbewegung ist, der eigentliche Adressat der Kritik ist: Ein grundlegend falscher Standpunkt zu den Problemen der demokratischen Etappe der chinesischen Revolution • Revisionistische Positionen zu Grundfragen der Entwicklung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus • Eine grundlegend falsche Linie im Kampf gegen den Imperialismus • Ein grundlegend falsches Herangehen an die Einschätzung Mao Tse-tungs, der KP Chinas und der chinesischen Revolution.

264 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 15 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-012-2

## Texte internationaler revolutionärer Erfahrungen in anderen Sprachen

Autorenkollektiv

### Der XX. Parteitag der KPdSU 1956

Ein revisionistisches und konterrevolutionäres Programm (Materialien und Diskussionsbeiträge) und „Programmatische Erklärung der Revolutionären Kommunisten der Sowjetunion (Bolschewiki)“ von 1966 (Auszug)

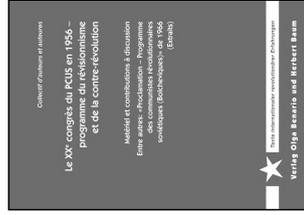


in russischer Sprache:

### 20-й съезд КПСС – программа ревизионизма и контрреволюции

материалы и дискуссионные статьи в том числе с выдержками из «Программатического заявления Революционных коммунистов Советского Союза (большевиков)» 1966 года

106 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 6 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-47-9



in französischer Sprache:

### Le XXe congrès du PCUS en 1956

Programme du révisionnisme et de la contre-révolution (matériel et contributions à discussion) et “Proclamation – Programme des Communistes Révolutionnaires Soviétiques (Bolscheviques)” de 1966 (extraits)

176 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 8 € ISBN 978-3-86589-005-4

in türkischer Sprache:

### SBKP 1956'deki 20. Parti Kongresi

Soyyeter Birlikde Devrimci Konstitürün (Bolshevik) 1966 Tarifi Programatik açıklama

120 Seiten, Offenbach 2004, 8 €, ISBN 3-932636-75-2



in italienischer Sprache:

### Il XX° Congresso del PCUS del 1956

Programma del revisionismo e della controrivoluzione (materiali e contributi alla discussione) e “Dichiarazione programmatica dei Comunisti Rivoluzionari dell’Unione Sovietica (Bolscevichi)” del 1966 (estratto)

108 Seiten, Offenbach 2006, 8 € ISBN 978-3-86589-004-7

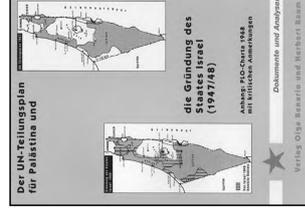
## Dokumente und Analysen



**Zur Geschichte Afghanistans**  
Ein Land im Würgegriff des Imperialismus

Über die Kriegspolitik des deutschen Imperialismus in Afghanistan  
Dieser Sammelband enthält Texte, die die Rolle Afghanistans im Expansionsstreben des Kolonialismus und Imperialismus beleuchten. Da sich der deutsche Imperialismus seit dem Oktober 2001 am imperialistischen Aggressionskrieg gegen Afghanistan beteiligt, ist dieses Land für alle, die sich in Deutschland dieser imperialistischen Kriegspolitik entgegenstellen wollen, besonders wichtig geworden.

Autorenkollektiv: „Über die Kriegspolitik des deutschen Imperialismus gegenüber Afghanistan“ (2001) • Friedrich Engels: „Afghanistan“ (1857) • Großen Sowjet-Enzyklopädie „Afghanistan“ (1950) • KP Afghanistans/ML (Aufbauorganisation): „Der Sozialfaschismus ist der Feind unseres Volkes“ (1978) • Generalunion afghanischer Studenten im Ausland (GUAfS): „Afghanistan – die Unterwerfung der Nation“ (1981)  
289 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 15 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-48-6



**Der UN-Teilungsplan für Palästina und die Gründung des Staates Israel (1947/48)**

Anhang: PLO-Charta von 1968 mit kritischen Anmerkungen  
Eine wirkliche politische Einschätzung der Situation im Krieg zwischen Israel und den palästinensischen Autonomiegebieten ist ohne geschichtlichen Hintergrund unmöglich. Hierbei ist der entscheidende Knotenpunkt die Debatte über den 1947 unter Federführung der damals sozialistischen Sowjetunion vorgeschlagenen Plan zur Gründung zweier Staaten. Der Plan wurde aufgestellt, nachdem eine gemeinsame Staatsgründung als gescheitert angesehen werden mußte. Wesentliche Basis dieser Vorschläge waren vor allem die Erfahrungen des Befreiungskrieges gegen Nazideutschland und auch grundsätzliche Überlegungen über die Geschichte der jüdischen und der palästinensischen Bevölkerung.  
Enthält u.a. die Resolution der UNO-Generalfversammlung vom 29.11.1947 über den UN-Teilungsplan für Palästina, die Rede des Delegierten der UdSSR vor der UNO am 14.5. und 26.11.1947 und die Große Sowjet-Enzyklopädie: „Israel“ (1952).

120 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 8 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-52-3

Zu diesem Titel ist ein ergänzender Materialien-Band erschienen:  
**Dokumente zum Studium der Palästina-Frage (1922 – 1948)**

180 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 10 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-32-5  
Hardcover: Offenbach 1997, 35 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-59-2

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus

# Die Rote Fahne

Zentralorgan der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands (Sektion der Kommunistischen Internationale)



### Die Rote Fahne

Zentralorgan der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands (Sektion der Kommunistischen Internationale)

Begründet von Karl Liebknecht und Rosa Luxemburg

Reprint 1929 – Februar 1933

Hardcover-Bände im Format DIN A3

Eine wichtige Lehre aus dem Kampf der KPD in der Zeit von 1929 bis 1933 ist ohne Zweifel, daß in einem Land wie Deutschland neben dem vorrangigen Kampf um die Gewinnung der Mehrheit der Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter für die proletarische Revolution und den Kommunismus auch mit großem Kräfteaufwand der demokratische Kampf mit dem Ziel, die kleinbürgerlichen Massen wenn schon nicht zu gewinnen, so doch wenigstens zu neutralisieren. Im Bewußtsein dieser schwierigen Probleme muß man die Linie der KPD von 1929 bis 1933 genau analysieren, ihre Fehler auch im Sinne einer Selbstkritik wissenschaftlich-rücksichtslos im richtigen Rahmen aufdecken und gleichzeitig mit den Genossinnen und Genossen „unserer KPD“, mit ihrem praktischen Kampf und Einsatz, solidarisch sein.

- 1/1929, 1.080 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-018-4
- 2/1929, 534 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 70 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-019-1
- 3/1929, 1054 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-020-7
- 4/1929, 1054 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-021-4
- 1/1930, 1206 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-022-1
- 2/1930, 1140 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-023-8
- 3/1930, 1144 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-024-5
- 4/1930, 990 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-025-2
- 1/1931, 1064 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-026-9
- 2/1931, 886 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 90 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-027-6
- 3/1931, 604 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 70 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-028-3
- 4/1931, 888 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 90 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-029-0
- 1/1932, 970 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-030-6
- 2/1932, 1128 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 95 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-031-3
- 3/1932, 580 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 70 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-032-0
- 4/1932, 598 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 70 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-033-7
- 1/1933, 452 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 70 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-034-4

**Gesamtausgabe (17 Bände)**, zusammen ca. 15.300 Seiten, Offenbach 2005, 1.480 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-048-1

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus

Autorenkollektiv

### Die Verbrechen des deutschen Imperialismus im Ersten Weltkrieg

In diesem Buch werden die Verbrechen des deutschen Imperialismus im imperialistischen Weltkrieg 1914 – 1918 zusammengestellt. Der Verlauf des Ersten Weltkrieges und seiner Vorgeschichte – einschließlich der antimilitaristischen Bewegung in Deutschland – wird im Zusammenhang mit der internationalen Lage und der Situation aller imperialistischen Großmächte dargestellt. Ausführlich werden auch Parallelen mit der heutigen sich zuspitzenden internationalen Lage thematisiert.

150 Seiten, Offenbach 2004, 8 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-92-9



Autorenkollektiv

### Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht und das revolutionäre Programm der KPD (1918)

Mit dem Originalprogramm der KPD von 1918

Sich mit dem kommunistischen Werk Rosa Luxemburgs und Karl Liebknechts auseinanderzusetzen, das ist für uns keine Stubeangelegenheit, sondern die Verpflichtung, den von ihnen gewiesenen Weg des Kampfes gegen den deutschen Imperialismus unter den heutigen Bedingungen fortzuführen: Für den revolutionären Bürgerkrieg zum Sturz der deutschen Bourgeoisie, für die revolutionäre Diktatur des Proletariats und den Sozialismus, für die wahrhaft revolutionäre Kommunistische Partei des Proletariats, für einen unversöhnlichen Kampf gegen den Opportunismus und Reformismus, für den Kampf gegen den verfluchten deutschen Chauvinismus.

200 Seiten, Offenbach 2004, 10 €  
ISBN 978-3-932636-74-5

Georgi Dimitroff

### Gegen den Nazifaschismus

Die Herausarbeitung des Klassencharakters des Faschismus wird in den Reden von Dimitroff vor dem VII. Weltkongress der KI verknüpft mit einer Analyse von Besonderheiten des Nazifaschismus; es geht um die Aufgaben der antifaschistischen Einheits- und Volksfront, die Dimitroff im Zusammenhang mit einer Kritik an taktischen Fehlern der KPD im Kampf gegen die Nazis erläutert.

371 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 20 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-25-7

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus

Autorenkollektiv

### 1418 Tage

Der Krieg des deutschen Nazifaschismus gegen die Diktatur des Proletariats in der Sowjetunion (22. Juni 1941 – 8. Mai 1945)

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Buchs steht der Befreiungskrieg der sozialistischen UdSSR, ihrer Roten Armee, der sowjetischen Partisanen und der Völker der UdSSR gegen den deutschen Imperialismus und seine Nazi-Truppen mit ihren Verbündeten. Das Buch soll ein Beitrag sein, die gewaltigen Erfahrungen des Kampfes der sozialistischen Sowjetunion unter Führung Stalins, ihre politischen, ideologischen, militärischen und auch ökonomischen Erfahrungen umfassend auszuwerten und zu verteidigen.

220 Seiten, Offenbach 2006, 13 €, ISBN 978-3-86589-035-1

Autorenkollektiv

### Marx und Engels über das reaktionäre Preußentum (1943)

Alfred Klahr

### Gegen den deutschen Chauvinismus (1944)

In der ersten Schrift liegt der Schwerpunkt auf einem gedrängten Überblick über Besonderheiten der deutschen Geschichte, über die verbrecherische Geschichte des reaktionären preußischen Staates und des deutschen Imperialismus. In der theoretischen Arbeit von Alfred Klahr, die er 1944 im KZ Auschwitz verfaßt hat, steht die Mitschuld des deutschen Volkes an den Verbrechen des Nazifaschismus im Mittelpunkt, dessen Verpfichtung zur Wiedergutmachung sowie die solidarische Kritik am Kampf der KPD gegen den deutschen Chauvinismus.

130 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 5 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-13-4

Autorenkollektiv

### Über den Widerstand in den KZs und Vernichtungslagern des Nazifaschismus

Die vorliegende Untersuchung gibt einen Überblick über den Widerstand in den KZs und Vernichtungslagern des Nazifaschismus und tritt dabei antikommunistischen Verleumdungen entgegen. Klargestellt wird, daß trotz aller wichtiger Unterschiede zwischen der damaligen und der heutigen Situation jeder revolutionäre Widerstand, jeder revolutionäre Kampf vom Widerstand in den KZs und Vernichtungslagern des Nazi-Regimes lernen kann und muß.

204 Seiten, Offenbach 1998, 13 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-34-9

Gudrun Fischer

### „Unser Land spie uns aus“

Jüdische Frauen auf der Flucht vor dem Naziterror nach Brasilien

Jüdische Frauen in Brasilien erzählen über ihre Flucht aus Nazi-Deutschland. Ihre Erinnerungen sind bedrückend und schmerzhaft, ermutigend und informativ. Jede verarbeitet die Flucht anders, und das zeigt sich in ihren Berichten: sie sind ironisch oder trocken, mal kurz, mal ausführlich. Daß Brasilien ihr „Wunschfluchtland“ gewesen ist, behauptet keine der in diesem Buch interviewten Frauen. Aber es war ihre einzige Chance.

220 Seiten, Offenbach 1998, 13 €, ISBN 3-932636-33-2

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus



**Freies Deutschland**  
 illustrierte Zeitschrift der  
 antifaschistischen Emigration  
 erschienen in Mexiko von  
 November 1941 bis Juni 1946

Der Reprint umfaßt sämtliche erschienenen Ausgaben der Zeitschrift. Die Neuausgabe soll bei der gründlichen Diskussion der dort aufgeworfenen Fragen helfen. Auf über 1700 Seiten werden unter anderem von führenden Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftstellern der deutschsprachigen Emigration eigene politische und literarische Artikel, Vorabdrucke und Buchbesprechungen sowie Beiträge anderer Antifaschisten, die ins Deutsche übersetzt wurden, veröffentlicht.

Für die an der deutschen Exil-Literatur interessierten Leserinnen und Leser ist die faksimilierte Neuherausgabe eine große Fundgrube an hochinteressanten Texten. Von noch größerem Gewicht ist jedoch, dass diese Zeitschrift von führenden Kadern der KPD, vor allem ab 1942 von Paul Merker, aber auch von Alexander Abusch geleitet wurde. Beide waren Teilnehmer der „Bernser Konferenz“ 1939, des 14. Parteitag der KPD. Diese Zeitung bildet ein Zentrum der Westemigranten der KPD, die aus Europa weiter vor der Nazi-Expansion in Europa nach Nord- und Südamerika geflohen waren. Die Führung der KPD war in Moskau. Eine Reihe von mehr oder minder starken Gruppen der KPD operierte innerhalb Nazi-Deutschlands, viele davon in den KZs.

Herausragend für die Zeitschrift „Freies Deutschland“ sind die Fülle von Artikeln über die Nazi-Massaker in den besetzten Ländern und die große und eigentlich sehr klare Betonung der großen Schuld der Mehrheit der deutschen Bevölkerung und auch der Mitschuld der deutschen Arbeiterklasse an den Verbrechen der Nazi-Massenmörder, an den Verbrechen des deutschen Imperialismus.

Dabei spielt die Anklage gegen den nazifaschistischen Völkermord an den europäischen Juden eine hervorragende Rolle. Der Kampf gegen die Ideologie des Antisemitismus, für Entschuldigungen an die Verfolgten des Nazi-Regimes, gerade auch an die jüdischen Verfolgten, führte auch zu Diskussionen, in denen insbesondere das Mitglied des ZK der KPD Paul Merker sehr offensiv und im Kern richtig für materielle Entschuldigungen eintrat. Auch in dieser Hinsicht bieten die Seiten des „Freies Deutschland“ (Mexiko) viel an Diskussionsstoff. Manche bösen Entwicklungen in der SED wirken vor der entfalteten Argumentationskette Paul Merkers noch übler, die fehlende Gegenwehr kommunistischer Kader gegen nationalitistische und antisemitische Töne in der Führung der SED der fünfziger Jahre schmerzt um so mehr.

**Band 1: 1941 / 1942**, 440 Seiten, 30 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-96-7  
**Band 2: 1942 / 1943**, 460 Seiten, 30 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-97-4  
**Band 3: 1943 / 1944**, 480 Seiten, 30 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-98-1  
**Band 4: 1944 – 1946**, 660 Seiten, 35 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-99-8

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus



**Internationale Hefte der Widerstandsbewegung**  
 Analysen und Dokumente über  
 den internationalen Widerstand  
 gegen den Nazifaschismus

Diese vollständige Sammlung der von der FIR (Fédération Internationale des Résistants) herausgegebenen Zeitschrift „Internationale Hefte der Widerstandsbewegung“ (Nr. 1 – 10, November 1959 bis März 1963) mit knapp über 1000 Seiten hat hohen dokumentarischen Wert. Zudem enthält die am Schluss einiger Hefte veröffentlichte Bibliographie wertvolle Studienhinweise.

**Heft 1 und 2** eröffnen die Hefreihe mit Artikeln zur Fragestellung, ersten Überblicken und (in Heft 2) den Dokumenten einer Konferenz über die Rolle des antinazistischen Widerstandskampfes für die Erziehung der jungen Generation. Als Ziele der „Hefte“ wird angegeben, zu informieren und eine Diskussion zu eröffnen.

**Heft 3 und 4** haben den Widerstandskampf in den KZs und Vernichtungszentren sowie die internationalistische Beteiligung von Ausländern dem am nationalen Befreiungskampf in den einzelnen Ländern zum Schwerpunkt.

**Heft 5** analysiert die großen bewaffneten Aufstände in den Großstädten Europas, insbesondere in Prag, Paris, Neapel und auch in Warschau.

**Heft 6 und 7** beschäftigen sich mit den programmatischen Dokumenten der verschiedenen Organisationen in verschiedenen Ländern – mit dem Schwerpunkt auf Positionen der KPJs und der von den KPJs geführten Frontorganisationen.

**Heft 8 – 10** gibt als Dreifachnummer einen konzentrierten Überblick über die Widerstandskämpfe in den verschiedenen Ländern, wobei auch die besondere Problematik des jüdischen Widerstandskampfes durch Beiträge von Vertretern und Vertreterinnen des Widerstandes, die nun in Israel leben, verdeutlicht wird.

Die faktenreichen Artikel zum bewaffneten Kampf als Instrument des Klassenkampfes der Arbeiterklasse und der vom deutschen Imperialismus national unterdrückten breiten Massen der Bevölkerung der besetzten Länder, die Hervorhebung auch der völkermörderischen Verbrechen gegenüber der jüdischen Bevölkerung Europas, die Benennung der Positionen der KPJs vieler Länder – all dies enthält wertvolle Materialien. Zu Recht wird mehrfach darauf hingewiesen, daß innerhalb des zweiten Weltkrieges, nicht einfach Staaten gegeneinander kämpften, sondern es sich um die allergrößte Teilnahme der Bevölkerung der verschiedensten Länder am Krieg handelt.

**Band 1: Heft 1 – 4** (1959 – 1960), 560 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 35 € ISBN 978-3-932636-49-3  
**Band 2: Heft 5 – 10** (1961 – 1963), 528 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 35 € ISBN 978-3-932636-50-9

**Band 1 und 2 in einem Band** (Hardcover):  
 Heft 1 – 10 (1959 – 1963), 1084 Seiten, Offenbach 2002, 80 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-51-6

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus



**Das Potsdamer Abkommen (1945)**  
 Anhang: Die Dokumente  
 von Teheran und Jalta

Das Potsdamer Abkommen vom August 1945 ist nach wie vor eine wesentliche Waffe im Kampf um die geschichtliche Wahrheit und unterstreicht die Aufgaben, die sich heute im Kampf gegen den deutschen Imperialismus ergeben (z. B. die Anerkennung der Oder-Neiße-Grenze, die Anerkennung von Entschädigungen und Reparationen, die Anerkennung der Umsiedlungen nazifaschistisch orientierter deutscher Bevölkerungsteile aus Polen, der CSSR und der Sowjetunion als gerechte Maßnahme).

83 Seiten, Offenbach 2001, 5 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-24-0

### Bericht des internationalen Lagerkomitees des KZ Buchenwald (1949)

Die furchtbaren Nazi-Verbrechen, der internationalistische Widerstand der Häftlinge gegen die Nazi-Mörder, organisiert und geleitet durch das internationale Lagerkomitee, die Befreiung des KZ Buchenwald durch die US-Truppen mit Unterstützung durch bewaffnete Häftlingsgruppen – all das wird in beeindruckender Weise, basierend auf den Berichten der überlebenden Häftlinge, in diesem Dokument von 1949 genaustens geschildert: es ist damit eine Waffe gegen sämtliche reaktionäre Lügen über das KZ Buchenwald.

237 Seiten, 2. Auflage, Offenbach 2004, 10 €, ISBN 3-932636-26-4



### Autorenkollektiv Die Gründung der SED und ihre Vorgeschichte (1945 – 1946)

Die Analyse der Vorgeschichte und Gründung der SED nimmt als Ausgangspunkt die Verbrechen des Nazifaschismus und ihrer Bedeutung für die Linie der SED. Der Aufruf der KPD vom 11. Juni 1945 wird kritisch eingeschätzt und die Aufgabe der Entnazifizierung als Hauptkennzeichen der Politik der Kommunisten und Kommunisten in Deutschland nach 1945 herausgearbeitet. Im abschließenden Kapitel wird nachgewiesen, daß bei der Gründung der SED auf wesentliche Kernpunkte des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus verzichtet wurde.

702 Seiten, Offenbach 2000, 33 €  
 ISBN 978-3-932636-38-7

Zu diesem Titel sind ergänzende Materialien-Bände erschienen (Materialien zur Gründung der SED, Band 1 – 5), ausführliche Angaben zu den Bänden befinden sich im hinteren Teil des vorliegenden Programms.

## Texte zu Deutschland und dem deutschen Imperialismus



10 Jahre „Deutsche Einheit“:  
**Nazi-Terror**  
von **Hoyerswerda bis Düsseldorf**  
Nazis, Staat und Medien –  
ein Braunbuch

Unter der Losung der „Wiedervereinigung der deutschen Nation“ wurde von den deutschen Imperialisten eine in den letzten Jahrzehnten noch nicht dagewesene nationalistisch-chauvinistische Pogromstimmung geschürt, die in Hoyerswerda und Rostock, Mölln und Solingen, Magdeburg, Lübeck und Düsseldorf gipfelte. Die chauvinistische und rassistische Hetze, die Überfälle und rassistische „undeutsche“ bezeichnen, haben sich seitdem massiv verstärkt und sind schon alltäglich geworden. Von einer entscheidenden Bedeutung ist dabei, den Vormarsch der nazistischen Bewegung im inneren Zusammenhang mit der Politik und Propaganda des Staates und der Politiker des deutschen Imperialismus insgesamt einzuschätzen, der nach zehn Jahren „Einheit Deutschlands“ seine Rolle als imperialistische Aggression gegen Jugoslawien auch militärisch wieder manifestiert hat. Die deutschen Imperialisten haben auch durch die Art und Weise, wie die Einverleibung der DDR durchgesetzt wurde, demonstriert, welches Potential des deutschen Nationalismus und Chauvinismus sie in relativ kurzer Zeit zu mobilisieren in der Lage sind, bis hinein in angeblich „linksfortschrittliche“ Kreise. Das Aufdecken des Zusammenhangs von staatlichem Abschiebeteror, Nazi-Terror, Inschutznahme der Nazis durch Polizei und Justiz, Politiker- und Medienhetze gegen Flüchtlinge, Roma usw. ist wichtig, um gegen die Gewöhnung an diese verfluchten deutschen Zustände in unverbrüchlicher Solidarität mit allen Opfern des Nazi-Terrors und der staatlichen Repression zu kämpfen.

Aus dem Inhalt:

I. Tatsachen – Chronologie der rassistischen Überfälle, Pogrome und Morde: Hoyerswerda: gegen vietnamesische und mosambikanische Arbeiterinnen und Arbeiter (September 1991), Mannheim-Schönau: gegen Asylsuchende (Mai / Juni 1992), Rostock: gegen Roma und Vietnamesinnen und Vietnamesen (August 1992), Mölln und Solingen: gegen Migrantinnen und Migranten aus der Türkei (November 1992 und Mai 1993), Magdeburg: gegen afrikanische Flüchtlinge (Mai 1994), Lübeck: gegen afrikanische Flüchtlinge (Januar 1996), Lübeck und Düsseldorf: gegen die jüdische Bevölkerung (März 1994, Mai 1995 und Juli 2000).

II. Nazis, Staat und Medien – von subtiler Hetze bis offenem Terror: Verständnis für Pogrome, Hetze gegen den antifaschistischen Widerstand. Die Opfer werden zu Tätern gemacht. Antisemitismus.  
III. Aktionen gegen die Nazis – Widerstand der Opfer, Solidarität und Entlarvung.

222 Seiten, Offenbach 2000, 13 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-37-0

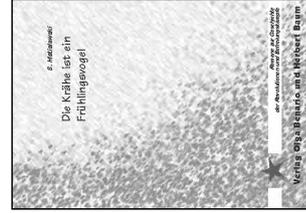
## Romane zur Geschichte der Revolutionen und Befreiungskämpfe



A. Schapowalow  
**Auf dem Weg zum Marxismus**  
Erinnerungen eines  
Arbeiterrevolutionärs

A. S. Schapowalow (1871 – 1942) war einer der ersten Arbeiterrevolutionäre, die den Weg zum wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus fanden. Schapowalow schildert in diesem autobiographischen Roman seine Erfahrungen des revolutionären Kampfs im zaristischen Rußland, wie er über den Bruch mit der Religion und seiner vorübergehenden Sympathie für die „Volkstümmler“, die die Taktik des individuellen Terrors eingeschlagen hatten, sich schließlich im Kampf gegen den aufkommenden Opportunismus der „Ökonomen“ 1901 den Bolschewiki unter Lenins Führung anschloß.

337 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 15 €  
ISBN 978-3-932636-29-5



S. Mstislawski  
**Die Krähe ist ein Frühlingsvogel**

Nikolai Baumann mit Decknamen Krähe, ein enger Mitkämpfer Lenins, reist 1902 illegal nach Rußland. Anhand der Schilderung seiner Parteilarbeit bekommt man ein Bild der damals anstehenden Aufgaben der kommunistischen Kräfte Rußlands sowie des ideologischen Kampfs der Bolschewiki gegen die Menschewiki bis zum Beginn der Revolution von 1905.

404 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 15 €  
ISBN 978-3-932636-17-2



I. Popow  
**Als die Nacht verging**

Nach der Niederlage der Revolution von 1905 herrscht in Rußland tiefste Reaktion. Der Roman handelt vom Kampf der Bolschewiki für die Reorganisation der kommunistischen Partei und um die Erneuerung der Verbindungen zur Arbeiterklasse, vom Kampf gegen Resignation und Defätismus, gegen die Menschewiki und Liquidatoren der kommunistischen Partei.

593 Seiten, Offenbach 1997, 20 €  
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500 Seiten, Offenbach 2004, 30 €, ISBN 978-3-932636-90-5

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