

# PRESENT SITUATION AND TASKS

*[A Draft for discussion circulated among the Party members and sympathisers by "THE COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM" under the caption FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM as Bulletin No. I- E. C.]*

## The Pledge given at the Seventh Congress and the Present Leadership

The Seventh Party Congress was held in Calcutta from Oct. 31st to Nov. 7th in 1964 against the background of the intense ideological struggle against revisionism waged by the members and sympathisers of the Party during 1963. The Congress resolved and pledged to build up the Party as a genuine Marxist Leninist Party and rid party policy and organisation completely of revisionist ideas and practices. But the present leaders of the party are still lying stuck in the mire of revisionist politics; they are violating one of the major conditions of building a genuine Marxist Leninist party by denying inner party democracy and the right of party members to raise questions on different policies and practices and to have inner party discussions on such matters, in this way they are keeping intact the character of the party with revisionist politics. They are refusing to circulate among the general ranks for their opinion any views or statements placed before them for discussion and also to provide any forum for inner party discussions. Further, they are subtly spreading slanders and columnies against those who criticise their views and practices and they are having recourse to expulsion on false charges of comrades with views other than their own. This leadership has thus become a great stumbling block to the development of the Party on Bolshevik lines.

We know-though this is not the subject matter of our discussion -that some comrades have submitted their views on certain matters in the shape of formal documents for inner party discussions, but they are lying bound up in the files in the Secretariat of the West Bengal party. The present leadership is absolutely reluctant to present for serious consideration and analysis before the general body of party members any kind of new ideas and views. The reason is that these leaders are just a fraction of the old leadership in a new garb. The only difference being that they are anti-Dange.

In the past the Dange clique has called us pro-Chinese and by circulating this in public had strengthened the hands of Mr. Nanda, the Union Home Minister

recently in the name of conducting so-called ideological struggle in the public organs of the party the Secretariat of our party in West Bengal has through its mouth-piece -Ashok Mukherjee- very clearly drawn the attention of the Govt., Intelligence Branch and Home Department to a section of the party members.

One of the charges brought by the present leaders against the Dange clique was that the later has seized the party leadership and destroyed inner party democracy. By the irony of history our leaders are also following the same course. Marx said "what is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and maintain its position within in the newly acquired form." (Marx's letter to F.Bolt in 1871-SWs of Marx-Engels, page 291). This is the historic truth about the present leadership of the party. We will show gradually and demonstrate that the present party leadership very cleverly preserving revisionist ideas and practices inside the party even after its reorganisation in the Seventh Party Congress and under the cover of revolutionary phraseology, devoid of the revolutionary essence of Marxism in persevering the party as an extreme left nationalist party. For the present we are inviting the attention of our Comrades to one aspect of the craftiness of those people and asking them to ponder over deeply its significance. We are dealing this because the matter presented in our document is closely connected with this aspect.

The present leadership of the party flourishing with great swagger the programme adopted at the Seventh Congress, making repeated and boastful claim being 'revolutionaries' and trying to keep everybody hypnotised by the pompacity of its claim. The present leaders of our party are repeating the same trick as was resorted to by the former leadership of the Communist Party of the documents of different Party Congresses.

### **The Tradition of Marxist Outlook towards Party Programme**

There can be no two opinions about the great importance of a correct Party Programme. But Marxism never teaches that a Party Programme is a divine something towards which we cannot maintain any kind of critical attitude, our only duty is to stand before it in speechless worship and with bowed head.

*" The elaboration of a common programme for the party should not, ofcourse, put an end to polemics, it will firmly establish those basic views on the character, the aims and tasks of our movement which serve as the banner of fighting party, a party that remains consolidated despite partial differences of opinion among its members on the partial question." (Lenin CWs Vol.4, page.231 )*

Lenin did not hesitate to uphold the same outlook on the Party Programme during the days of revolution of 1905 even after the formulation of the Party Programme of the Russian Social Democratic Party. It said:

*" We have firmly established the Party Programme which is officially recognised by all Social Democrats and the fundamental propositions of which have not given rise to any criticism." ( Lenin, CWs Vol.10, p.31 )*

Lenin is based on the tradition of the outlook towards the Party Programme of Marx-Engels. Marx said:

*“ Every step of real movement is more important than dozen programmes.” ( Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence, p. 257 )*

Engels said:

*“ In general the official Programme of a party is of less importance than what the party does. “ ( Letter to Bebel, 1875, p.255)*

Marx and Engels have always laid special emphasis on the importance of the Party Programme; but at the same time they have attached importance on the day to day programme of the party on the attitude towards movement and on what it does in actual practice.

What is the importance of Party Programme in party life? What is the factor of its importance? On this question, the following observations of Lenin are of great significance:

*“ Without Programme a party cannot be an integral political organism capable of pursuing its line whatever turn the events may take; without tactical line based on an appraisal of the current political situation and providing explicit answers to the “vexed problems” of our times, we have circle of theoreticians but not a functioning political entity; without an appraisal of the ‘active’, current or ‘fashionable’ ideological and political trends, the programme and tactics may degenerate into dead ‘clauses’ which can by no stretch of the imagination be put into effect or applied to the thousands of detailed, particular, and highly specific questions of practical activity with the necessary understanding of essentials, with an understanding of ‘what is what’.” (CWs Vol. 17, p.280 )*

What was the tradition of the teachings of the great teachers of Marxism Leninism on Party Programme is clear from the extracts quoted above. Equally clear is the difference between this outlook and the outlook of our party leaders. Our leaders regard only their views and thoughts as true and the views and criticisms of others is a crime; they regard discussions on questions of principle as absolutely impermissible; and above all they consider it quite proper to conduct the party through threats and commands. To get just a glimpse of the kind of attitude that our party leaders have, we would ask you to have a look at the product of collective wisdom of the pundits of the West Bengal Secretariat served under the spokespersonship of Ashok Mukherjee... The attitude referred to above has been revealed in that article. We will evaluate later the main source of the capabilities of these people, is evidenced in the ‘gems’ they have collected from the great treasure-house of Marxism. For the present we want to point out that the attitude of the party leadership that has been expressed in all its writings is that of stepping any discussion of questions which have not been debated and thrashed out inside the party and the fight against the policy of revisionism in the West Bengal party or within themselves on the cunning pretext of fighting the left adventurism.

However, those who do not want to deceive others by false arguments would derive from the quoted extracts of the classical exponents of Marxism the following lessons on party programme:

1. A correct programme is certainly one of the most necessary and indispensable things for a revolutionary party;

2. Marxism has never laid down that once a programme has been formulated, all controversies should and must come to an end; a correct programme will establish basic views on the character, the aim and tasks of the revolutionary movement, it is not crime to have partial differences on partial issues and they are necessary in a live party.

3. While agreeing on these formulations on party programme, it should be remembered that 'every step of real movement is more important than dozen of programmes.'

4. Without a tactical line providing correct answers to the varied questions of our time, the programme may become useless and dead clauses. In this connection it should be clearly remembered that the concept of a tactical line, formulated by the great teachers of Marxism is not that of tactical line, only to day to day or short-term activities or movements. The importance of the tactical line rises from the programme itself. Lenin said, "*there is a range of questions which the programme comes close to or actually one with tactics.*" That is to say, this tactical line, the importance of which is derived from the programme, indicated the direction and perspective of the revolutionary movement. But according to the thinking current in our party, this tactical line may serve as the guide line for the entire revolution. For the Communists in 1946-51 there arose the question what should be the path of Indian revolution, Russian or Chinese? Here, the tactical line which is in accordance with the concept taught by the teachers of Marxism lays down this path clearly. Unless the perspective of the movement is clearly kept in view the day to day practical activities will inevitably be bogged down in Marxism terminology is known as economics.

It should be recalled here that in the entire history of the Communist Party of India it was only once that such tactical line was formulated. This was done at the time of formulating the Programme in 1951. At that time Com. Stalin helped in the formulation of both the programme and the tactical line with the advice based on his wide international experiences. But the then leadership which included among others many of the present leaders of our party suppressed this tactical line. They did not even make it an agenda for discussion to blunt the revolutionary edge and render it useless.

It should be recalled further that the suppression of this tactical line document and the emergence of revisionism happened almost at the same time. This coincidence is of great significance. The present leaders of our party, who are paralytical in their thinking have not prepared any tactical document corresponding to the programme adopted in the Seventh Congress, because they do not want to face questions of basic principles of the Programme. They have adopted the attitude

of running the party on the basis of their subjective thinking without adopting any clearly defined tactical line; it suits them, therefore, to be vague and confused in every thing. Basically this is the way of revisionism. A further point to be noted in this connection is that the present leadership of the party has postponed the discussion on ideological issues inside the party and has taken a centrist position on the ideological issues of the international communist movement. This attitude is clearly manifested in the resolution on the 'ideological discussions' adopted at the last meeting of the party Central Committee at Tenali on June 12-19. This means that the present leadership is abandoning the basis of its struggle against the Dangeites on ideological questions. This, in fact, is nothing but an attempt to preserve revisionism.

### **The Present Situation and Our Tasks**

Let us now come down to the main issue of our document. We are presenting for discussion by the Comrades our general idea of the present situation, our tasks therein and arising from the discussion of these issues, our general idea of the perspective or path of Indian revolution. This is so fundamental issue. It is indispensable for a revolutionary party to have a clear idea on this issue and a corresponding programme of action.

The recent mass movements are pointing indisputably to the fact our country has stepped into the period of an approaching revolutionary upsurge. The temper of the people is becoming more and more revolutionary every day. Repeated outbursts of massive social unrest are making the atmosphere of the Country surcharged with excitement. The causes behind these outbursts are as numerous as the hitherto unimaginable experience that these causes lead to such explosions. It is also seen that these explosions occur without any fore-thought behind them even an instant the movement of their occurrence, i.e., they are spontaneous. There has been not a single month, so to say, during the current year when there had been no reports in the news papers of clashes between the police and one section or other of the people in some place or other. These outbursts are, ofcourse, of a primary character, but their frequency shows unmistakably that they are stirrings of the approaching tide of revolution.

Moreover, the mass movement during this period reveal the following features :

1. Any movement on partial demand or some particular rights is being confronted with a hard and unflexible attitude from the ruling class. Even for the realisation of simple demands severe struggles are becoming inevitable. On more occasions than not, the movements are being confronted with the organised power of the ruling class.

2. The consciousness of the necessity of struggle against the entire system is developing fast. There is developing though not class consciousness, a feeling of the need for a change among even the backward sections of the masses, a section whose participation in a movement is a measure of its sweep and depth.

3. The tradition of general strike- the traditional weapon of the struggle of the working class for the realisation of their demands for awakening the masses, for uniting them and for drawing them into struggle - is becoming popular.

4. During the time of these united movements of the masses, of the broadening of general democratic movements and especially of hartals and general strikes, there appear hundreds and hundreds of agitators, for they have close links with the masses.

5. Reference has already been made to the act of clashes between the police and the people at the time of movements. A very important feature, which has been noticed during these clashes and conflicts, is the firm determination displayed by the people to carry the movement forward immediately after they have dealt with the brutal attacks of the police, they do not surrender easily. The people also display a great inventiveness in devising varieties of methods of reducing the strength of enemy, while retaliating against police attacks. For mass struggles, this is very significant development. These actions are, of course, of a very primary level, their manifestations are an objective fact. A second feature of importance about these developments is that in many cases the character of a regular civil war is foreshadowed in them. This is markedly seen in the case of West Bengal, where the ruling class in order to oppose the democratic movements on the one hand relied especially on its police and on the other organisations of all kinds of reactionaries of its own class for violence against the people.

In the situation described above, the question is: Will the tremendous social upheaval all over the Country gain gradually increasing momentum become a sweeping tide? The only way to get a clear answer to this question is to study carefully the social contradictions in the present situation and understand the fundamental aspects of these contradictions, the development of which results in creating the objective background for the transformation of the social unrest, already referred to, into a revolutionary tide.

The period after World War II marked an intensification of the contradictions among the imperialist powers within the frame-work of a concentrated and crisis-ridden world capitalism, and of contradictions between the interests of the working class and those of imperialism within the imperialist states. On the other hand, the national liberation movements swept with irresistible force against the imperialist powers. In order to resolve all these contradictions the imperialist powers resorted to a policy of preserving the colonial exploitation and of intensifying it through neo colonialism. In consequence, the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movements has been intensified and has become the foremost of the contradictions of the world today.

In the situation of our Country the period 1945-46 was the period of great sharpening of contradictions and clashes between the people and imperialism. In this situation, fearing revolution, the big bourgeoisie ( representing the monopoly and big capital ) of the Country established Congress rule in 1947 on the basis of collaboration with imperialism so as to preserve in tact the interests of imperialism and to exploit jointly with imperialism Indian labour and resources. Since then they have adopted the policy of resolving the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movement at the cost of Indian people. The tremendous

increase in tax burden on the Indian people is the outcome of intensified exploitation jointly by imperialism and Indian finance capital and of the attempts to resolve the contradiction at the cost of the Indian people. This is further manifested in the unequal price of agricultural commodities maintained through a permanent blackmarket and inflation. With these contradictions has become connected and is operating the contradictions which arise from not releasing the productive forces in the rural areas through the reform of the feudal land system and changing the land relation in favour of the peasantry. Besides, there is a further contradiction, arising from the unresolved problem of the right of self-determination of nationalities in a multi-national State like India.

In this situation described above the economy of the country reached a phase of tremendous crisis. The Indian ruling class again sought to resolve it in a new way at the cost of the Indian people, engineered the India-China border clash and used it as a pretext for transforming the economy of the country into war-economy. This means that by raising extreme national-chauvinistic slogans, they intensified further the exploitation of the masses.

This re-organisation of the economy towards war-economy created tremendous pressure on the backward economy of India and all the contradictions entered a new level of sharpening. From the time of India-China border conflict the economic and political situation of the country underwent a qualitative transformation. The character of the entire situation became as follows: The conditions of wide sections of the peasantry and the urban poor became intolerable; the workers' burden of exploitation rose to the highest level. There was an extreme deterioration in the living conditions of the middle class wage earners; uncertainty and insecurity in different aspects of social life, crisis in education because of curtailment of expenditure; contradiction of employment opportunities, and chronic and increasing unemployment; and, above all, growing mistrust and hatred among the masses against the government.

Once the character of the situation and the contradictions, mentioned previously, is grasped it becomes easy to see that all those contradictions will become more sharp and carry the social unrest to the level of an upsurge. The objective conditions are growing. This is the main thing.

*"The revolutionary upsurge will inevitably arise"*. We are quoting the words used by Mao-Tse-Tung in explaining this idea, *"A Marxist is not fortune-teller of future development and changes. He should and can only point out the general direction. He should do this."* *"My statement that the revolutionary upsurge will arise soon emphatically does not refer to something utterly devoid of significance in section. This means that the revolutionary tide will rise soon"*. This analysis and understanding presents a completely new outlook and the need for a new style of work in regard to entire situation.

But it will not do to think only of the revolutionary tide; we must think also of an organisation pattern suitable to it, because political work and organisational work are inseparably bound up with each other. We are in the peoples democratic stage of revolution not in the socialistic stage. The aim of revolution in the present

stage is to eradicate imperialism, native big and monopoly finance-capital. To reach this objective, our immediate task is to end Congress rule through a real democratic revolution to be brought out by intense mass struggles under the leadership of the working class. The main condition for the establishment of a people's democratic revolution is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Hence, what is necessary is to arrange and concentrate all our plan of work in keeping with this perspective. To achieve this objective, it is urgently necessary for us to win over as quickly as possible the masses in both urban and rural areas in support of revolution through systematic revolutionary plan of action, not to stage all-India uprisings. But the key to victory in a revolution is the leadership of the proletariat. It is, therefore, our task to establish party bases among workers and in working class organisation, in all the main industrial centres, in transport, postal and telegraph services etc., and also the party's proletarian basis and character, founded on militant and tested worker-cadre. We must also build up powerful working class movements and organisations.

But along with this, we must keep in sight the fundamental aspect of struggles in the urban areas and accelerating the pace of revolution all over the country is to develop the struggles of the peasants for land-which is the real struggle of the peasant masses in the rural areas. We must, therefore, give serious attention to this task. But this does not mean that we should abandon struggles in the urban areas or belittle their role. Again, it would be a fatal mistake to neglect in any way the task of building up real struggles and militant bases by building up broad based peasant organisations, especially, of landless labour, poor baragdars and poor peasants.

We believe that given real class consciousness, it will be difficult for the party in its present state to solve the problems of these two types of organisational work; but to achieve this what is needed is conscious effort, revolutionary enterprise and proper leadership.

While pursuing these two types of organisational work, we must recall afresh the fundamental Marxist approach, which was explained by Lenin in the following manner :

*"Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and political organisation of the working class. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle are following a false path causing serious harm to the movement."*

Who are those who follow these two false tasks? In pointing them out, Lenin said :

*"And it is being pushed into the background, firstly by those who call upon revolutionaries to deploy only the forces of conspirational circles out of the working class movements in the struggle against the Government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of*



*political propaganda, agitation and organisation; who think it proper to treat the workers to politics at exceptional moments of life, who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy; who do not go to sufficient lengths, that those demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, employable struggle of the revolutionary working class party against autocracy.” (CWs Vol.4, p.369)*

### **Emergence of New Element in the Mass Movements in India**

While ceaselessly endeavouring under the inspiration of the ideas -to develop on both sides the organisational and militant programmes, referred to above we should pay serious attention to the new element which is appearing repeatedly like startling flashes of lightning in the scene of the mass movements in India and then is fading out but during its brief period of existence it is galvanising the entire atmosphere of the Country. We have to grasp its significance and its revolutionary potentialities in relation to the plan of action referred to above. This element is a signal to us to get rid off conventional frame-work of thought and action.

The mass movements are marked by clashes between the people and the organised force of the government and, in some cases, are suddenly assuming the character of civil war. These are the features we are speaking of. Revolutionaries with social sense must see the essence of the aspirations of the people which are reflected at the time of these clashes and of the resistance which they spontaneously put up in many cases. There can be no doubt that they are in an embryonic form nothing but the struggle which revolutionaries look forward to and which mark the highest stage of struggle. It is true that the clashes have taken place in the past. But the frequency of these struggles and the way people are acting during them show beyond any doubt that they are qualitatively different from the past struggles. The struggles in the recent period are in an embryonic form struggles which are necessary to bring about a radical transformation of society. It, is therefore, our immediate duty to attend to them and to nurture them in order to ensure the healthy and natural growth of this embryo within the womb of mass movements so that it can attain its fullest development. This development will bring about the people's democratic revolution. Hence, to ignore the task of generalisation of this element will be a deviation from Marxism of the most extreme kind. Without this our movements are bound to remain bogged down in the stage of reformist movements bereft of any revolutionary essence, pay attention to this. In view of this what is required totally is a new outlook, new policy and tactics towards movements, and to create a revolutionary tradition.

### **The Revisionist Party Leadership**

In spite of the aforesaid situation, the present leadership of the Party, while indulging in vociferously in tall talk, is maintaining without the slightest deviation, in real revisionist fashion, the tradition of old outlook and ways of work in respect of movements. They shout, “We will return blow for blow. Remember attacks will

not remain one-sided" etc. But they and place of this new element among the multiple features of mass movements, of making varied and prompt organisational preparations, involving hard labour, for the natural development of this embryo, of studying this phenomenon in the Marxist way, and making the party members conscious about it etc. Yet these are the duties of the leadership.

On the contrary, when such subjects are raised, the present leadership of the party, like the revisionist Dange-clique, dubs these publicly as sectarianism, adventurism etc. and strengthen the hands of the home minister of the government of India because, in their thinking and practices, they also are steeped in revisionism and are reluctant to carry forward the aforesaid new element. They refuse to learn any thing from the character and direction of the national liberation movements in different parts of the world, to take warning from the recent situation in Indonesia and the consequences of the mobilisation of reactionary forces in that country.

Why are we making this accusation? We have already discussed their sectarian, one-sided and revisionist outlook about programme.

We have to remember that revisionism manifests itself in numerous forms. Some times it takes the form of an open demand for revision of Marxism, sometimes, as Lenin said,

*"it is merely a cowardly and furtive renunciation, often defended on the ground of 'practical', mainly only allegedly, practical consideration?"* ( Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 17. pp 398-99 )

In the success of the national liberation movement in China and India Lenin had dreamt of the worldwide triumph of socialism. But India is lagging behind politically in the stage of class-struggle of the most backward kind. What is the cause of this situation? Is it due to any specific element in the Indian situation? Or due to any inherent weakness in the character of the Indian people?

But we do not think so. There is no doubt that the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence influenced Indian politics, but even during the epoch of Gandhism such instances were not rare that prove that the influence of this impotent philosophy of Gandhism could not become all-pervasive. Then what is the cause of this rut? We think that the cause lies in the ideological weakness from which the Communist Party is suffering from the hour of its birth. In the history of this ideological weakness within the party have remained the roots of this revisionism. This weakness had and still has main subject of our discussion is as follows.

Marx said:

*" Force is the midwife of the old society pregnant with the new "*.

This statement of principle is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism. Revisionism was born out of the attempt to abolish this principle and render it useless.

Of course, the principle has been stated very plainly. It is the duty of the Communists to give it life and to define it clearly. This cannot be done without giving definite answers to the following questions:

At what definite stage of the Communist movement, shall the party attend to the cultivation of this force? What should be the way to achieve it? The creators of Marxism and various experiences of international communist movement have given the answer to this question and indicated one of the duties of party.

In the chapter entitled 'party and military education: of Anti-Duhring Engels wrote:

*"In considering the struggle for existence and Duhring's declaration against struggle and arms it should be emphasised that a revolutionary party must know how to struggle. It will have to make revolution, possibly some day in near future.... to safeguard the laws issued by the bourgeoisie itself the Party may be compelled to take revolutionary measure against the bourgeoisie state which will supersede the present state. Hence, the universal conscription of our time should be taken advantage of by all to learn how to fight, but particularly by those whose education entitled them to acquire the training of an officer in one year' voluntary service" ( Anti- Duhring, Foreign Language Publishing House, pp 485 -6 ).*

Elsewhere Engels has said:

*"From the very moment a party will stand up on its own legs, it will be most necessary for the party to pay its attention to this work."*

Thus from one of the founders of Marxism we have got the answer to one of the two questions regarding the time and way for devoting attention to the work of acquisition of force: (1) From the moment of the party shall stand upon its own legs, it shall attend to the work of acquisition of force; (2) Hence, the party shall take full advantage of even the opportunities given by the existing state administration.

Let us now consult international experience.

The Bolshevik party in Russia was founded in 1903. We find the Bolshevik party advancing from the very moment of its foundation to set up party nucleus in the army and the Navy. During the entire period of the Russian revolution, through all its sharp vicissitudes, the party leadership used to maintain regular contact with the aforesaid party nucleus and took great care to develop it. Besides, the party also taught how to make bold use of the flexible policy of struggle on the one hand and revolutionary fraternisation on the other in the midst of clashes in course of mass movements. The Chinese experience shows that the party had to attend to the building up of its own Army due to specific condition in the development of the revolution in the country and the party, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung further developed Lenin's theory of people's militia and people's war and set up the example of building its own strength through the policy of people's War. If we study the character and direction of the national liberation movements after World War II, we will realise that it is absolutely necessary for a revolutionary force to build up its own force. We become further convinced what is its necessity when we look at the instances of mobilisation of reactionary forces through military dictatorship.

But what does our Party history reflect? This important matter is outside the Party's thinking. Our Party has never assumed - as a real Bolshevik party should have - any duty and responsibility in this matter; for the Party has always been running itself like a bourgeois Party. But by Engel's touchstone we have long been acquired the status of a party which can stand upon its own legs. The glamour of being the second biggest Party has been ours for a long time; we have penetrated into many sections of society. But we have kept our eyes shut towards this important matter, though opportunities for expansion of work have appeared before the Party at different times. Our Party has systematically avoided the task of acquiring the revolutionary essence of Marxism. This serious weakness has remained along with various ideological weaknesses. In the present situation it is criminal not to attend to the duty of removing this weakness. But the party leadership is still avoiding this duty on the pretext of the backward level of mass consciousness, special characteristics of the country and of 'practicability', because of the trend of their political thinking is in the opposite direction i.e., steeped in revisionism.

We have already pointed out that this statement is not a call for an immediate, country-wide insurrection-the attempt to provoke premature insurrection is the height of stupidity.

Now our question is what the proper method of work should be in order to raise the Party's style to the revolutionary level and so that we can enter the revolutionary stage of the Indian democratic movement. What method should we adopt to facilitate and extend-all over the country - the revolutionary tide the murmur of which can be undoubtedly heard? About this, we can say in general that we should organise mass struggles and campaigns on popular grievances and political issues and extend them further. What is further required in order to give support to and extend movements is organisation and more organisation.

There is, ofcourse, nothing new about this statement. The question is, what kind of organisation? What should be the method of work in the organisation? What perspective for advance inspires it? There is no doubt about our duty to build up the organisation (party), trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations. But we should kindle into the party organisation and organisations under our exclusive control the consciousness that they should be fit to carry the struggle for the seizure and retention of power, i.e., an organisation for revolution when the situation calls for it.

The problem of perspective for the Indian revolution comes before us fully when we have to consider the question of seizure of power. We have already said that this statement of ours is not a call for the seizure of power at centre at one blow through Country wide insurrection; because that is not the perspective for the Indian revolution. The Indian revolution will not be a brief affair. It will be a very severe and protracted revolution. This perspective arises from the character of the revolution in the present stage. In the present age the revolution will never assume the character of the government and state power on the one hand and the people on the other. Instead, it will assume the character of struggle between two

sections (i.e., -progress and reaction) of the people, of civil war. For, in the course of advance of revolution, the people belonging to the ruling classes and all kinds of reactionary elements will gather inevitably behind the government and the state machinery. Before the seizure of power there will occur big clashes and comparatively long intervals and in between the big clashes there will inevitably nurebous clashes of comparatively small scale. The party should make not only adequate preparations for such big clashes but also be capable of participating in the small clashes. The party should organise itself capable not only of taking part in these clashes but also of leading them, as a party capable of taking part in a war. The party should advance from defensive to determined offensive. The party should be organised so that it can become a party capable of seizing power even during small clashes and of making requisite arrangements for the extention of power. Such clashes may break out in both towns and villages; but in both cases the aim should be to extend it to the rural areas. The period of retention of power may be brief and the power may pass into the hands of the enemy. But such tactics should be adopted and will inevitably create such incidents through out the country, deal mortal blows at the nerves of the enemy, establish and deepen a new tradition of revolutionary struggles. Without a revolutionary tradition no big revolutionary struggle can ever develop. What should be the mode of building up the strength for this will be available from the usual activities of state administration. A cleverly thought out attitude towards this must be adopted. And the countless new militants; reference to whom has been made before, who will appear in course of different struggles will have to be consolidated, to be educated politically and by creating small local clashes, necessary strength for entering the stage of revolution is to be built up. Solution of this problem of building up strength will come through.

We want to make it clear again that we are discussing here the general perspective and direction of the Indian revolution. We are not giving a call for any special kind of action. Only workers and Party organisations having active connections with popular movements in different parts of the country are fit to decide in a particular objective situation the place and time for special action. The outlook referred to in the programme of action implies active efforts to initiate this action and along with this knowledge of the tactics of revolutionary people's war.

### **The Role of Parliamentary Work**

What should be the place and role of parliamentary work in the political and organisational programme of action, which we have been discussing so long?

We should not forget for a single moment that the bourgeois democratic state structure, which the bourgeoisie calls 'republican democratic' despite the recognition of the right of universal franchise, is in its essence and can be nothing but the dictatorship of capital. *Lenin* has said, "*The more highly (bourgeois) democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers*" (*Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*). It is, therefore, madness to think that the dictatorship of capital could be abolished

through votes in a state structure, the essence of which is the dictatorship of capital and the people's distress could be promptly eradicated under bourgeois administration through election and parliament. To create such illusion among the masses is for a Marxist nothing short of betrayal; that is to say politics based solely on Parliamentarism is the opposite of Marxist politics. Lenin has said that Communist will not remain in parliament just for the sake of being 'an opposition party' ... which is abandoning the task of making preparations for the democratic revolution. ( *Lenin, Left-wing Communism - An infantile Disorder* ) On another occasion, while greeting the Indian, French and German Communists, Lenin said, "only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage slavery and that only after this it must win power. This is the height of foolishness or hypocrisy it is substituting voting under the old system and with the old power for class struggle and revolution". ( '*Contemporary Problems of Leninism*' - "More on Togliatti" )

Parliamentary work, therefore, is for Communists, not a goal in itself, it is auxiliary to the work of revolution in different situations, the main aim being organisation of a revolution. The tactics and outlook of Communist politics should be to employ the parliamentary work for the purpose of revolution. Hence, participation in parliament elections, etc., depends on different objective situations, stage of movement and class struggle, the level of consciousness of the militant classes and the general masses. No straight ('Yes' or 'No' ) answer is possible to it. At different stages of the Russian revolution Lenin gave the slogan, sometimes, of boycotting the Duma, sometimes, of participation in it. The main consideration was whether by boycotting the Duma or by participating in it, the cause of the revolution was being furthered in reference to the objective situation. Examined from both these angles, it appears that the leadership of the Communist Party of India has for long years been running the party along the path of parliamentary opportunism. The present leadership of the party is also pursuing the same political line though they are using apparently revolutionary language. It is difficult task to eradicate the tradition of parliamentary opportunism which has struck deep roots inside different sections of the leadership and restore Communist tradition and outlook. An opportunist coterie seekers of seats in parliament and the Assembly has firmly entrenched itself in the party and as a very strong group is influencing the party in numerous ways. The Party leadership is nursing these people, because the roots of this kind of politics and outlook are there inside the Party leadership. The manifestation of this politics and outlook is seen in the political slogans like 'government of democratic unity'. The Kerala way ( after the formation of our government there). "alternative govt," etc., and activities corresponding to these slogans.

The question arises whether we should boycott the parliament and the elections under the present situation or, as our leadership poses it, since the masses want

elections, we should take part in them. To view this problem or present it in this manner is against Communist method of analysis. The points that should be really considered are: (a) What is the direction, character and state of Indian Parliament and Democracy? (b) What is the form and character of the mass movements and what is the attitude of the masses; and (c) in what direction is the revolution moving?

The Indian parliament and democracy, it can be said, is an expanded addition of what was introduced by British Imperialism. The Indian Constitution and the division of powers to persuade the masses to boycott the election, if conscious efforts were made to bring to its natural culmination the form which the mass movements displayed in different states, especially in West Bengal, and to raise the movements to a higher stage. But without making any attempts towards this the movement was terminated- under the slogan of a bigger movement- in the 48-hour strike and hartal and now that the elections are due all thinking has been concentrated on pretext of the election mindedness of the people. This is dangerous opportunism. The real thing is the bankruptcy of our present leadership, which is blind to or refuses to see the new content of the mass movements in the contemporary period, and as a result the entire outlook of the party leadership has got election-oriented and its political tactics have been reduced to election tactics. Our main tasks to enrich this new character of the mass movement and to make organisational and agitational preparations for this purpose. The elections should be made complimentary to this aim. Ours is the main responsibility to present fundamental issues and matters among the masses. We have to alert the people about the attacks of power- reaction in the days after the election and to make them conscious about the need for making necessary preparations to counter them. The present leadership of the party is once again keeping the larger section of the men in charge of the highest bodies in the party bogged down to parliamentary and Assembly politics and is strengthening the organisational structure of the party in keeping with this attitude. This is the natural culmination of their political thinking and outlook. So whenever any one opposes their policy and programme of action, he is dubbed as adventurist; sectarian, etc., hence there has arisen the conflict of principles within the party.

We believe that the application in practice of the political and organisational programme we have discussed in this document will lead to the successful realisation of the "new democratic revolution". All party members and sympathisers should go forward with enterprise, to accomplish this aim within it have maintained the main character of the constitutions introduced and proposed by British imperialism. Moreover, out of the fear of the mass movements the present ruling classes have in numerous ways restricted the constitutional rights of the citizens and reduced to a mockery the democracy, by naked terrorism. Further, in the matter of practical politics the policy of the government is in many ways dependent on the diplomacy of imperialism. Its dependence on American imperialism is more manifest at present. Hence, economic crisis created by the bourgeois rule, deepens further will democracy and the democratic setup collapses. In the period after

World War II, the colonial bourgeoisie abandoned the path or struggle. This was the inevitable outcome of the compromise they had made with imperialism to come to power. Besides, bourgeois democracy can no longer flourish as it did in the 19th Century. So, in connection with the elections we should pay special attention to this effect and it should also be marked that from their experience of the way parliament, assembly, etc., have functioned and run for the last 20 years under Congress rule, the illusion of the masses for the said institutions has worn off comparatively. Class war is the best weapon to complete the disillusionment of the masses. Hence it is the sacred duty for every Communist to sharpen class war and to raise it from the economic to political stage; for the Communists are the most conscious vanguards of the working class. Communists never tail behind the masses. Standing in the vanguard of the people they constantly endeavour to raise the political consciousness of the people to higher and higher level. So, to remain bogged down at the level of mass consciousness on the pretext that the masses are thinking in this line, instead of actively carrying forward the struggle is nothing but opposition to Marxism.

We have discussed above the mass movements in India and the direction of the Indian revolution. The entire matter for the serious consideration whether the present elections would actually have been held or whether it would have been possible. We know the present leadership of the party will attack us, brand us with various labels and resort to slanders against us. But we know that many 'famous' and 'formidable' Marxists have fled from the arena of Marxism under the blows of ideological war. Hence, we have faith that the revisionism within our present party and the leadership which is its agent and continuator will be judged by history, exposed in all its nakedness and discarded by revolutionary Marxist. The party members and sympathisers today are faced with the struggle needed for this.

### **Our Obligations and Tasks**

Hence in the present period it is our obligation and task;

- 1) To study with due emphasis the new features of the democratic movement and the militant trend of the people's struggles, adopt new tactic of struggle and to set up appropriate organisations for this purpose.
- 2) To remove the revisionist leadership and to replace it by revolutionary leadership; to put leaders, tested in movements, at different levels of party organisation.
- 3) To root out bureaucratism from party organisation, to extend the scope of discussion and debate on party policy and tactics and there-by to revive Bolshevik life within the party.
- 4) To rid the party of illusions of parliamentary politics. To carry on systematic campaign and to make efforts through mass movements to achieve this aim.
- 5) To introduce bold tactics of struggle in working class and peasant movements.



- 6) To attach special emphasis on the mobilisation of strength in the rural areas.
- 7) To take initiative to act up organisations in important places and enterprises.
- 8) To take appropriate steps for struggle against reaction and to make organisational arrangements for that purpose.
- 9) To adopt a firm attitude towards international revisionism and reinforce the struggle against revisionism on both national and international levels.

Above all it is necessary to consolidate politically the militant trend of the grievances among different sections of party members and sympathisers against the present policy, tactics and outlook of the Party leadership. The necessity of presenting collective instead of scattered statements and acting collectively has arisen now. It is urgent for all party members and sympathisers to transform only into a real Bolshevik -Party. We present this document for general discussion with the hope that it will facilitate the process.

25-12-1966.

**With Greetings.  
The Committee For Struggle  
Against Revisionism.(WB)**

