

Chinese Communist Party's Struggle against Left and Right deviations – Mao's Lessons—Relevance to India

Under the leadership of com. Mao, Communist Party of China fought against the left & right deviations which raised their heads in the Party. This relentless struggle was conducted based on Marxism-Leninism. Only by conducting struggle against these trends could the Communist Party of China make success the Chinese revolution and build socialist society.

In China, during the 1927 bourgeois revolution, the rightist Chen Tu Shi leadership came forward with the arguments that the bourgeois democratic revolution was already completed in China, that the bourgeoisie achieved administrative stability and capitalism has attained prominent role in Chinese social set-up and is on the path of peaceful development, and therefore, all struggles for socialist revolution should be postponed. They argued that legal agitational programme should be taken up for convening of the National Congress. They depicted the Red Army movement as a rebellion of roving bands.

With the formation of anti-Japanese united front in 1937, the right trend again cropped up. The Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang Party formed an anti-Japanese united front, the rightists did not recognise the need to fight against the vacillations of the bourgeoisie while safe-guarding the united front and implementing the programme of anti-Japanese united front.

The defeat of the 1927 bourgeois revolution gave rise to left deviation in the Communist Party of China. This left deviation stemmed from the frustration with the line pursued by the rightists and the state repression. In the latter half of 1929, left deviation raised its head once again. This trend is the Li Li San line. For the third time, left deviation cropped up between 1931 and 1935. Led by comrade Mao, the Communist Party of China could defeat the right and left deviations.

Com. Mao has deeply analysed the right and left deviations in the Communist Party of China in his pamphlet *The present situation-our study* with special reference to the left deviation in the Communist Party of China,

He analysed the mistakes committed in the military, political and ideological aspect due to this left deviation. He analysed the social circumstances which gave rise to this left deviation and formulated tactics to combat it.

We, the Communist Revolutionaries fought against revisionsm and neo revisionism, separated ourselves from them and embarked upon the path of armed struggle. We took to people's war path based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong thought. At that time, the Charu group's adventurist politics caused immense damage to the path of people's war in India. The Communist Revolutionaries have to wage a serious ideological and political struggle against Charu Marumdar group's adventurist political line. The social base of their left adventurism has to be analysed and correct organisational methods to combat this should be adopted. In this respect, com. Mao's analysis of the left deviation in the Communist Party of China will be immensely useful for us.

Therefore, we are reproducing here briefly, the analysis of Mao on the left deviation in his pamphlet "Our study and observation".

The left deviation which raised its head in the Communist Party made severe mistakes in the political, military, and ideological aspects. Let us study them one by one.

1. Mistakes in Political aspects

Mao had made the following formulations in main, on the then political situation in China. China is a vast semi colonial, semi feudal country. The Chinese Revolution was taking place at a time when the socialist revolution in Russia, under the leadership of working class had been successful in the post-First World War period and when the Chinese working class have become politically conscious and have come into the battle field. Therefore, this revolution will be an anti feudal, anti imperialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. That is, the Chinese revolution will be a New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class.

In China, different imperialist countries have joined hands with the local big bourgeois, big landlord classes to create their areas of influence and exploit. Therefore the development of China, economically and politically, will be uneven and so, the New Democratic Revolution in China will develop unevenly, necessitating a protracted struggle to achieve New Democracy.

The contradictions between different imperialist countries were reflected as the contradictions between different groups of China's ruling classes. Utilising these contradictions among the ruling classes, armed revolutionary bases can be built in the China's rural areas.

These correct formulations of Comrade Mao were rejected by both the right and the left deviationists. Especially the left deviationists opposed these correct formulations of Comrade Mao.

Comrade Mao made these principal formulations regarding Chinese Revolution. China's New Democratic Revolution is an anti imperialist, anti feudal revolution. The main content of this revolution is the struggle for land.

This Chinese New Democratic Revolution is the Agrarian Revolution for the working class. Only after clinching the New Democratic Revolution can China achieve socialist revolution.

After the failure of the revolution in urban areas, the importance of the Armed Agrarian Revolution in the rural areas increased. But without the leadership of the working class, this Armed Agrarian Revolution is bound to fail. In spite of the treachery of the big bourgeoisie to revolution, we should differentiate the liberal bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie. Some sections of the bourgeoisie will have anti imperialist character and non-partisan groups which do not join hands with any imperialists should be won-over as an ally of the revolution, or be made neutral. Likewise efforts should be made to win over the middle and rich peasants in the rural areas to the revolution.

But the left adventurists have rejected these correct formulations of Comrade Mao on Chinese Revolution. They have committed mistakes on several counts. On the political plane, the left deviationists made three mistakes.

Mistakes about the tasks of New Democratic Revolution and the Socialist revolution

The leftists have correctly pointed out some tasks of democratic nature but failed to distinguish between the tasks of the New Democratic Revolution and the socialist revolution. They set out to take up some tasks to be fulfilled in the socialist revolution during the New Democratic Revolution itself. They have under-estimated the decisive role of the anti feudal struggle of the peasantry in the New Democratic Revolution. They gave a call to fight against all sections of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie, in the stage of the New Democratic Revolution.

They equated the struggle against the bourgeoisie with the anti feudal anti imperialist struggle. They refused to acknowledge the existence of a united front. They mainly over-stressed the need to fight against

ed to see the major change that came in the class relations society owing to the Japanese imperialist aggression on

China on September 18, 1931. Without making any attempts to strike friendship with the centrist group on the issue of resisting the Japanese aggression, they described this group as a very dangerous enemy.

At the same time the left adventurists have brought forward some tasks correctly. They said that Party should lead the peasant's struggle for land; that people's power should be established at different levels; that the Kuomintang government's onslaught should be met with armed resistance. In spite of identifying these correct tasks, due to their left deviation, they failed to see the Red Army movement as a peasant movement under the leadership of the working class.

They wrongly named the movement of the Red Army as 'Peasant capitalism, and 'the path of the rich peasants' and flayed it. They set out to achieve the tasks beyond the stage of New Democratic Revolution. They set out to remove the rich peasants completely from the national economy and to dislodge all sorts of exploiters from positions of political power. They adopted a parochial attitude towards the intellectuals. They said that only regular soliders from the enemy's army should be inducted into Red Army but not their officers. They were rash and hasty in erradicating the counter revolutionaries. Due to this line pursued by the left adventurists, the revolutionary forces were distanced from the people and the Red Army movement suffered severe setbacks. Due to the left line, the people's movements led by Party in the areas under Kuomintang government's control also suffered setbacks. The programme to bring all the anti-imperialist big bourgeois, big landlord, middle classes and centrist groups into an anti-Japanese front has met with failure.

2. On Guerilla warfare & revolutionary bases

The left adventurists rejected the Agrarian Revolutionary war and the building of revolutionary bases. But Mao's analysis of the Chinese society is as follows;

China is a semi feudal, semi colonial country. It is a vast country and a country with uneven economic and political development. It is divided into various areas of influence of different imperialist countries and the contradictions between different imperialists have created divisions among the Chinese ruling classes. This resulted in the frequent wars among the Chinese ruling classes. The country's economy is modelled on the economic self sufficiency of the villages. China is an agricultural country. There isn't even nominal democracy in the country.

In a country with such characteristics, armed struggle will be the main form of struggle. The main organisational form of this struggle will be the Red army consisting of the peasantry.

The revolutionary bases established in the rural areas by utilising contradictions among the ruling classes and the economic self sufficiency of villages, will serve as inspiring models for nationwide revolution.

The revolutionary bases will be established by first liberating the rural areas. Ultimately urban areas will be liberated. In the areas of Kuomintang rule, by utilising the legal opportunities, the Party should penetrate into the masses through underground activities. Movements should be built up on all issues and the programme of mobilising our forces in Kuomintang controlled towns also should be taken up.

Till the time the revolutionary forces are strong enough to launch an attack on the towns from the rural areas, people in towns should be mobilised and organised through underground activities. Till then we should be in a defensive stage in the towns. Till the time the revolutionary forces are strong enough to launch attack on the towns, we should pay more attention to rural areas.

These correct formulations of Mao were rejected by the left adventurists. They under-estimated the role of peasant guerillas. They did not recognise the need to build revolutionary bases. They called it 'Peasant's bigoted theory' and rejected it. They said that the working class should seize power in one or more states mainly through urban armed insurrection of workers, and then go on to complete the revolution nation-wide.

Consequently, the movement led by the Party in the urban areas as well as rural areas suffered severe setbacks due to this left adventurist line.

As result of the setbacks in urban areas, they shifted their bases to the rural areas. In spite of the failure of their line, they did not rectify their adventurist programme. They rejected the principles of guerilla struggle utilised by the Red Army and the principles of mobile warfare and implemented the principles of regular warfare in their place. By then, the Red Army has gained some practice in guerilla warfare and tactics.

The left adventurists opposed guerilla warfare and stressed more on the methods of positional warfare. Without taking into consideration the strength of the enemy and that of the revolutionary forces, and without taking care of conservation of the human and material resources of Red Army into consideration, they went for a head-on confrontation and decisive battles. As a result the Red Army suffered severe losses in rural areas.

3. On tactics of offense and defence

Com. Mao made the following correct formulations on the issues of offence and defence.

The question of offence or defence should be decided based on proper assessment of national situation. On the national level, the revolutionary forces are weak. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, the advance of the revolutionary forces lost momentum. In such a situation, adventurist tactics will further harm the movement. On the national level, the enemy's

forces are strong and the revolutionary forces weak. Therefore revolutionary bases should be created in the rural areas and the revolutionary movement throughout the country should be advanced.

Basing himself on these assessments, Com. Mao formulated the following tactics of offence and defence.

When the contradictions between the ruling classes become acute and situation becomes unstable, we should advance. We should adopt tactics for the offensive on the enemy. When the ruling classes achieve stability we have to adopt defensive tactics to withstand the enemy's assault. Taking into consideration the impact of revolution on different sections of enemy classes, we have to pursue different tactics towards different sections of enemy camp. We have to utilise the contradictions among the enemy classes, reduce the enemy camp as far as possible, divide the enemy, and strike. The majority should be won over to our side. In the areas of Kuomintang rule, especially in cities, we have to keep in consideration the enemy's strength and adopt defensive tactics.

In the areas of Kuomintang rule, people should be mobilised through legal activities. Our forces should be concentrated through building the underground party organisation. No adventurist struggles or decisive battles should be launched till the situation throughout the country is favourable to the revolutionary forces. The people's movement should be carried forward by taking up the problems in each area and giving slogans and struggle forms relevant to the level of people's consciousness in that particular area. If the people of a particular area come forward into struggle on an issue, we have to decide, taking into consideration the consciousness of the people in that area, and the national situation, whether to take the struggle to a higher level or keep it in low-key.

The left adventurists have failed to assess the post-1927 Revolution political situation correctly. They failed to assess the strength of the enemy and that of the revolutionary forces. They failed to see the contradictions among the ruling classes. They over-estimated the strength of the revolutionary forces and under-estimated that of the enemy forces and resorted to attacks on the enemy.

They took recourse to offensive when the situation necessitated defence, and defensive tactics when offensive was required. They went to the extent of assessing the whole situation basing on only one aspect of the whole.

They failed to see the difference between various regions and the uneven development throughout the country and consequently called for uniform tactics throughout the country. They utilised same tactics for both border and central areas of the revolutionary bases without making a distinction between them. Likewise, they failed to distinguish the rural

areas from the towns and took to adventurist activities in towns. They failed to make a distinction between Liberated Areas and Kuomintang areas and adopted similar tactics in both the areas.

Especially in the towns where the enemy was strong, instead of adopting defensive tactics they gave calls for struggle at inopportune times when victory was impossible. They started to build mass organisations not based on the people. It had been common to give calls for struggles—political strikes, general strikes, students' strikes, traders' strikes, police strikes, processions and even for armed struggle in which people would not participate. Such wrong tactics led to setbacks to the movement in urban as well as rural areas.

2. Mistakes in Military Aspects

Comrade Mao said that the political struggle in China takes the form of armed combat. He formulated a military line which was in consonance with the political line of the party. This military line is based on two principles.

The Red Army should be guided by proletarian ideology. It should contribute to the growth of people's movement and establishment of the revolutionary bases.

Depending upon the people, taking into consideration the enemy's strength and the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement and utilising the divisions in the enemies, the Red Army should protect itself from the enemy's onslaughts and develop.

To implement the first principle, the Red Army should implement the Party's programme. It should reject the pure military attitude and also the roving rebel bands theory.

The Red Army has to fulfill three main tasks—waging military war, continuing people's programmes, and collection of funds for War.

The Red Army should work as an agitator among the people on behalf of the party. It should strive to establish people's political power. It should assist the people's struggle for land. It should assist in the efforts to mobilise people's armed strength, to establish political power and to establish party organisations. It should respect organs of people's political power and mass organisations and raise their stature. It should maintain strict discipline and implement democracy to certain extent in the Red Army. Proper relationship should be maintained between the officers and the soldiers. Continuous efforts should be made to win over the enemy armies to our side.

To implement the second aspect principles of protracted war should be adopted. The main forms of struggle should be guerilla and mobile warfare. The main contingents for the Red Army should fight jointly with

the local armed units. The local armed units should join with the people and fight.

Small skirmishes which continue for a long time or major battles with decisive results should not be the Red Army's principle. On the contrary, Red Army should wage small battles which yield quick results and the protracted struggles for decisive struggles. The military tactic of splitting a part of enemy's army and concentrating large numbers of Red Army and annihilating it should be followed.

Red Army should follow the following guerilla tactics.

- While attacking the enemy our forces should be centralised; while propagating among people our forces should be decentralised.
- When the enemy advances, Red Army should retreat,
- When the enemy rests, Red Army should harass,
- When the enemy is tired, Red Army should attack,
- When the enemy retreats, Red Army should pursue.

But the left adventurists rejected these principles. In the first two stages when left adventurism raised its head, they did not have a clear cut military strategy. For the third time they formulated clearly some military tactics.

They confined the Red Army to the task of fighting only. They failed to establish proper relations between the soldiers and officers, the government and the Army, Army and the people.

They opposed the guerilla character of the Red Army and introduced the positional warfare methods more than needed: they opposed the guerilla mobile tactics and introduced positional warfare tactics. Without taking into consideration the weakness of the revolutionary forces and the strength of the enemy forces, they resorted to combats which yielded quick results and said that enemy should be attacked from all sides simultaneously. They opposed the tactic that when the Red Army is attacking superior enemy force, it should wait till the enemy forces enter the region favourable to us, and then strike. They proposed the positional warfare and dig-in-and-fight tactics for Red Army. The left adventurists implemented centralised military command principles. In sum, the left adventurists opposed the principles of Protracted People's War.

By adopting the positional warfare tactics during the Koumintang government's Fifth *encirclement and suppression* Campaign, they caused severe losses to Red Army.

3. Mistakes in Organisational Aspects

Comrade Mao formulated that "From the people, to the people" is the correct political line.

To put it into practice, close ties should be established not only with the people outside Party but also with the people within the Party-fold. This means higher committees forging closer ties with primary members of the party and with the cadres. Mao has developed the Party building into a concrete principle comprising of ideological and political aspects. He strove to establish the leadership of the proletarian ideology as opposed to pure military outlook, subjective individualism, egalitarianism which raise their heads in the Party.

He made efforts to inculcate democratic centralism in the Party. He fought against unnecessary restrictions on democracy in the Party and on centralism in the Party.

He implemented the principle that a part should be subordinate to the whole. He made efforts to establish proper relationship between old and new cadres, local and non-local cadres, between cadres working in the Army and the people and between the cadres working in different fronts.

He developed the principle that the truth is, at all times paramount and should be implemented. He implemented the principles that every member, every organisation should be subordinate to the party discipline.

He introduced proper organisational norms to achieve internal unity and carry on the inner party struggle as wrong political line leads to wrong organisational line. The left adventurists opposed Mao's correct political line and the correct organisational line formulated by him.

The left adventurists introduced sectarian organisational methods. This resulted in not only party being distanced from people but also in leadership organs being distanced from party members and cadres. They branded as "rightists" all those opposed to their erroneous political line and set out to take disciplinary action against them. They treated all these almost as criminals and enemies.

They utilised all the inner party struggles to boost the influence and image of left adventurists and to usurp the responsible committees.

They defied principles of democratic centralism and set aside the principles (democratic) of criticism, self-criticism. They encouraged the trend of blind followers.

They took narrow sectarian attitude towards the cadres. They implemented in a vulgar manner the principle that cadres from working class should be in leading positions, without taking into consideration other aspects. When the senior comrades who have been working in the party since a long time and who have made many sacrifices opposed their wrong line, the left adventurists attempted to remove all of them from the leadership positions and fill the committees with their new blind followers.

In the name of cleaning of the enemy agents, many loyal comrades were expelled from the party on false allegations.

Owing to such wrong organisational line, the Party has become splintered and factions have come into existence, and the Party has become isolated from the people.

4. Ideological mistakes

The political, organisation and the military line formulated by comrade Mao was based on Marxism and Leninism. The universal truth of Marxism and Leninism was applied to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution.

But the left ideologues depended on theory without practice and practice without theory. These left ideologues, preaching theory without practice never cared to study in depth, the concrete conditions of China and apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions in China. They banked on their superficial bookish knowledge and not on the concrete Chinese conditions.

They lifted a principle from here and a principle from there from the books but never cared to find out whether they are applicable to Chinese conditions or not. So their theories became theories divorced from reality. As a result, their line has become isolated from the people and caused immense damage to people's movement and the Party.

The ideologues without practice joined hands with ideologues without theory (empiricists). The empiricists are also dependent on subjective thinking. They did not recognise the importance of theory and depended only on the practice—that too only on their own practice, without taking other's practice into consideration.

They were indifferent to other's criticism and yet never cared to undergo self-criticism. They gave prominence to day to day functioning, and to activities which did not require serious thinking. Thus the ideologues without practice and the empiricists could unite. Both of them did not depend on the concrete Chinese conditions.

Both failed to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Chinese Revolution.

Both took a path opposed to dialectics and historical materialism.

Both regarded the relative, partial truth as universal and comprehensive truth.

The theories of both were divorced from Chinese reality. Consequently, due to their left adventurism, many hard-won victories of people and

Party members in both Kuomintang areas as well as Liberated Areas were nullified.

Social base of left Sectarianism

The Social conditions in a society give rise to both left and right deviations in the Party.

The Capitalist society influences the rise of right deviation in the Party while the petty bourgeois social conditions give rise to left deviations.

In general, there is a danger of right deviation cropping up when the working class forms a united front with the bourgeoisie and of the left deviation when the working class goes into struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Both these wrong trends damage the Party. The correct line formulated by com. Mao is based on the proletarian ideology. The line formulated by the left deviationists is based on petty bourgeois concept of democracy.

China, a vast semi feudal semi colonial country, has large number of petty bourgeois population. As a result the Communist Party of China had to function amidst petty bourgeois social conditions. More over, a large number of the members of the Communist Party hail from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.

The firstever triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia signalled the victory of Marxism-Leninism over all other theories, the world over all. As a result of this victory and due to political and social conditions in China, especially due to the growth of Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang Party, there was no chance for a petty bourgeois political party to develop. So, not only due to economic conditions but also due to social conditions there is a danger of the working class being influenced by petty bourgeois theories.

So it is not surprising that various petty bourgeois theories and trends have raised their heads in the Communist Party of China.

Apart from peasantry, China has a large number of petty bourgeois population in cities and towns. All of them are being exploited in many forms. All of them are yearning for emancipation from exploitation and for economic and political democracy.

The petty bourgeoisie is a class which is constantly changing. This class has two characteristics.

The majority of this petty bourgeoisie are of revolutionary temperament and can be influenced by the proletarian ideology and can join hands with the working class in the fight for democratic revolution.

On the other hand, they have some weaknesses which set them apart from working class. There is a risk of them going under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie or the big bourgeoisie in the absence of proper proletarian leadership.

Therefore the working class should adopt proper attitude towards petty bourgeoisie. The working class should work with perseverance and vigilance to form a united front with the petty bourgeoisie in the fight against the exploiting classes. On the other hand, it should resolutely oppose the petty bourgeois trends exhibited by the some members who joined the Communist Party. An ideological struggle should be carried out and we should work with perseverance to mould them into real communists committed to Marxism-Leninism.

If the Party does not carry out a resolute inner-Party ideological struggle against the petty bourgeois trends, there is a chance of the whole Party going into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois thinking is reflected in three aspects.

1. Subjectivism

The petty bourgeois intellectuals base themselves on subjective thoughts which differ from reality. When they study an issue, they do not analyse it from all angles but basing on the aspect they desire, come to a conclusion and decide the whole programme. They base mainly not on the actual conditions and the strength of different classes in reality, but on their desires and subjective thinking. They do not have practice and experience but only bookish knowledge. They are the theoreticians who have neither practice nor direct connection with production.

2. Vacillation

Due to the nature of living conditions of the petty bourgeoisie, they vacillate between the leftists and rightists. Most of the petty bourgeois democrats yearn to conclude the revolution as quickly as possible to better their living conditions. Thereby, they are attracted by the revolutionary 'left' slogans. They do not have patience to carry out the protracted revolutionary struggle and frequently succumb to adventurist ideas and practice. When such ideas and trends are reflected in the Party, there is a danger of left deviation rising its ugly head in the Party.

While they themselves resort to adventurist actions, when the movement suffers severe setbacks and the revolutionary forces should make a planned retreat, they get frustrated and run away. In such situations they are even willing to become an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

3. Anti-organisational methods

The petty bourgeois intellectuals, due to their thinking and background, exhibit individualism in the organisational issues. As a result they get isolated from people and exhibit wrong traits such as bossism, abuse of disciplining powers, individual heroism, anarchism, liberalism and ultra-democracy. They are responsible for factionalism and disruption of the Party.

Ideologically, the petty bourgeois left adventurers exhibit subjectivism. Politically they swing between the left and the right. Organisationally they exhibit a tendency to form factions.

The Party has to wage a fierce ideological struggle against all such wrong trends. But while waging this inner-party struggle, attention should be paid to the following aspects.

1) More attention should be paid to the political and economic conditions which gave rise to wrong trends in the Party and to formulate appropriate forms to combat these alien trends but the role of the individuals who lead these tendencies should not be stressed much.

2) The inner-party struggle should be able to give clarity to the party members on the issues facing the Party, to draw lessons from the previous experiences and not repeat such mistakes in the future and unite the Party rank and file to achieve the aim of the collective struggle.

3) The Party should be prepared to encourage all the comrades who recognised their mistakes and are attempting to rectify them and unite with them and work. Even those who have not fully recognised their mistakes, and have not made serious attempts to rectify them, should unite with others who have not made such mistakes and work.

When fighting a wrong trend, while differentiating between the wrong line and correct line, we should see the agreeable point between those who are following a wrong line and the correct line.

4) Party unity can be developed only by intensifying the internal ideological struggle based on Marxism-Leninism and combating the right and left deviations which raise their ugly heads in the Party. At the same time, the Party should make serious attempts to clear the traits which hinder Party unity and also those which crop up between Party comrades and can cause misunderstandings.

5) Occasionally, the understanding and mutual respect between comrades in different fronts breaks down, giving rise to difference of opinion between Party members. The root of this lies in the fact that the comrades work in different regions and that the nature of programme varies. The Party should strive to remove these difference of opinions by proper political education.

6) Sometimes difference of opinion of another kind crops up between comrades.

Some comrades feel dejected when they make mistakes. Some others feel proud of the successes they achieved in their programme. Those who have little experience in struggle try to evade things while comrades who have long experience pose as if they know everything. Comrades from peasant and working class background feel proud of their class nature and look down on intellectuals. On the other hand, the intellectuals are proud of their smartness and look down on peasant and working class comrades. The comrades who gain expertise in a particular work look down on others. The youth look down on the older comrades and the older comrades feel superior due to their experience and look down at the new, inexperienced comrades.

By launching a critical struggle against such wrong trends alone, by giving proper political education alone can such wrong trends be eradicated in the Party members and full unity of the Party achieved.

Charu Mazumdar group's adventurism

In the above article, comrade Mao has made a deep analysis of the left mistakes in the Communist Party of China.

In India, the Communist Party was subjected, time and again, to left and right deviations. Mainly in the last 20 years, it was subjected to the mistakes of revisionism and neo-revisionism. It is only in the recent times that the Communist Revolutionaries have broken off from revisionism and neo-revisionism, based themselves on Marxism-Leninism. They started to organise the people for armed struggle through the People's War path. In some states the armed peasant struggles at different levels, are being conducted under the leadership of the Communist Revolutionaries. The frustration with revisionism in Party for many years, the frustration with the exploitation and repression of the big bourgeois big landlord Congress government were the root cause of the Charu Mazumdar group taking to left adventurist policies in applying the People's War path in India. This caused severe damage to the people's movements in some areas. Charu Mazumdar group adopted left adventurism in political, organisational issues and in struggle tactics. We have to deeply analyse Charu group's left adventurist line and draw appropriate lessons. Similarly, some left errors were committed in the armed peasant struggle also. We have to analyse them. We have mentioned clearly about the left errors committed in our movement in the document "Two Years of Armed Struggle—Our experiences".

We are of the opinion that the Charu Mazumdar group made the following mistakes in tactics of struggle and in organisational and political issues.

Political line

India is a neo colonial country serving as a base for neo colonial exploitation mainly of U.S. imperialism and Russian Social imperialism. At the same time the British imperialists are still continuing their neo colonial exploitation. In addition to these, the investments of Japan and Germany are increasing. The Charu Mazumdar group are noticing only the prominent neo colonial exploiters—U.S. & U.S.S.R., and not the British, Japanese, German imperialists and thus are not recognising the reality. That is they are failing to observe the growing contradictions among the imperialists on the question of exploiting India.

Though they stated in their documents that India is, at present, in the stage of People's Democratic Revolution, they are putting forth, in practice, at this stage only, some tasks which ought to be taken up in the stage of Socialist Revolution. They are pursuing adventurist, sectarian line towards the national bourgeoisie, minor landlords and the rich peasantry who should be united in our fight against the imperialism, big bourgeoisie and the big landlords. They are taking an uncompromising struggle line with these sections in the present stage itself. This group's criticism of this aspect in our immediate programme amply proves this.

Revolutionary bases

In words the Charu Mazumdar group has adopted the People's War path and the path of Protracted People's War, of establishing Liberated Areas in the rural areas through Armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggle, and gradually liberating rural areas first and finally liberating the towns. But in practice they made wrong formulations regarding the the importance of establishing revolutionary bases in rural areas.

Taking into consideration the level of the struggles in our country, the primary importance should be given to hilly terrains, forests and mountains which have natural protection, a weak administrative machinery and where the worst form of feudal exploitation is perpetuated. But they rejected this and came to a conclusion that from now itself Liberated Areas can be established anywhere in the plain areas. They ridiculed the correct perspective being put into practice by the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communists as 'jungle theory'.

They abandoned the principle that only by mobilising the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution and by building a strong Red Army can the Liberated Areas be built in the rural areas. In practice, they have pursued the wrong policy that Liberated Area can be formed in a region by some militant youths forming armed squads and killing some landlords as individuals.

As the people's movements in rural areas suffered severe losses due to their adventurist actions, they left rural areas and took to open attacks in a metropolitan city like Calcutta. The programme of attacks in Calcutta city was nothing but the culmination of their adventurist actions.

The above points make clear how faulty their understanding of People's War path and Liberated Areas is.

Tactics of Struggle

India is world's second largest populated country. It is a vast semi feudal, semi colonial country. Due to the exploitative policies of big bourgeoisie and the imperialists, its development economically and politically, is uneven. Owing to this, the people's movements struggles in different areas are developing unevenly.

Though the people are discontented with the exploitative policies of the big bourgeois, big landlord governments in the country, though a revolutionary situation exists in the country, the people's movements, people's struggles, people's consciousness have not developed to such level where the people from different regions will today itself directly participate in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Congress government. In some regions the people's movements have highly developed and assumed the form of armed struggle. In some other regions, there are no people's movements. People from the majority areas in our country are still divided under the influence of bourgeois, petty bourgeois parties, the revisionists and neo revisionists. Taking into consideration these facts, the Communist Revolutionaries should adopt different tactics of struggle to mobilise people from different areas into Armed Agrarian Revolution.

But the Charu Mazumdar group did not take into consideration these realities. They refused to recognise the fact that the people's consciousness, movement and struggles are developing unevenly. They are unable to grasp the reality that we have to work with patience for people from different areas to directly participate in the armed struggle and for this end we have to apply different tactics of struggle for different areas. They are estimating as if all the areas in the country are prepared to respond to the call for an armed struggle. They are estimating as if the people are no longer under the influence of bourgeois, petty bourgeois and the two revisionist parties and as if these parties are already isolated from the people. Therefore, they are applying the same principle—attacks on individuals belonging to exploiting classes by squads consisting of militant youth in the name of annihilation of class enemies—to the people from all areas, towns as well as rural areas. As a consequence, the movements under their leadership in different areas have suffered severe losses.

Undoubtedly in India, the main form of struggle will be **armed struggle** and the main form of organisation will be **Red Army organisation**. At the same time, all mass agitational forms and mass organisations which contribute to the **armed struggle** should be linked up by the **Communist Revolutionaries**.

But Charu Mazumdar group rejected this basic principle. They formulated the attacks on the enemies by some individuals forming **armed squads** as the main form of struggle. They rejected people's agitations on immediate issues and formation of mass organisations.

They are labelling all those who advocate linking of **armed struggle** with political agitations as well as people's agitations on people's issues and building up of mass organisation as revisionists and economicists. They are wrongly claiming that in the prevailing conditions in India, there is no need for people's agitations on their issues and for mass organisations and that **armed squad's** actions on individuals will achieve everything.

People's War means the direct participation of people in the struggle. Only then will it be **people's war** in the real sense of the word. **Armed Agrarian Revolution** is the crux of our **People's War**. In the present stage, keeping in view the consciousness of the people, by propagating politics of **armed struggle** extensively among the people and by organising people into anti feudal class struggles alone, through their own concrete practice, can people be mobilised into the **Armed Agrarian Revolution**. The Charu group, refusing to see this reality, are obstinately contending that propagation of politics of **armed revolution** and the programme of **annihilation of class enemies** alone will mobilise people into the struggle.

Similarly they are refusing to see that the working class and the middle classes in the towns can be mobilised into path of **People's War** by mobilising them into class struggles against the exploitation of the big bourgeoisie along with propagation of politics of **armed struggle**. In the present phase of the struggle, the key task of the **Communist Revolutionaries** is to organise for **Armed Agrarian Revolution**, thereby make efforts to build revolutionary bases in the rural areas. By liberating the rural areas first and mobilising adequate strength, the towns should be liberated finally. Till the situation matures, the **Communist Revolutionaries** in towns should carry out the task of building an underground Party apparatus, mobilise people from different walks of life into class struggles, join the propagation of politics of **armed struggle** with these, make efforts to bring people towards **armed struggle** with great perseverance and determination. Till the **Communist Revolutionaries** gain strength to launch assault on the urban areas from rural areas, we have to work with perseverance, preserve ourselves and carry on underground activities. Till we gain such strength we should develop our skills to evade a head-on confrontation or do-or-die battles with the enemy.

But Charu Mazumdar group is rejecting this basic principle. Not only are they rejecting the task of mobilising urban masses into class struggles but also are giving more stress on attacks on the enemies. As a result they are suffering severe losses.

We have to correctly assess our strength and the enemy's strength always and adopt the correct tactics of 'offensive and defensive'. Only then can the Communist Revolutionaries become a mighty force from a small force. But the Charu Mazumdar group, rejecting this basic principle, are under-estimating the enemy's strength, over-estimating their strength and without any regard for 'defensive' tactics are obstinately implementing only the 'offensive' tactics in towns as well as in rural areas. Thus they have only taken to the path of "left" adventurism. As a result, the people's movement under their leadership, cannot but suffer severe losses.

All the above mentioned facts make it clear the path pursued by the Charu Mazumdar group is not the path of People's War but of individual terrorism.

Organisational Mistakes

As the line pursued by Charu Mazumdar group is politically, tactically wrong, the same is reflected in the organisational line.

In different states the Communist Revolutionary groups broke off from neo revisionism and are functioning based on Marxism - Leninism-Mao Thought. As the movements in different states are developing unevenly, and as the programme of applying People's War path to different areas is new, it is but natural for difference of opinions to crop up between Communist Revolutionary groups. So the Communist Revolutionary groups should patiently discuss their experiences, remove the differences, formulate the path of People's War as applicable to the whole of India. The unity between Communist Revolutionary groups should be forged through such discussions and practice oriented programmes. Only then can a communist party based on Marxism Leninism Mao Thought be built up. This is one of the key tasks of Communist Revolutionaries in the present stage.

But Charu Mazumdar group behaved in an irresponsible way towards this key task. They attempted to impose, without any discussions, their left adventurist line on other groups. They branded as revisionists and rightists all those opposed to their erroneous, left line. They attempted to expel from the party all, except those who blindly follow their wrong policies. The leadership of this group, from the beginning, abandoned the principles of democratic centralism and has been exhibiting factionalism. Consequently it failed to achieve unity of different groups

in the country; The subsequent events show that finally, as a result of the bossism (tyrannicism) and lack of democratic discussions, the Charu Mazumdar group broke into splinter groups.

Based on Mao's formulations on left deviation, we have to analyse the adventurist policies of Charu Mazumdar group, draw appropriate lessons and check the recurrence of these mistakes in the revolutionary movement.

The risk of left adventurism raising its ugly head time and again exists due to the petty bourgeois social conditions in India and due to the fact that many of the petty bourgeois individuals who joined Communist Revolutionaries are in leading positions. All party members should recognise that by properly educating the party members on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Thought and by giving deeper understanding of the path of People's War, and adopting proper organisational methods of democratic centralism and methods of criticism and self criticism alone can the left adventurist trends be defeated.

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